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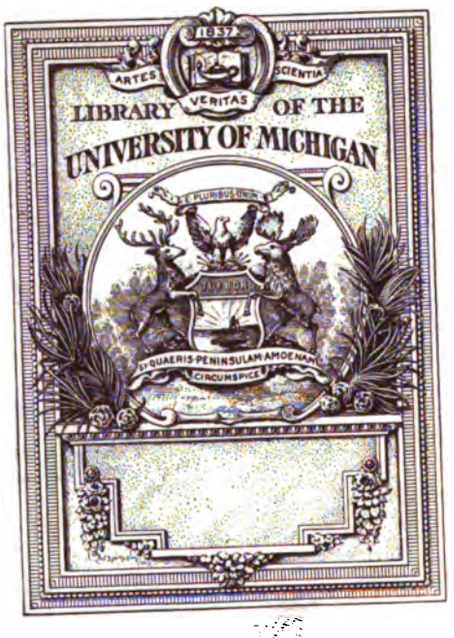
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THE WORLD'S HISTORY

THE WORLD'S HISTORY

A SURVEY OF MAN'S RECORD

EDITED BY

DR. H. F. HELMOLT

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY ESSAY BY THE

RIGHT HON. JAMES BRYCE, D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S.

VOLUME VI

CENTRAL AND NORTHERN EUROPE

WITH PLATES AND MAPS

LONDON
WILLIAM HEINEMANN
1907

PREFACE TO VOLUME VI

THE subject of the present volume, entitled "Central and Northern Europe," is complementary to those of the fifth and seventh volumes which deal with "Eastern" and "Western" Europe respectively. Before the close of the Crusades there is no West-European civilisation in the true sense of the word. Earlier developments, springing from the seed sown by classical antiquity, have been appropriately styled "Central European;" and under the head of "Central Europe" we include the common achievements of the Romance and Teutonic races in the heart of Europe subsequently to the decay of the Kelts. The histories of Germany, Italy, and France before the Renaissance, and of Christianity from the age of migration to the Reformation, thus constitute a great part of the present volume. It also treats of the Scandinavian North and of the British Isles—two spheres in which European civilization has assumed special forms, akin to those presented by the continental lands of West Europe, but differentiated in countless points.

A few words must be said regarding the structure of the volume. The subject of the Baltic, restricted as it may seem, involves so many difficulties that it seemed best to divide this section between two scholars. The prehistoric portion has been written by a professed archæologist and ethnologist, and the historical portion by a native of the Baltic. The two following sections, "The Germans to the Middle of the Fourteenth Century" and "The Kelts," contain much matter necessitated by our general scheme, and therefore include certain elaborations of the contribution to Volume II. from the pen of the late Dr. Emil Schmidt. Among other questions the yet unsettled problem of the original home of the Indo-Europeans is discussed. The section upon the Kelts finds its conclusion in due place and time in the concluding chapter of the volume. Another subject, which also reappears at different points in our World's History, is the Empire of Charles the Great. Such repetition is inevitable and unobjectionable when its object is to illustrate questions from different points of view: in our case it was entirely unavoidable, as the Carolingian Empire had one meaning for Germany, another for France, and yet a third for Italy.

Before proceeding to deal with Section V., "France from the Rise of the Merovingians to the Extinction of the legitimate Capets," it seemed necessary to provide the foundation for the study of the subject in the section on "The Foundation of the Romance Peoples." This contribution, from the pen of the late Professor C. Pauli, provides a key to the further progress of the Romance peoples, the rise of such new capitals as Paris, Pavia, and Toledo, and the fusion of the remnants of Roman culture with that of the victorious Teuton.

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The next three or four chapters treat of momentous developments and form supplements to other and earlier sections. Thus the seventh chapter, on "German Colonisation in the East before the Middle of the Sixteenth Century," should be read in connection with the notices of later Russian, Swedish, Prussian, and Polish history, which will be found in Volumes V., VI., and VII.

Section VI., on "The Western Development of Christianity," is a discussion of certain points which have been mooted in previous sub-sections. It is to be read in connection with the third chapter of Volume IV. ("The Rise of Christianity") and with the third chapter of Volume VII. ("Western Christianity since the Reformation.") The three essays, taken together, give a connected account of Christianity, which is a special feature of our series. The ninth section of the present volume ("The Crusades") deals with an important phase of Western Christianity, a movement which had the effect of transforming "Central" into "Western" Europe.

Section VIII. ("Italy from the Sixth to the Fourteenth Centuries") is here introduced not merely as a continuation of the section of Volume IV. entitled "Italy and the Supremacy of Rome," but because Italy was linked in the closest way to the fortunes of "Central Europe" by incorporation in the Carolingian Empire and in the subsequent Holy Roman Empire of the German nation. To set forth the history of mediæval Italy is a difficult task, even though the path has been to some extent prepared by the researches of Heinrich Leo and L. M. Hartmann. The story cannot be reduced to a simple outline. The reason is that, as Ranke said, only a collection of provincial histories could provide a true picture of the general history of Italy. The editor has found it desirable to continue this section beyond the year 1350 (the point at which the French and German chapters stop) in order to notice some developments of importance which are not noticed in the second section of Volume VII. Although that section overlaps the new one, it will be found that the editor has spared no pains to avoid repetition.

At many periods and in many respects Northwest Europe has been remote or cut off from the rest of the continent; it is, none the less, closely bound to Europe proper by many ties. On three occasions the Teutonic North (Section X.) has played an important political part in Europe—during the Viking Age, when the Northmen sailed round the whole continent, founded new towns and exerted an influence both material and intellectual upon other peoples; during the period of the Crusades, when the Swedes and Danes were a civilising, missionary, and conquering power in the Baltic territories; and finally, in the seventeenth century, when the Swedes were the champions and saviours of Protestantism. With these exceptions, the northern countries have for the most part gone their own way and lived in a world apart; while receiving many a great influence and impulse from abroad and borrowing much from other countries, they have pursued a special course of development. While thus of less political importance to Europe, their intellectual influence has been correspondingly greater; their scientific and artistic achievements during the last two centuries have been considerable, and they have had their own share in the task of elaborating that culture common to all nations. This

section is the work of a Norwegian, and in the process of revising the style of his contribution the editor has received valuable assistance from Dr. E. Riehme and Card. W. Miersch of Leipsic.

The general development of Great Britain and Ireland (XI.) is more closely connected than that of Scandinavia with the rise of a Central European world. In this case we have an instance of a process but rarely exampled in the world's history —an island people assuming and completing the work of connecting nations and civilisations which belong to the ocean. As the waves of the Baltic carried us from Eastern to Central Europe, so the history of England, which joins and eventually merges into Section III. ("The Kelts"), carries us directly to that sphere where the highest achievements of latter-day humanity are comprehended under the term "West European." Thus we have a perfectly easy transition to the main themes of Volumes VII. and VIII., and secure our passage across the Atlantic to the Anglo-Saxons beyond the seas, as contemplated in Volume I., our geographical starting-point.

This volume, like its predecessor, has been provided by the editor with a number of genealogical tables in footnotes and special pages. We are firmly convinced that without some assistance of the kind the causes and motives of many political transactions are but half intelligible. At the same time, the editor can by this means pursue the object of providing a stimulus to further study, and of touching upon points which can only be indicated in the text when not omitted entirely; for instance, the genealogy on page 346 should also illustrate nepotism and the history of art in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The historical importance of a dynasty can only be appreciated when we have a general view of its branches, while many points in its history depend upon the marriages of the female members; hence, as much space as possible has been given to the latter in these tables.

In conclusion, our special thanks are due to the town library of Bern, to Signor Cavaliere A. Cassarini of Bologna, to the ducal library at Gotha, to the chapter library of Heiligenkreuz at Baden in Lower Austria, to the University library of Jena, to the institute for the history of art in the University of Leipsic, and to the monastery library of St. Paul in Carinthia.

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I

THE HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE BALTIC SEA

By PROF. DR. KARL WEULE and DR. JOSEPH GIRGENSOHN

1. INTRODUCTION

As the lakes and land-locked seas of the habitable globe are inferior to the oceans in respect of area, so also do they occupy a position of less importance in the history of mankind. The fact is true both of the island-studded gulfs of the east coast of Asia, of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, of the Baltic and of the Mediterranean and North Asiatic inland seas; all of these either permanently or temporarily have influenced their immediate environment or have become lines of communication to remoter districts. In the latter case their influence has been correspondingly extensive. Some seas, such as the Baltic, the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf have in this manner become highly important in the history of the world; though even so, they cannot compare with the three oceans, for the simple reason that they are inferior in extent. These secondary seas have prepared man for his great task, the business of encircling the globe with material and intellectual lines of communication; the final accomplishment of this problem could only be secured by traversing the great oceanic areas.

The Mediterranean and the Baltic in Europe occupy an exceptional position among the secondary seas. Their importance is not due to their area, which is so restricted that it considerably reduces their importance in comparison with that of the great oceans. The sea which the ancients regarded as placed in the centre of the world and which they therefore called Mediterranean, displays for our admiration the architects of that civilization which preceded Columbus, the representatives of an intellectualism which is imposing itself upon the whole of mankind. The Baltic Sea, again, though of smaller extent, and at the present day of no greater importance than any other secondary sea, at one time played a very similar part and exerted no small influence upon a considerable portion of Europe throughout the historical changes which took place in the countries which formed its shores. Hence the Baltic seems to deserve that special treatment which we have already devoted to the Mediterranean (Vol. IV, Section I).

Within the last thirty years the geographical similarity between the Mediterranean and Baltic has often been pointed out, and with full justification. Both are true inland seas, which may be regarded as deep gulfs extending from the Atlan-

tic Ocean far into the gigantic continental mass of Asia, Europe, and Africa. But their configuration cannot be compared with such an indentation as that made in the southern shore of Asia by the northern Indian Ocean. To the existence of the latter is due the projection of two vast promontories, which stand forth as continental masses of land imperfectly connected with the continent to which they belong. The Mediterranean and the Baltic are a disintegrating influence upon the whole northwest of the Old World; their simultaneous invasion is the principal cause which has produced the separation of Europe from the great continental mass, and has given it not only a special position and configuration, but also a pre-eminent position in the development of civilization. The Mediterranean had the advantage of position within three continents which could send forth their influence unimpeded over its surface and make it the medium of universal communication in the old sense of the term; the Baltic, on the other hand, penetrates a continent which really deserves the name only in two directions, on the south and the east. The northern and western shores of the Baltic possess the advantage of a widely articulated insular and peninsular conformation, but the historic importance of those shores cannot in any way compare with that of the southern and eastern districts.

To this fundamental difference must be added a number of other points. First arises the question of size. The Mediterranean is 730,000 square miles in extent, the Baltic but little more than a seventh of that amount (111,408). The fact becomes highly important when we remember that the Mediterranean, notwithstanding its comparatively narrow area, was the sea of chief importance to the ancient world; in fact, almost the whole of the then known world was concentrated upon the length of its shores. The Baltic has never been able to claim so high a position. It has indeed its own cycle of historical progress and national development; but it is only one of many successive cycles, and one, too, considerably more remote.

It must, moreover, be admitted that the history of the Baltic cannot compare in uniformity with that of the Mediterranean, notwithstanding the fact that the smaller size of this sea seemed to favour concentration upon its shores. Only upon one occasion, during the time of the Roman Empire, has its political uniformity found complete expression; on the other hand, attempts have been often made to unify the Mediterranean, in the colonisation of the Phœnicians and Greeks, in the establishment of the Pax Romana, in the triumphs of Christianity, and the advances of the Arabs, — and these were attempts which reached the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. The self-contained nature of the Mediterranean is clearly perceptible, even during the domination of the Italian town republics and the temporary advance of the southern Norman and Aragonese maritime powers to Greece. These efforts were indeed more or less unsuccessful, and towards the close of the Middle Ages the hope of uniformity was shattered for ever. The western and northern shores in modern times have retained a general uniformity of religion and nationality; but the south and the east have fallen into the hands of Mohammedans, with the result that the opposition between these centres of civilization is plainly perceptible at the present day.

In the case of the Baltic a modern attempt to secure complete political uniformity occurs only once, during the age when Sweden became a great power, though other peoples upon the coast, such as the Danes, Germans, Poles, and Russians,

have aimed at the "dominium maris baltici." Similarly an economic and commercial uniformity has existed, not only during the prosperity of the Hanseatic League, but also again under the Swedish domination. At the present day it is possible to regard the Baltic as dominated by a German commercial system, as the business of the Russian and Polish Hinterland is largely carried on by German firms; and in modern times Protestantism has retained its ground on every shore. Even St. Petersburg, the cosmopolitan capital, cannot influence this uniformity, as the Russian national spirit is rather repelled by than attracted to the capital on the Neva, and is, moreover, of small commercial influence. In Finland, the Swedish element of the population is largely concerned with commerce over seas, and the coasts overshadow the interior, both in economic progress and in their influence upon civilization as a whole.

A material difference exists between the two seas, both with regard to their position and therefore in the direction which their civilization followed. In the Mediterranean, civilization advanced with comparative rapidity at an early date from east to west, supported as it was by similar geographical conditions on every coast. In the Baltic Sea, in conformity with its position running from south to north, the southern shores are mentioned by history far earlier than the northern, which were only opened to Christianity and to European culture at a later date.

2. THE AGE AND THE EARLIEST HISTORY OF THE BALTIC

THE Baltic shares with the North Sea, the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and Hudson's Bay the distinction of being geologically a very recent formation, as regards its present extent and shape. Often and for very long periods its present bed lay buried beneath those enormous masses of glacier which during the diluvial period covered most of Europe north of the fifth degree of latitude, descending from the "Scandinavian Shield," the old mountain system of the modern peninsula which bears that name. To the active force of these glaciers is due the present appearance of the whole district which they formerly covered, with its bed and terminal moraines, its lakes and the changes in the direction of its rivers, its ranges of hills, smooth or serrated, its erratic boulders and glacier-worn rocks. The whole of the present valley of the Baltic must be numbered among those districts which have been changed by the detrition removal and deposition of their strata; its soil still shows moraines and boulders from the north. After the retreat of the last Baltic glacier the greater part of northern Europe, which had thus been covered, remained permanently dry and, as tundra and steppe, gradually assumed that form which we now behold; but the deepest lowlands of the great plain were broken by faults and ruptures, by risings and sinkings of the ground around and within the gulf itself, and were finally filled with those waters which are known to us to-day as the Baltic, and which, with their remarkable windings and peculiar articulation, unite the far north and the distant east of Europe to the more accessible west. At the present day the line of communication runs through the Sound and the two Belts apart from the Kiel canal. At an earlier epoch of development, immediately after the close of the ice age, the formation of the Baltic was different; at that period, at the time when our district began to settle, a broad arm of the south Swedish

lowland, now partially occupied by the lakes of Wener and Wetter, was filled with ocean water from the Skagerrak and formed a shore of the Baltic (which then ran in a northerly direction) from Schonen to Bornholm. At a later period, when this opening was closed by a rising in the ground, the Baltic became a fresh-water lake, and made its way into the three new straits already mentioned, to the old exit of the Skagerrak. Then followed a second subsidence, with a further inrush of the North Sea and again a rising, when the waters of the Baltic were driven back; this much can be inferred from the later existence of lakes of brackish water and of an inland sea which is but slightly salt, namely, the present Baltic, on the northern shores of which, the Swedish and Finnish coasts, the final rising movement continues undiminished.

This rising and subsidence of the lines of communication, this flux and reflux of water from within and from without, is of no importance to the history of mankind in its early beginnings. It may, however, be taken as typical of the position of the Baltic in the historical period, when we find a similar rise and fall of importance, a similar alternation in commercial, political, and economic influence from century to century.

Though these geological changes were of no importance to the history of mankind, we do not mean to imply that man was not a conscious witness of their passage. From the interglacial discoveries of Taubach (cf. Vol. I, p. 117) we know that man was already living and hunting in central Germany long before there was any Baltic Sea in the present sense of the word; recent discoveries seem to betoken an even wider distribution of man in the neighbouring districts. However this may be, it is likely that even as antediluvian man did not object to live permanently upon ice and glacier, so his descendants did not hesitate to follow the ice when it finally melted and retreated. Such progress was indeed imposed upon man by the fact that he depended for his hunting upon the fauna of the glacier, which he was obliged to follow until new climatic conditions opened to him a life of greater material convenience and comfort. This, however, must have been a process of such long continuance throughout the district of the retreating glaciers, that the Baltic and the North Sea had time to fill their deepest recesses and to assume those general outlines which have since remained practically unchanged. As a matter of fact, certain experts upon the stone age of the north assert that the "kitchen-midden" people are not to be regarded as the first inhabitants of the shores of the western Baltic, but that the traces of an earlier race can be found which must have been more closely connected with the geological development of northern Europe than those later architects of the mussel heaps can ever have been.

We are therefore justified in saying that man has witnessed the formation of the Baltic. This sounds a great assertion, and seems to secure to this sea an exceptional position among its sisters. The fact, however, is not so. Long before the connecting straits were broken through, men were living upon the rolling plains of southeastern England; and even upon the shores of the oceans which go back to a remoter epoch, mankind has witnessed changes which have exerted a deep influence upon the later distribution of humanity. The Baltic for a time certainly remained without influence upon the fate of its earliest settlers, for the momentous step of embarking upon the sea has been taken by humanity without exception at a late and comparatively advanced period of civilization. If in the case of the Baltic we

find it necessary to look back to prehistoric times we are therefore bound to give special reasons for our decision.

The historical importance of the sea is chiefly and most easily obvious to the eye of the spectator in so far as it evokes and consolidates certain anthropological, ethnographical, political, economic, and intellectual conditions, and in so far as its mere existence upon the surface of the earth diminishes the differences between near or remote settlements of mankind. No single one of our larger water systems has failed to exert some such influence; even in the case of seas so sparsely inhabited as the Arctic Ocean these results have been attained by centuries of search for the Northeast and Northwest Passages (Vol. I, pp. 589, 590); in the absolutely uninhabited Antarctic Ocean the search for the "Terra australis incognita" (Vol. II, p. 344) has produced the same result. It may indeed be said that the final influence of these seas upon the formation of our modern territorial and economic relations has been far greater than that of many seas more favourably situated upon the habitable globe, and far deeper, for instance, than the influence of the Baltic, which has, however, a historical character of its own. The special position of the Baltic is due to a point which falls outside the limits of those general considerations, and which for this reason, and also because its discovery is the work only of the last ten years, has been neglected or disregarded by the ordinary historian. In the case of the Baltic, it is possible for us, using prehistoric and early historic discoveries, and utilising the sciences of comparative civilization and comparative philology, to follow upon the shores of this sea a sharply distinguished group of peoples almost to its birth, and to an earlier age than perhaps anywhere else in the world with the possible exceptions of Mesopotamia and Egypt. These groups are Indo-Germanic or Indo-Keltic, or whatever other name may be chosen for this great ethnographical unity which in respect of language and civilization is unmistakably identical, whatever differences may exist among the component members of the race. In the process of retracing these people to those remote times, generally known as prehistoric, there rises before the eyes of the modern historian, who no less than the ethnographer must deal with prehistoric facts, an ethnological unity, the foundations of which remain unshaken at the present day, though many of its numerous portions may require reconstruction.

Many of our anthropologists, philologists, and historians of civilization attempt to prove that the Indo-Germanic people originated on the shores of the Black Sea. This is an exaggeration, and implies a completely mistaken view of the task of historical ethnology. Until we have some better evidence upon the epoch and the nature of this great ethnological formation than we at present possess, all attempts to establish the locality of origin must be fruitless. On the other hand, the mass of detailed evidence gradually imposes the conviction that whatever the time and epoch and manner in which these races, influences, and civilizations may have been unified and amalgamated, the Baltic must have played at least an important part in this process. This part can be clearly estimated during the bronze age and its successive periods; that age, indeed, lies clearly before us, although some four thousand years have passed since its outset in the north. For the long neolithic age which preceded it, our information is less clear. However, when we observe that these latter periods show a remarkable correspondence with the most important domestic animals and plants and utensils, in short, with the whole material civilization introduced in that age to the shores of the Baltic, we can hardly reject the

conclusion that this sea must have worked as a means of communication even in that early epoch. There is no question of navigation in a wide and regular sense, as depicted on the Hällristningar (*infra*) in the rock carvings of Bohusläm, which belong to the bronze age, but rather of communication from hand to hand, from place to place, from island to island. The influence of so primeval and indirect a mode of disseminating either technical accomplishments or intellectual achievements is no longer underestimated as an influence upon civilization, for modern ethnology has taught us by daily increasing evidence that such a mode of exchange is rather the rule than the exception.

3. POSITION AND CONFIGURATION

As soon as the Baltic begins to influence the history of its inhabitants and neighbours, its special position and configuration make their effects felt as plainly as in all later times, notwithstanding the great modern improvements in means of communication. Comparison and contrast with the Mediterranean are immediately suggested. Both seas are unusually secluded from the outer ocean, and advance unusually far into the broad continent of the Old World, and to the common configuration of both seas Europe owes the fact that so many countries have been laid open to communication and well provided with coast line. At a very early period the Mediterranean facilitated contact and amalgamation between different races, and linked together spheres of civilization which differed ethnographically and intellectually; the Baltic, on the other hand, was but a means of union between neighbours who were little more than tribes of the same race, and therefore stood upon a very similar intellectual plane. The infusion of the Finns in the gulfs of Finland and Bothnia became a disturbing influence upon this unity; the Finns, however, were late in entering the circle of the Baltic people, and have, moreover avoided its rivers more entirely than any other branch of the Indo-Germanic family. Apart from the piratical Esthonians and Livonians, who flourished comparatively late and were speedily crushed by the Germans and the Danes, no great maritime movement is discoverable among this group of nations, who were predestined by their position to work rather by land than by sea.

Thus far the Baltic appears as the counterpart of the Mediterranean, with the difference that its population is more uniform, its position more northerly, and its historical force inferior. This similarity, however, comes to an end so soon as we turn our gaze upon the economic conditions of the surrounding countries and the influence exerted by the sea upon their composition. The geographical position of the Mediterranean is characterised by the fact that its axis follows the degrees of latitude (see the map "Countries of the Mediterranean," Vol. IV, p. 43.) In comparison with this axis all other lines of extent are so short that the northern and southern shores are separated only by a few degrees at any one point. Consequently the climate and the natural products of the Mediterranean district are everywhere characterised by a certain uniformity; the products of the various Mediterranean countries differ rather in quantity than in kind. The economic importance of the Mediterranean has been more strongly influenced by this uniformity than is commonly supposed; of native products there has been but little

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The Baltic never had the character of a collecting basin in any high degree; it has always been, and remains at the present day, a line of passage. In other respects its circumstances resemble those of the Mediterranean, with the exception that the lines of exit and entrance diverge by some ninety degrees. The North Sea and the strait on which lie Hamburg and Lübeck serves as the line of entrance, as also at times do the three straits leading to the Skagerrak; from this direction the most valuable articles of commerce have reached the south Baltic, which alone can be regarded as an independent centre of civilization; this process has continued from neolithic times (in which, as is evidenced by the dolmens and stone burial-places, a civilization connected with ancestor worship extended from the Mediterranean Sea to the western Baltic territories) down to the Hanseatic and modern periods, which have always given and continue to give a larger amount of manufactured articles to these Baltic shores than they receive in the way of raw material. The district of exportation is the whole of the northeast. It was not until later centuries that it can be shown to have assumed this character, which then became strong enough to influence the whole commercial and economic history of central and western Europe. Its importance, however, was secured, not by tin or amber, but by boundless woods which afforded admirable timber for shipbuilding, and vast supplies of corn, which then fed the industrial districts of western Europe, and especially of Flanders. These goods still form the staple exports of those districts.

4. THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE BALTIC TERRITORIES

THE chief reason for the fact that the northeast part of the Baltic became of importance to international communication at so late a date is to be found in the slow development which north European civilization pursued. This assertion may be in direct contradiction to prevailing ideas upon the age of our much lauded civilization, and may even wound Germanic pride, but the fact remains that the original Germanic tribes were for many thousands of years living in a state of nature, in the sense of the term as used by Ratzel; they were dependent upon the gifts of nature to a greater extent than almost any uncivilized people in their position. In considering the part played by the Baltic in the development of the settlers upon its shores, it is obviously permissible for these reasons to regard that part, up to a certain date, as coincident with the influence exerted by the sea in general upon the life of primeval humanity. That influence is wonderfully slight. For the majority of inferior races, it is practically non-existent, and in the case of others it does not extend beyond the occasional practice of shore fishing for purposes of food or beyond coast navigation for a similar object; the sea becomes a means of intercommunication and a modifying influence only for a very small number of peoples living in favorably situated islands or upon broken coasts, such as the Malay Polynesians, the Northwest Americans, and Eskimo. Such influence was exerted by the Baltic at the end of the first millennium A. D. only upon the adjacent parts of the extreme west of Europe, where civilization was more advanced; for the remaining time and over its larger eastern portion, the importance of the Baltic varies, though it never becomes an influence of direct importance to the

inhabitants of these shores. As we have already observed (p. 5), we can pursue their history in an unbroken course to the "midden mounds" of the early neolithic age. Neither the sea nor its shores were of any great importance to them; no evidence has yet been found to prove the existence of the simplest methods of navigation in those early times.

During the later periods of this long epoch, and above all in the bronze age, the case is entirely changed. The distribution of great megalithic buildings shows that during the early period maritime communication was continued with the Mediterranean round the west coasts of Europe. During the bronze age, the Hällristningar, the rock carvings in the southern frontier provinces of Norway and Sweden, with their numerous pictures of strongly manned warships, seafights, and other military enterprises, prove that the old Scandinavians were mariners almost as bold and confident as their successors the Vikings and shared their art of boat-building, as the carvings prove. In view of this close acquaintanceship with the sea, we cannot be surprised at the uniformity of the civilization which during the whole metallic age prevailed throughout the coast lands of the southern and central Baltic; navigation proved to be the best means of equalising contrasts and differences in the native civilization, and also of distributing rapidly and equably throughout the districts those material and intellectual importations which arrived in such number from the South and Mediterranean.

The close connection between the European North and the Mediterranean South is one of the remarkable facts in the early history of our continent, while its illustration is one of the greatest achievements of northern archaeologists. This connection was maintained by the most different routes, from the Adriatic Sea, down the Elbe and the Oder, along the Danube, and from the Black Sea westward through Russia; all these were paths converging directly upon the southern Baltic. These facts cannot be due to chance, and we shall certainly not be wrong in assuming the true cause to exist in the civilizing influence of the Baltic itself. This influence was inadequate to create unaided a special and isolated civilization, such as characterises the Mediterranean; the arctic position, the small size, and the sparse population of the Baltic region militated against such a possibility; but when once connection had been made with the more complex civilization of the South, the talented Northern races were fully capable, not only of assimilating foreign importations, but also of adding to them new forms, which in many cases were more beautiful and nobler. Thus the Mediterranean and the Baltic stand connected in the history of the world. From the South, which was itself influenced by the East, civilization advanced to the North, whereupon the Baltic, though exercising no creative power, continued to disseminate and unify that civilization.

5. THE BALTIC IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY

A. The Viking Period

The connected history of the Baltic begins at a time when the interchange of commercial products was more often effected by force than by peaceful trade. As yet no great political heroes advance into the dawning light of history; we can observe only the representatives of considerable bodies of seafarers, whose ambition

sent them forth upon bold voyages in small boats, to plunder foreign coasts. Gradually these piratical raids became more deliberate undertakings for the foundation of settlements and supremacy. The Vikings[1] founded a kingdom in Russia in the ninth century under the Slavs, and in the tenth wrested Normandy from the Franks; they soon entered the Mediterranean and settled in Italy. These distant enterprises were upon too large a scale to maintain connection with the Baltic. Sometimes the civilization of the conquered countries overpowered the traditions of the invaders in course of time, while in other cases, necessary reinforcements were not forthcoming. The Normans became Russian Slavs, Frenchmen, and Italians. An echo of this period survived for a longer time in the judicial practices of the new settlements, which recalled their nationality, but even this trace was lost at length. At one point only which is of little interest to the history of civilization, namely on the islands of the west coast of Esthonia, a little tribe of Swedish nationality has maintained its ground since the Viking period; they are known as the Eibofolke, and their language rather resembles the old northern Icelandic than the modern Swedish, while their customs and uses have been maintained for centuries amid their alien Esthonian environment. It is only recently that this Teutonic offshoot has shown signs of retrogression before the Finns.

The Vikings came forth from every part of Scandinavia, including the islands in Jutland; the Rhos, who founded the kingdom of Novgorod came from Sveoland; others from Norway and Denmark; all were heathen and enemies to the people of European civilization. They advanced from the Volkhov and Dwina to the Dnieper, thence into the Black Sea and extorted gold and manufactured articles from the Byzantines. They raised their dragon standard on the Volga and spread the terror of their name to the Caspian Sea. At the same time a peaceful commerce grew up between Upper Asia and Germany by way of Kiev; thus even in England, traces are to be found of a commerce which was largely in the hands of the Arabians; Kufish coins were then current from the Black and Caspian Seas to the shores of the Baltic and to England. This commerce was destroyed by domestic confusion in Russia, by struggles between the Russian princes and also between the Slavic and Finnish tribes.

The Baltic, which sent its amber by various routes to the south, also attracted Oriental wares by other routes. The necessity was soon recognised of effecting a union among the Baltic coast lands. In the eleventh century the Danes first raised the claim of political supremacy over the coasts of the Baltic instead of making their name feared by piratical raids. Gorm the Old was prevented by Henry I, the Fowler, from carrying out similar intentions and the mark Schleswig was secured against Danish influence (934). Knut the Great (1014–1035) appeared capable of gaining that supremacy for his nation; he united England and Norway with Denmark, secured the mark of Schleswig by an alliance with the emperor Conrad II, wrested Pomerania from the Polish League, and extended his conquests to Samland. These great successes were to be immortalised by the conversion of this people to Christianity.

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[1] Originally a name for the Norwegians, afterwards applied to Northern warriors in general.

B. The Beginning of the German Nationality on the Baltic

If the empire had remained in the hands of the Franconians and southern Germans, the Danish supremacy might have endured for a long period. Fortunately for the future of Germany, a Saxon, Lothar of Suplinburg, was elected emperor in 1125. The emperor Lothar and after him the great duke, Henry the Lion, recognised the wide danger implied by the Danish advance and began measures of defence. They entered upon the struggle with their Scandinavian neighbours, in full consciousness of the political importance which the entrance to the Baltic implied to the German nationality. To secure the victory, all that was necessary was to burst through the barrier of Slav peoples which had settled on the shores of the Baltic up to the period of the great migrations and separated the Germans from their harbours. Concerning Jomsburg, Vineta, and the great Wendish commercial towns, we have only legendary narratives; history must confine itself to the statement that the maritime traffic of the Slavs upon the Baltic in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was of first-rate importance. The Danish duke of southern Halland, Knut Laward, received the kingdom of Wagria (east Holstein), Polaberland, and Obotriteland (Mecklenburg) from the hand of Lothar, who was then duke of Saxony; it seems to have been through his intervention that the Germanic nationality was able to make its influence first felt in the southern harbours of the Baltic; at any rate it appears from Lothar's regulations to keep justice and peace between the Germans and Gothlanders that a Saxon trade with distant Gothland was maintained. For the moment, however, the navigation of the Baltic was chiefly in the hands of the Wends, the Scandinavians, and the Russians, with the piratical peoples of Ösel and Esthonia.

It was not until after the death of Laward and Lothar (1137), when Count Adolf II, of Schaumburg, founded the German town of Lübeck at the confluence of the Wakenitz and the Trave (1143), that German traders secured an entrance into the Baltic territory. After some hostility on the part of Henry the Lion, who considered that the commerce of Bardowiek was threatened by the new emporium, a union was effected between the two German princes, which ended in the rise of Lübeck to the position it now occupies as the first German town on the Baltic (from 1158). Five years later (1163), Henry the Lion secured the Germans in possession of the Baltic trade. He promised the Germans in Gothland and the Gothlanders, the Russians, the Normans, and the other peoples on the east of Lübeck, freedom from customs duties and imposts. These advantages were to be enjoyed by the whole of Saxony. Two years afterwards (1165) the town of Medebach was trading with the Russians. Citizens of Lübeck soon gained privileges upon the east and west, from Denmark and also from the English kings, after they had secured the freedom of the empire, and the first step towards the maritime supremacy of Lübeck had been attained (1226).

From an early period Wisby in Gothland was the central point of the Baltic commerce. The old town laws contained the following clause: "Let it be known that as the people of many countries have gathered in Gothland, peace is hereby assured . . . whoever comes to the coast is to enjoy the peace that has been sworn." Soon afterwards a German community was formed in Wisby by the side of the Gothlanders. Shortly after the middle of the twelfth century the Germans

crossed into Russia and appeared together with the Goths in Slavonic Novgorod. At the close of the century a German court existed in that town, on the Volkhov. Together with Novgorod, Polock and Smolensk were in commercial relations with Gothland from an early time, and with the Germans there, communications being carried on by way of the Dwina. In 1201 Riga was founded from Wisby, and this became the second German town on the Baltic; from Lübeck, the first German port, the citizens of the Westphalian towns, Soest, Münster, and Dortmund, travelled to Riga, by way of Gothland, in order to found a German civic community enjoying "the rights of the Germans in Wisby." The connection between Lübeck, Wisby, and Riga formed the chief link in that chain which was joined at a later period by other Wendish and Prussian towns.

The Danes were forced to retreat before these successes. The fall of Henry the Lion (1181) and the resulting revolt of the Danes under Waldemar I and Knut VI, as the overlords of the Baltic Wends, proved to be of no permanent importance. It seemed, indeed, that Waldemar II (1202–1241) might be able to extend and permanently to secure these acquisitions. The Baltic coasts were subjected to Danish supremacy in a wide curve to the southwest, from Gothland to Pomerania. Hence Waldemar advanced to the island of Ösel at the mouth of the gulf of Riga (1206); but the attempts at conquest and at conversion to Christianity were alike a failure. He sent forth two bishops to Riga to inquire into the state of affairs, and would have been glad to wrest the town from the Germans. In the year 1210 he appeared in Pomerellen; the duke Mestwyn did homage to him, and he entertained designs upon Smaland. Seven years later in 1217, Count Albert of Holstein, a vassal of Waldemar, founded a colony in Livonia and would have resumed the attack upon Ösel had he not been hindered by a thaw. In 1219 the king appeared in person, and occupied the Esthonian fortress of Lindanyssa; this was destroyed and the town of Reval was built upon the site. In the next year Waldemar again sailed to Reval. On this occasion he turned his attention to the more southerly Livonia, which had been conquered and converted to Christianity by the Germans. He immediately closed the harbour of Lübeck, to prevent any further increase of the German colony. The year 1222 marks the zenith of Danish supremacy in the East, and the greater part of Esthonia then did homage to the Danebrog. On May 7, 1223, the whole of this mighty edifice collapsed. King Waldemar II, was taken prisoner in Fünen by his vassal, Count Henry of Schwerin; and Count Albert of Holstein also fell into the hands of the Germans. The harbour of Lübeck was reopened and counter influences made themselves felt throughout the Baltic coasts. Upon his release from imprisonment Waldemar again tried the fortune of war, but by the defeat of Bornhöved (July 22, 1227; see coloured plate further back) the "dominium maris Baltici" was wrested for ever from the Danes. Waldemar surrendered Nordalbingia and the south Baltic coasts, northern Esthonia was already conquered by the Germans, and its return to the diminished Denmark was only due to the intervention of the Pope (1238).

C. The Hansa

The number of Germans who entered Wendish territory was now upon the increase; the Slavonic towns in Mecklenburg and Pomerania were either given German rights or founded as German communities. Men of all orders migrated

to distant Prussia, where German citizens, priests, and knights secured permanent settlements at the end of the thirteenth century. In 1308 the old Slav town of Dantsic came into the possession of the German order. The ring of German towns on the south and east coasts of the Baltic from Lübeck to Königsberg and Memel, from Riga to Reval and Narva, was now closed. The most important town in this circle was Wisby in Gothland. Wisby was the starting-point for journeys to Novgorod; its German community heard appeals from the Petershof in Novgorod, until the growing town of Lübeck gained the predominance. The right of Lübeck united the towns on the Baltic in a confederacy. Lübeck made a further advance by gaining the alliance of Rostock in 1283 (Vol. VII, p. 27). This fact implied the predominance of the town upon the Trave, at any rate over the southern shores of the Baltic, and the determination of the towns to secure a trading monopoly of the Baltic, without regard to the interior of the country. The Dutch Frisians were prevented from trading in the Baltic and the Gothlanders were excluded from the North Sea; the maritime rights of both seas, and especially the trade of Schonen, fell into the hands of the rising Hansa, the towns on the south Baltic coast led by Lübeck. Finally, in 1293 Lübeck was recognised as a court of appeal from the Petershof at Novgorod, while the alliance between the towns was renewed. The intervening towns, with the exception of those of lower Saxony, were not admitted to the League, although the Margraves of Brandenburg (1283–1316) made attempts to advance to the coast. At a later period the inhabitants of the town of Brandenburg played no great part in the Hansa League, as they were subject to the territorial power of their overlords. The nucleus of the whole federation was formed by the Wendish towns, among which the free town of Lübeck took the lead. Lübeck's permanent object was to throw into the background the Danish power; this brought many difficulties upon the German towns. As the Danes were masters of the Sound and the Belts, they could always hamper communication between the Baltic and the North Sea. Lübeck attempted to weaken this advantageous position by the construction of a canal between the North Sea and the Baltic. Though the Stecknitz Canal was begun in the first half of the fourteenth century, it was not until the year 1400 that the work was finished; nor did it ever become of great importance, as the system of sluices delayed transport and increased the expense. The canal was closed September 1, 1896 (cf. below, p. 17).

About the middle of the fourteenth century a struggle again broke out between the Germans and the Danes for the predominance in the Baltic, and then it was that the union of the Wendish towns first became the great alliance of the Hansa. Under King Erich Menved (1286–1319) Denmark's supremacy had again been extended to the southern shores of the Baltic, though in a short time it was driven back by the German princes (cf. Vol. VII, p. 29). When Waldemar Atterdag ascended the throne of Denmark in 1340, her power began to rise again. The lost portions of the empire were recovered with the exception of Esthonia, the masters of which were chiefly German knights and citizens. Waldemar sold this province to the Teutonic Knights in 1346. The main territories of Denmark were united, and the kingdom recovered the power which it had formerly possessed under Gorm the Old, and appeared a serious menace to the Germans. In order to secure his power permanently Waldemar wrested the most valuable link from the chain of the Hanseatic towns. Wisby, which remained the staple market of

Novgorod, and which for a long time rivalled Lübeck, was suddenly captured in 1361 by the Danish king, who had a short time previously recovered Schonen, with the Hanseatic towns of Bitten, Halland, and Blekinge. This event led to a firm alliance between the Hansa and the famous federation of Cologne in 1367; the towns from Flanders to Esthonia were united in a great military confederacy. Princes who were hostile to Denmark joined the League, and the proud Waldemar succumbed to the repeated attacks of the Germans. He abandoned his kingdom, and commissioned the Danish parliament to conclude peace. The towns opened negotiations in 1370 at Stralsund and secured important commercial and political privileges; the prince concluded negotiations at Stockholm in 1371 (Vol. VII, p. 32).

D. The Growth of the Slav Powers

Only now does the Hansa appear as an independent political power on the Baltic; though internal dissensions decreased its efficiency, yet in its dealings with the outer world under the leadership of Lübeck it constituted a national power which did not collapse until Poland became supreme in the north. At an earlier period the Hansa had already suffered infringements of their rights. The trading privileges of the German merchants, the maintenance of which they regarded as their special duty, had been disputed upon occasion in the northwest and east; in Scandinavia the union of Kalmar had paved the way for a federation of native merchants, while the Prussian towns had introduced Scottish and English traders into the Baltic. But the chief menace to the powers of the federation was the growing force of the Slav nationality.

The Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia had excluded the Russians and Poles from the Baltic. In 1402 the knights bought the New Mark, and thus impeded Polish access to the coast of Pomerania; but in 1410 the Poles, in alliance with Asiatic hordes of Tartars (Vol. V, p. 501), defeated two hundred Prussian knights on the battlefield of Tannenberg, and the territory of the Order would have fallen into the hands of the Polish inhabitants of the interior had not the Livonian master, Conrad of Vitinghove, sent his marshal to Prussia with a strong force, which, with the help of German mercenaries, secured the peace of Thorn. Fifty years later (466), in a second peace of Thorn, West Prussia and Dantsic became Polish, while east Prussia was made a Polish fief (Vol. V, p. 504). The white eagle replaced the black cross, and the Polish flag became important on the Baltic. In the year 1494 the Petershof in Novgorod was destroyed by Russia, which had been united under Ivan III. The Russian traders advanced to the Hanseatic towns of Livonia. The result was jealousy between these towns and the other members of the federation, as the former began to make the inland trade a monopoly of their own. For another half-century the Slavs on the Livonian coast were held back, but without foreign help "the bulwark of Christianity" was too weak to make permanent head against the onslaught from the east. Denmark and Sweden were divided by dissension. Gustavus Vasa destroyed the union of the Scandinavian powers, introduced the Reformation into Sweden and Finland, and prepared for the conquest of Esthonia, which was also Protestant, an enterprise concluded by his son, Erich XIV (1561). Livonia, however, was left to the Poles, who secured the whole seaboard from Pomerania to Dantsic after the retirement of

Russia (Vol. V, p. 534); about the same time (1562) Courland also came under Polish supremacy. This position on the Baltic made Poland the principal northern power. With strong bases at Cracow, Dantsic, and Riga, extending between the Black and the Baltic Seas, Poland played a considerable part in Western history, and attained a measure of scientific and artistic reputation, supported by her close connection with Rome and Italy. Sweden and Russia were unable to make head against this great power.

The defects of the Polish kingdom, apart from her internal dissensions, were very well known to her contemporaries. She required a fleet to secure the "dominium maris baltici." In the election capitulations (Vol. V, p. 543) a fleet was demanded from the kings, but the jealousy of the Polish Slachta, which had been long growing, prevented the imposition of the taxes which would have sufficed for so great a task. Adherence to the Catholic reaction against Protestantism, in addition to the want of a fleet, undermined the position of Poland, and in the course of one generation this monarchical republic began to totter to its fall.

E. The Supremacy of Sweden

When the great European wars of religion broke out, the Swedish Protestant king, Gustavus Adolphus II, invaded Livonia, forced Riga to capitulate (1621), and defeated the imperial power in Germany (1631). In another generation it was difficult to conceive that any other power except Sweden had possessed any permanent prestige or influence in the north of the continent. No state ever made the Baltic so entirely its own as Sweden. The mouths of the Neva, Dwina, Oder, Elbe, and Weser were under the Swedish flag; Denmark was powerless, and the duchy of Prussia was small and isolated. The rising power of the bold Duke Jacob of Courland, who fitted out a fleet of forty ships, was destroyed in 1658 at one blow. After a breach of the peace Stettin and Riga became Swedish harbours. Russia was weakened by disputed successions to the throne and internal conflicts, was watched by Sweden from Ingermanland and the northern lakes, and was threatened by the Tartars and Lithuanian Poles. When Sweden was considering an attack upon Novgorod and Pskoff, the point for discussion was not the possibility of victory, but its value when gained. Sweden, however, suffered from many defects, which at first were covered simply by the personality of the great kings. The country itself was poor in comparison with its neighbours across the Baltic; its soil was unproductive, and the Swedish kings disregarded their own constitution. Livonia was harshly treated, and boldly demanded the restoration of her national rights.

The most dangerous blow at Swedish predominance was, however, delivered by Brandenburg. After Frederick William, the Great Elector, had secured Further Pomerania and the Baltic town of Kolberg by the peace of Westphalia (1648), he checked the designs of King Charles X upon the country on the Pregel by his clever attitude in the Swedish-Polish war of succession. In the peace of Oliva (1660) the duchy of Prussia was recognised by the European powers as a state independent of the Poles and Swedes (Vol. VII, p. 480). The maritime power of Brandenburg was but scanty, but her army won a brilliant victory over the Swedish troops in the battle of Fehrbellin on June 20, 1675. The Swedish town of Stettin

was conquered by the Great Elector on December 22, 1677; and, two years afterwards, the Livonian army was driven out of Prussia. It was only to internal dissensions within the empire that Sweden owed the return of Stettin and the retention of Swedish Pomerania (Vol. VII, p. 482).

F. The Rise of Russia

The Czar of Russia, Peter the Great, now began to advance from the east upon the Baltic coast. He wished, as he said, to have at least one window through which the Russians could look out upon Europe. Charles XI and Charles XII of Sweden accelerated the fall of their empire by their selfishness and stupidity. The Northern War, which was not inevitable, was badly conducted, and ended in the loss of Stettin with part of Nearer Pomerania (1720), of Riga with Livonia, and of Reval with Esthonia (in the peace of Nystad, 1721). By his bold foundation of St. Petersburg upon Swedish territory, which had not yet been ceded (1703), Peter the Great built a bridge for his nation to the west; by occupying the Baltic coast, which Charles XII obstinately abandoned, he secured predominance for his empire in the north (Vol. V, p. 576). The "dominium maris baltici" which Poland and Sweden had attempted to exercise had disappeared after long struggles, and was never secured by Russia. Notwithstanding the subjugation of Courland (1795) and Finland (1809) Russia was never able to make the Baltic a Russian sea. There has never been a Russian fleet capable of dominating foreign coasts or of compelling the respect of other sea powers. Russia secured her leading position primarily through her land forces. It may indeed be said that the small country of Denmark, through her possession of the entrance to the Baltic and the extent of her maritime commerce, was a greater influence in Baltic navigation than the Czar's kingdom, — at any rate until the Sound tolls were removed in 1857. When the purchase money for this removal was divided among the powers, England paid more than any of the nations living on the Baltic, her share amounting to ten and a half millions of rix dollars, while Russia paid only nine and three-quarter millions, Prussia four and a half millions, and Sweden one and three-fifths millions. These proportions changed when the German Baltic towns were provided by the union with Germany with that great interior market which was their right.

G. The Modern Importance of the Baltic

Who would have predicted at the outset of the nineteenth century that a hundred years later the German fleet would be the strongest in the Baltic? When the Eider Canal was constructed between 1777 and 1784 by King Christian VII, Frederick the Great could regard it as nothing more than "an indication for the future." The French emperor, Napoleon I, occupied Hamburg and Lübeck between 1810 and 1813, and almost entirely destroyed their trade. It was not until Prussia occupied the promontory between the North Sea and the Baltic (1864–1866) that a prospect appeared that the German fleet in time would be able to rival or to surpass Hanseatic and Danish powers.

The discovery of America and its influence upon the Baltic has often bee

exaggerated. Until modern times the merchants of the former Hanseatic towns on the Baltic have confined their commercial operations to the interchange of products with the Baltic territories, England, Holland, and France; Portuguese and Spanish ships are rarely seen in the Baltic Sea. The few wares from America and Australia delivered in the Baltic were chiefly brought by English shipowners. The revival of the German Empire has proved of less value to Baltic trade than might have been expected. The North Sea towns of Bremen and Hamburg have received commerce from all parts of the world since 1871, but the Baltic towns have remained no less restricted than before. Neither the Kaiser Wilhelm Canal, constructed between 1887 and 1895, uniting Kiel with the mouth of the Elbe, nor the Elbe and Trave Canal, opened in 1900, leading from Lübeck to the Elbe ports, have produced any material change in the inland Baltic. The North Sea has two hundred and twelve German harbours, the Baltic only fifty-two. The union of the upper and lower German commercial districts in 1871 brought little advantage to Baltic trade, whereas the North Sea trade made a surprising advance. At the present day (1905) the commerce of Hamburg is almost half as much again as the whole of the Baltic traffic, which is itself barely two and a half times as much as that of Bremen. From 1871 to 1900 the number of German ships in the Baltic sank from 2,080, with a tonnage of 450,000, to 840, with a tonnage of 219,000. In 1904 the figures rose to 847 ships, with a tonnage of 247,000, but the figures of 1871 have never been attained. Only Stettin and Kiel, since the opening of the Kaiser Wilhelm Canal, have shown any great improvement, and the little country of Denmark has almost as many ships as Germany upon the two seas.

It seems that the compensating destiny of the Baltic was never better fulfilled than in our days. In peace, and in almost equal strength, Russian, Swedish, and Danish flags meet upon the Baltic waves. German prestige has revived, but no interests are thereby infringed. The undue predominance of any one commercial power, or its extension beyond its natural boundaries, is hindered by the existence at Kiel of a fleet of war stronger than that of all neighbouring navies put together. In the hands of another power this weapon might become a danger; in the hands of Germany, it is a guarantee of peace and of the continuance of commercial rivalry among the Baltic peoples.

II

THE GERMANS TO THE MIDDLE OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

By PROFESSOR DR. EDUARD HEYCK

1. THE EARLIEST PERIOD: THE TEUTONIC RACES

MODERN Germany has been in the possession of a very considerable number of other nations before the Germans themselves, though these predecessors did but little to accomplish the transformation of the country to a cultivated land. Only the coast line to the southwest of the Baltic was occupied by Germans at a primitive epoch (cf. Section I). Their historical and ethnological relations attracted them less to the mainland than across the waves and straits of the Baltic to the islands of modern Denmark and south Scandinavia.

These admitted facts were formulated by specialists and archæological excavators, comparative philologists and ethnographers, before their acceptance by historians in the narrower sense of the word. The general belief yet remains that the Germans of the earliest historical period should be sought in modern Germany. The idea was based upon the tendency which prevailed for centuries to regard the earliest reports, and especially those of Tacitus, as the basis of geographical theory upon this subject. It was forgotten that, even at that time, districts to the south of the Main were occupied only by a scanty number of German immigrants. On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that "prehistoric" inquiry must not be restrained by stern criticism from unmethodical deductions and conclusions. Nothing is more dangerous than the archæologist's continual wish to arrange discoveries in an intelligible system in chronological tables, and to bring them into conformity with what has been learned elsewhere. Archæology is in this way somewhat to blame for the lack of confidence displayed by historical science in the narrower sense. Earnestly as connection between the two may be desired, it cannot be made carelessly or prematurely. At the present moment this fact has been recognised by all the parties concerned. A conjunction of comparative philology and archæological research, productive of false conclusions, has met with utterly destructive criticism. Anthropologists, who work by excavation, have especially begun to consider their duty of testing ethnological conclusions based upon their discoveries by the deepest and most comprehensive evidence; and at the present day we cannot venture to use narrow or round heads, long or short faces, light or dark complexions, as a basis for ethnological conclusions in isolation, but are forced to consider those non-ethnographical influences which can be

proved to have modified physical development and can be brought under definite rules.

While want of caution may be discovered among the serious students of ancient anthropology, this vice is even more obvious among those historians who have been strongly attracted by the dark and difficult primitive ages. While their eloquence in the exposition of their science exposes their youth, they have accomplished the indisputable service of pioneers and explorers, unembarrassed by authority; they have opened up new paths of inquiry and propounded new problems for examination. It must be remembered that these collaborators have often devoted a whole lifetime of keenest inquiry and vast information to the investigation of one special subject. Whether their work was undertaken in the spirit of the amateur or of the trained inquirer, the conclusions to which they have been led will show. The primitive historical relations of the Teutons with the Scandinavians form a subject which will illustrate our contention. It has happened that inquirers have confounded the east Teutons with the Teutons in general, and have therefore traced the origin of all continental Teutons to the Scandinavian peninsula. Again, the mistrustful indifference of experts has been more thoroughly aroused by the theories of the "Scandinavian home" on the one hand and the Indo-Germanic origin of the Teutons upon the other, which have resulted in Scandinavia being regarded as the primitive home of the Indo-Germanic or "Aryan" races.

A. Geographical Origin of the Teutonic Race

The original home of the Indo-Germanic races is not yet definitely known, notwithstanding many hypotheses proposed by experts. The comparative philology of these races provides no special reason for placing it in Scandinavia. While the proofs adduced by supporters of the theory are little to the point, the history of "prehistoric" civilization can produce many contrary arguments. It is true that in their earliest home the Indo-Germanic races saw the phenomena of winter, such as snow; they knew the beech and birch trees, the wolf and the bear, but no animals belonging definitely to a southern climate. It remains to be explained how it was that the Indo-Germanic tribes left the wide continent of Asia to other races, and established themselves upon a line to the south of the Black and Caspian Seas and of Lake Ural, extending thence to India, thus occupying primarily the Asiatic district of southeast Europe and forcing their way among other races; it must be explained again how they contrived to conquer Europe, and drive back or to hem in the primitive inhabitants in possession. Again, linguistic evidence contradicts the theory of a northern settlement, and the general picture of Indo-Germanic distribution points to some early centre which was situated in Europe itself and must be sought rather in the south. Serious scientific examination has finally pointed to southeast Russia. Since the composition of our text, which was written when the "World's History" began to appear, the question has been modified by the important inquiry of Johannes Hoops, as set forth in his book "Forest Trees and Domestic Plants in Teutonic Antiquity" (Strassburg, 1905); he shows that before the Indo-Germanic tribes divided into Europeans and Asiatics they lived further westward in the district of the beech-tree, that is to say, in central Europe to the west of the line between Königsberg and Odessa. Hoops has shown that the Indo-Germanic

vocabulary agrees most nearly with a home of this kind, both as regards the words which it includes and those which it does not possess.

The totality of the domestic plants and animals borrowed from other sources, while not belonging to the earliest Indo-Germanic tribes, but at any rate to the following age, which preserved its common character and unbroken intercourse, points to impulses and importations from Asiatic districts not lying very far to the north or the east, and therefore not very remote from central Europe. Moreover, the later "west Indo-Germanic" community was able to secure highly valuable elements of civilization from the Mesopotamian countries which appear at the dawn of history. If, however, we remove the Indo-Germanic centre of gravity into the far north, these importations and stimuli to civilization require far more detailed explanation, and the geographical picture of Indo-Germanic distribution loses its natural simplicity. Granting the southern origin, we find the members of this racial family advancing from their somewhat southerly point of departure, following the natural lines of geographical advance, and spreading first around neighbouring seas and bays upon the shores of the Mediterranean and Persian Seas. On the theory of a northern origin, we plunge them into a continental environment, while we reduce to obscurity the fact of the common origin of such words as the Sanscrit "Nāus," the Greek "*ναῦς*," the Latin "Navis," and the Teutonic "Naue, Nachen." We are brought on this hypothesis into a district where the Indo-Germanic tribes could not have developed in security and with freedom of mutual intercourse; where Ural peoples had that preponderance and that unbroken extent which should belong to the Indo-Germans in their first home. Instead of the above-mentioned importations of early Indo-Germanic civilization from Mesopotamia, we should have to look elsewhere for such borrowings.

On the other hand, the steadily increasing dispersion of the Indo-Germanic tribes in later times brought some part of them into close relationship with the Ural peoples, and especially with the subordinate groups of Finnish race (cf. Vol. V, p. 375). Thus Indo-Germans who spread northwards, or somewhat to the north, are the Keltic, Teutonic, and Slavo-Lithuanian branches of the stock. The later Indo-Germanic totality, which was left after the migration of the Indo-Iranians to the southeast shores of Asia, gradually broke up. After this disruption, the several groups lost the sense of common origin, and were consolidated by the steady growth of their own peculiar languages and types of civilization; unintentionally, but none the less entirely, they lost sight of one another, were thrown more upon their own resources, and were forced to develop and extend their individual leanings in the departments of language and civilization. Isolation and the process of consolidation within these groups by no means produced entire uniformity; there was no apparent effort to renounce all relationship with their companions of old. To speak only of the Teutons, they indeed formed an isolated group. But the phonetics and grammar of their language and its vocabulary, their science, their household implements, their mode of life and constitution, their legal conceptions and their religious ideas, display three distinctive facts: in the first place, they were merely developing materials which were the common property of all Indo-Germanic tribes; in the second place, they shared a civilization always distinctive of west Indo-Germanic unity; and, in the third place, they maintained their old connection for a long period with the Slavo-Lithuanians on the one side and with the Kelts on the other, and it was from these groups that they broke away last of all. Further

they never reached a complete and self-contained unity, which was afterwards differentiated by further disruption. On the contrary, they grew as an incoherent group, always united by a bond of connection, and upon occasion by the special tie of relationship. Complete domestic uniformity, however, was never attained, for the reason that their numbers prevented the rapid acquisition of any such ideal, and because their wide extension allowed the old underlying differences to revive and to complete the disruption of the whole group, when reinforced by new points of difference developed in a later stage of progress. These unifying and differentiating processes continue, neither gaining the preponderance, throughout the further stages of Teutonic history, and remain to the present day as forces operative upon the Teutonic nationality by way of opposition and contradiction. As civilization increased, other conditions of difficulty were added to those of mere spatial distance; these were primarily political, and made themselves felt, for instance, in distinctions arising from differences of dialect and the desire to secure a written language.

B. The Teutons and the Baltic

During the distribution of the Indo-Germanic tribes, we find the Kelts advancing from the south and west and preceding the two other groups named in conjunction with them, upon routes which had been unquestionably marked out from early antiquity. The Slavo-Lithuanians, on the other hand, are found to the east of the Teutonic tribes, which thus stand between the two. These Teutons reached the sea upon the shores of the Baltic, while the Indo-Iranians, the Greeks, the Illyrians, and the Italians reached it upon the south. We do not know how far they came into collision with the Kelts, and with the non-Aryan Finnish tribes lying to the west upon the northern line of advance. At any rate, they reached the Baltic long before the Slavo-Lithuanians, and settled there as the western neighbours of the Finnish group.

The chronology of this movement is entirely unknown. We cannot say when the interchange of civilization began which sprang up between the Teutons and the Finns, and continued until historical times. Possibly some more accurate evidence may be obtained by the science of comparative philology, advancing upon the paths marked out by F. Dietrich and W. Thomsen. Such inquiries will show what Teutonic or what Finnish elements were the earliest or came into closest connection. The Finns, at any rate, have retained a number of Teutonic words in extremely ancient form, corresponding almost precisely with the "Primitive Teutonic" which philologists have restored. On the other hand, this Finnish tendency to form loan-words from Teutonic has continued to a recent period; for instance, the Roman word *caupo*, the innkeeper whose inn was used as a shop by the simple Teutons, reappeared among the Finns in the form *kauppias*. Further evidence of the kind is the fact that about the period when Tacitus wrote, and afterwards, the Germans showed far more interest in the Finns than in the Slavs, and Roman authors and geographers obtained much information from them concerning the Finns. This information contained errors such as Germans would make. A branch of the Finns called themselves Quæns, while the Germans called them Finns, in their terminology. Originally, indeed, groups of peoples had no special appellation of their own. It was their neighbours who felt the necessity

of discovering and popularising such appellations. In this way such terms as Welsh, German, Negro, Indian, Finn have arisen. The Germans called those Quæns by their own name Quen (which corresponds with the Greek γυνή and the English *Queen*), and popular etymology then explained the word by supposing a female supremacy to exist among the Finns; this is accepted by Tacitus ("Germania," chap. 45), who gives full respect to all that he hears, but himself makes a fresh confusion of names. The debt owed by the Teutons to their intercourse with the Finns can probably be determined only by the excavations of the archæologists, who have recently discovered a new mode of tracing foreign influence by comparing the style and workmanship of domestic utensils; this clue takes us back through the Teutonic north of Europe to the Finno-Ugrian districts and to the primitive mines of the Ural and Siberia.

As yet we are not aware whether the Teutons reached the Baltic at the point where this coast turns to the north or to the south. As evidence for the first supposition we can hardly regard the fact that the southern Teutons at a later period, with their "protective clothing," their mode of house construction, their astonishing powers of endurance, and many other preferences and customs, appear as a nation living much as the present inhabitants of the north, standing in this respect in a certain contrast to those who lived upon the same isothermal lines. There is, however, no doubt that the settlement of Scandinavia was not accomplished from this point, but only when the southwest Baltic was reached, though we cannot venture to say that the question is solved by supposing an early ignorance of navigation. It has been shown elsewhere (Vol. I, pp. 26, 89; Vol. IV, p. 8) that the ship is one of the earliest means of transport known to mankind. It is, in fact, far easier to travel along the coasts and to cross even open stretches of sea in simple vessels, than to advance overland through uncleared forests and swamps with cattle and carts. It is an experience that forces itself upon the notice of any traveller who visits a forest country or archipelago washed by the sea and not yet open to civilization. From their food it has certainly been concluded that those first inhabitants of Denmark, who left behind them the famous mussel heaps, or "kitchen-middens," were deep-sea fishers and mariners. Confirmatory evidence is afforded by the boldness with which these Germanic tribes, who afterwards belonged to the Frankish and Saxon alliances, ravaged during the first millennium of our era Britain and even more distant shores and coast lines of the Roman Empire. We know, again, how the Vikings, who harassed the Frankish kingdom, crossed the great North Sea upon vessels which could be rowed up rivers; we know what bold mariners were the Goths when they reached the Pontus Euxinus in the third century; even bolder at a later date were the Vandals of Africa; while later again the Scandinavian Waräger (Väringjar, Varinjar, Varanger), who were thorough representatives of the old Teutonic civilization, crossed the Baltic eastwards and reached the Finns travelling as "rowers" (ruotsi, Vol. V, pp. 76 and 436); they reached the Black Sea, and even greater distances, dragging their ships from the Dwina to the Dnieper. There is no reason why the early Teutons should not have borne this character. Water communication wherever it exists is readily used, and a civilization speedily arises astonishing in its complexity. The collections of antiquities from Stralsund, Schwerin, Kiel, Copenhagen, and Stockholm display a civilization with which no inland culture could compare. The similar impression of an early settlement relatively close and endowed with

strong vitality is forced upon any one who makes a personal acquaintance with the coast lands and islands of the Baltic; the old and remarkable prehistoric memorials and remains which are to be found around this sea far surpass anything of the kind upon the mainland.

C. The Three Chief Groups of the Teutons

Their dispersion over the extensive districts of the Baltic produced the same effect upon the Teutons as the Indo-Germanic dispersion had effected upon the members of that community. Local communication which would have favoured the process of unification was replaced by disintegrating influences; a unity that was never uniform, but in course of transition began to break into subordinate groups. These were not formed instantaneously, but they began to arise, and we can speak of north Teutons and south Teutons. The latter are fundamentally identical with the so-called west Teutons, and these are the same as the Germans.

To the north Teutons belong the modern Scandinavian tribes, where they are not of Finnish or Lappish origin, and the Danes, whose early settlements were also upon the southern portion of the Scandinavian peninsula. At the dawn of history the southern Germans are to be found upon the south coast of the Baltic, both in Mecklenburg in West Pomerania and further south, and also upon the peninsula of Schleswig-Holstein and Jutland, which for simplicity will henceforth be known as Jutland. The traditions of the peoples themselves must be accepted as evidence with the greatest caution, and certainly cannot be regarded as providing proof upon problems of such remote antiquity. At the same time, the powers of memory in nations which possessed no writing have been proved to be remarkable; in their simple poems, composed under the reverent and critical examination of the whole community, they created "annals" for themselves, as Tacitus calls them, and we may therefore refer to the fact that the south Teutons, in contrast to their related tribes, know nothing of any sudden change of abode; as Tacitus learnt, they regarded themselves as indigenous. The fact would be true if Hoops were correct in placing the home of the Indo-Germanic tribes about the Baltic and the North Sea, and they certainly were native to the soil in so far as they did not pass the Baltic. Further evidence may be gained by reference to a distinguished example of the above-mentioned powers of memory which is drawn from the excellent "Prehistory of Mecklenburg," by Rob. Beltz (1899). In the Rummelsberg near Peckatel (not far from Schwerin) the widely spread legend of the "Troglodytes" is found; a remarkable fact is that in this legend the kettle plays an important part as one of the table utensils of the underground dwarfs. During the excavations conducted by G. Chr. Fr. Lisch (in 1843–1845) a kettle was actually found. "Unless we assume the coincidence of chance, traditions of a kettle, buried in the depth of a hill, must have been perpetuated from generation to generation, and have survived even the change of population (the Teutons have been succeeded by the Wends, and these again by German colonists)."

(*a*) *The South Teutons.* — It may be asked whether the south Teutons found earlier occupants of their country, and whether other points of evidence can be added to our present prehistoric knowledge which will throw further light upon it.

Literary tradition is silent, but it has been shown that "Hûn" was a national and current appellation of the Teutons before anything had been heard of the Huns; it was not until they had heard of these latter that they proceeded to connect both in use and imagination these two names which are phonetically similar but not identical (concerning further confusion cf. Vol. V, p. 376). According to M. Rieger those Hûnôz, the later Hiuns, are to be regarded as the North German primitive inhabitants, and the Low German expression *Hünengräber* is to be connected with them. In any case, great and splendid constructions, the work of the former owners, which the advancing Germans encountered in the districts which they occupied revived in them the recollections of the Huns or Heuns. When they drove the Romans out of the "Agri Decumates," the granite pillars lying in the wood at Miltenberg, which the sculptors had abandoned, were known by them as Heun or Hein pillars, and finally, with the confusing help of popular etymology, as *Hain* (grove) pillars. In other cases the term "Hüne" has not been so connected, or has in any case disappeared, and we hear merely of giant pillars or giant walls. All this, however, does not definitely prove that the Germans saw or knew the Huns, but merely that they had some conception of them, which was perhaps purely imaginary, and was used as an explanation of these remarkable constructions.

The words in the Teutonic vocabulary, which are clearly borrowed elsewhere but are of non-Indo-Germanic or of doubtful origin, provide little evidence of historical value. One such, for instance, the word "hemp," points to some connection or tradition from the district of the Caspian Sea and Lake Aral, and therefore does not belong to the earlier set of ideas. In view of the uncertainty into which we are plunged, it is interesting to note that philological science is attempting to discover some evidence from the Phœnician traders' language; among archæologists the ascription of objects found in excavating to Phœnician and amber traders is by no means unusual.

(*a*) *Keltic Influences upon the South Teutons.* — Teutonic borrowings from the Kelts are far more obvious. The Kelts were early neighbours of the Teuton; they had retained their sympathy with Mediterranean culture, and especially with the Italians, and had advanced to the North Sea at an early period from the other side. In the case of the many points of linguistic contact between the Kelts and the Teutons, we must naturally separate those elements which are due to common association in late Indo-Germanic times, and the borrowings of a later period, when the Germans came into contact with the Kelts in a second intimacy, and with newly acquired wishes for civilization. Naturally the absence of any permanent geographical division from the neighbouring settlers, and German desire for instruction and capacity to learn, both perhaps acting as alternate influences, made this nation especially inclined from the outset to borrow from others. The Kelts thus first acted as the tutors of the Germans, and this to a remarkable extent, until the Romans relieved them of the task; the Germans then transmitted part of these acquisitions to the remaining Teutonic tribes, including the Slav Lithuanians. Among a large number of borrowings from Keltish etymology were many terms dealing with war and settlement, and especially with means of transport, also the word "riks" or "commander" (cf. Vol. V, p. 438). The Germans, indeed, as a result of their peculiar political system, made no proper use of the term; but the word

became popular as an element in the proper names of distinguished people; for instance, Bojorix among the Cimbri (the later termination, -rich, in Friedrich or Frederick, etc., is the same). Teutonic name-formations of various kinds point to close connection with these recently discovered Keltic sources. At a later period we find names like Flavius, Claudius, Civilis, Serapion; at the time of the Hunnish supremacy we find Hunwulf, Hunigais, with other similar borrowings throughout German history to the time of Jean, Louis, Henry, and Harry, wherever foreign fashion overmastered the Teutons; similarly, in the earliest period, we find the formation of proper names under Keltic influence. From time to time, however, the Germans were obliged to find names for larger or smaller groups of people; at a later period they do not disdain to borrow from vulgar Latin (for instance, Ribuarii, Ripuarii, afterwards Germanised as Reiffer and Reifferscheid). So on the Teutonic side we can show phonetic similarity or parallel formation between Gaulish and German tribal names. Such instances as Brigantes and Burgundians, both appellations of a mountaineering people, explain the fact, though such cases may again be due to chance.

(*β*) *Teutonic Origins of Slavo-Lithuanian Civilization.* — The Teutons received but few elements of civilization from the Lithuanian group during their immediate neighbourhood, and equally little from the Slavs when these latter gradually advanced to their immediate frontiers. On the other hand, Lithuanians and Slavs received much from the Teutons. Their relationship is analogous to that of the Teutons and Kelts. Among other things they gained from the Teutons expressions for the idea of lordship, and received the Keltic term "rîks" and the Teutonic "-walt" and "kuningass." "Kuningass" became the Lithuanian "kuningas," and was used as a distinctive title of superiority, which was applied to the priest at a later date (cf. Vol. V, p. 439); in Slavonic this latter form was reduced to "kuas" and "kneese." Eventually "karol(us)" also became "kral" and "kroll" ("krull"). The Slavonic method of forming proper names was also influenced by Teutonic methods; "vladimir" corresponds exactly with the "walt-" and "-mero" of Teutonic names, and "-mero" (Segimer, Sigmar, Ingwiomer, etc.) appears to correspond with the frequent Keltic termination "-marus," used in proper names. Finally, the Slavo-Lithuanians received from the Teutons a considerable number of expressions dealing with intercommunication and economic facts.

(*b*) *The East Teutons.* — Between the south Germans, next to the Kelts and the Slavo-Lithuanians, were settled for some time, apart from the Finnish peoples, another branch of the Teutonic group, namely, the east Teutons. The name has been chosen by philologists, whose researches are founded upon the Gothic translation of the Bible by Wulfilas, other literary works of an ecclesiastical nature, a few inscriptions upon domestic articles, some scattered words in Latin texts, and numerous proper names belonging to kindred nationalities. These latter lost their original characteristics or disappeared at an earlier or later date. In the seventeenth century we hear of the last east Teutons, namely, the Crimean Goths, of whose ancient, though greatly mixed, language A. Gh. v. Busbeck gave a valuable description in 1555 (Vol. V, p. 153). Philology regards as east Teutons those Teutons of the mainland who were linguistically more nearly related to the northern Teutons than to the western (Germans); so close, indeed, was the relationship

that W. Scherer and Heinr. Zimmer divided the Teutons in general into an eastern and a western stock, and thus rearranged the old division of north and south Teutons. According as these expressions are adopted, the north Teutons must be included among the east Teutons or contrariwise. At the same time the east Teutons on the continent lost all sense of connection with their northern relatives, and either developed independently, or under the strong influence of the west Teutons. On philological grounds, east Teutons include the Goths, together with the Gepids, Rugians, Skires, Vandals, Burgundians, Herulians, and perhaps some earlier ethnographical unities.

The pioneer work of Julius Ficker has thrown light upon these problems from the side of comparative jurisprudence, — a more valuable, because a more conservative source of information. A comparison of the common elements in the earliest legal codes has shown that, besides the Goths and Burgundians, the Lombards and Frisians possessed a system of tribal law closely related to that of the north Teutons. Where the sciences of philology and comparative law proceed side by side in this matter, they support one another entirely, and no contradictory points are apparent. It must only be remembered that the linguistic development of the groups proceeds upon geographical principles and not according to "genealogical relationship," which for historical purposes is practically useless. Thus the Lombards, when they settled to the south of the Alps in the sixth century A. D., carried out the second "High German" phonetic shifting, which is most pronounced in the Alpine districts, and thence dies away as the sea level descends. It is a change that therefore affected those non-west Teutons, but by no means all of the west Teutons, or Germans, and its occurrence invariably depends upon purely geographical conditions. The persistent and comprehensive nature of the change can be best seen in the shifting from *T* to *Z*. Every dialect that shares in this change is known as High German; such are the Alamannish, Austro-Bavarian, Frankish, and Thuringian dialects, while lower Frankish on the upper Rhine is an exception, as the shifting does not take place. Lower Frankish, Saxon, and Frisian form the Low German groups, which do not thus change. A more characteristic fact is the case of the consonant þ (also denoted by *th*) which was eventually lost everywhere on the continent and changed to *D*. The Anglo-Saxons and old Low German immigrants of Britain, who did not share in this general second phonetic shifting, had emigrated before the date when the mainland gave up the þ; in accordance with the previous principles of purely geographical distribution, they thus did not share in that second continental change, in spite of its universal extent. Hence the English tongue at the present day stands alone in preserving the spirant *th*, which was once the common property of our Teutonic ancestors. There is yet a third piece of evidence for the distribution of more recent linguistic changes without reference to ethnographic prehistory. The old Teutonic *ē* became *â*; thus we have for instance the primitive national name Suevi, the proper names Ségimerus, Ingwiomêrus, etc. From the fourth century onwards, among the Alamanni, we find *â* taking the place of this vowel, for instance, in Chnodomar and also in Schwâben. Other early Swabians on the central Danube who were not Alamanni have, on the contrary, their Ríkimêr in the fifth century, while the Franks have their Chlodomêr. Among the Franks the transition to *â* begins about the year 600, and is continued until the eighth century, while in the Frankish parts of the lower Rhine it continues until the ninth century. In Saxon the change is later than in Frankish. This German

transition from *ê* to *â* was also carried out at an early date by the southwest, neighbours of the Alamanni, the Burgundians, who were indisputably east Teutons; for instance, in the name "Godomar."

If at the present day we carefully consider as a whole the legal, philological, geographical, and literary evidence, and any other points of the kind, no doubt can be felt as to the origin of the east Teutons. They are emigrants from Scandinavia who settled upon the continent. They broke away from the north Teutons, whose settlement of Scandinavia from the south need only be mentioned, as we are here treating of "German" history; they afterwards made the return journey. Thus they are nothing more than the early Vikings, who went out as colonists in historical times, attempted to establish themselves, and succeeded in some districts, though driven back in others. A certain number at least of these old east Teutons are by no means a nation which emigrated as a whole, but represent discontented fragments broken away from original communities; they are thus emigrants in the true sense of the term, seeking wider and fairer districts than the rocky forest-land of Sweden could offer. So far as we possess their native legends, we find mention of this emigration from Scandinavia, which is thus a useful confirmation of existing evidence.

Upon the question as to the manner in which the emigration was performed, we have evidence at hand, both for a maritime and for a land route. General experience of other cases would lead us to conclude that the ship was the more usual means of transport. At the same time there is no doubt that the land route through the Danish Islands and through Jutland also played some part.

This question concerns us in the case of the Goths, whose recollections of Scandinavia are preserved by their historian Jordanes in the sixth century A. D., who used earlier Gothic narratives, and also in the work of Cassiodorus the Senator, the chancellor and chronicler of Theodoric the Great. The name, which was originally spelled "Gutans," is preserved in the modern Götarike, found in the extensive districts to the south of the old Swedish territories and in the name of the island of Gothland. At the time when the Roman narrative was written, the emigrant east Teutonic Goths were settled on the coast of the continent in the Baltic districts of the Vistula and about Gutalus (Pregel? or Memel?). The legal codes of Gothland and Götarike in later centuries display points of resemblance which, as we have mentioned, have been examined by Julius Ficker (the same may be said of the mediæval Spanish legal codes, which are fundamentally west Gothic). Jordanes mentions the Greutungs, who formed one section of the historical Ostro-Goths, and were also included among the Scandinavian peoples as Greotingi. Double appellations of this kind are by no means uncommon among the eastern and northern Teutons.

It is supposed that the Goths reached the mainland in part by crossing the Baltic. Evidence, however, of some doubtful value (it is, indeed, our earliest reference to the Teutons) points to a more complicated route. At the time of Alexander the Great, the tin merchant and navigator, Pytheas of Massilia (Vol. V, p. 12), reached the "Gulf of Ocean" near the amber island Abalos, upon his famous voyage to the north, and encountered the Gutones; this name would correspond with the Gutans, if the emendation be correct. Pliny's manuscript, which has alone preserved to us the accounts of Pytheas, has the word "Guiones." The island of Abalos is most probably to be sought on the north coast of Frisia, where

much amber was found; the soldiers of Germanicus also knew of an amber island in that part, known as Glæsaria or Austeravia, the east island. Both of these are Teutonic words. The Romans changed the Teutonic for amber into *glæsum*, and *avia* is the old German *au*, the connotation of which was eventually limited by a loan word for "island." Hence the "Gulf of Ocean" must be that off the Elbe, and the narrator Pytheas must have found the Goths after their migration to the continent. The west Teutons, who were defending their settlements, must have left the Goths in peace, for the moment, upon their east side.

The Rugi once occupied Rügen, and gave it this name. Perhaps it was in consequence of their stay in that island that, as Jordanes tells us, they bore the name Holm-Rügen. Holm is a northern word for island. Jordanes also speaks of Etelrugi instead of Ethelrugi, which is the form we should expect; the phonetic spelling of names by Jordanes and in the manuscript of his work is of no philological value. In Scandinavia are to be found Rygir and Holmrygir. The Rugi also shared in the historical settlement of Britain, and the two divisions of south and north Rugi have been preserved to us in the names "Surrey" and "Eastry." Gothic tradition tells us that the Goths came into conflict with the Holmrügen in the course of their settlement upon the mainland; the scene of the struggle must be sought at the mouth of the Oder.

The earlier history of the Vandals is even more obscure. The various phonetic spellings of their name by the Romans and Greeks show that the accent must have been on the first syllable. About the year 100 A. D. they were settled to the north, between the Elbe and the Vistula, and thence advanced by the line of the Oder.

The name "Burgundians" implies mountain inhabitants (cf. p. 25). *Burg*, a secondary form of *Berg*, first attained this connotation among us at a later period, owing to the fact that the Teutonic art of fortification clung to the old methods of retirement to the mountains for purposes of defence. Hence we cannot be surprised at the word "Teutoburg" for a mountain range. In this case the meaning may be explained by an obvious Roman pleonasm; "saltus Tentoburgiensis" is a pleonasm, as would be "Dale-Karlier-land," "Talmannerland" instead of Dalarne, or "*die Thäler*." The Burgundians have left behind them the names of Borgundarholm and Bornholm in memory of their former geographical position. At a later period they were settled upon the Vistula and in the district of the Netze to the south of the Goths, where their character as mountaineers could no longer be preserved.

The Herulians followed the remaining east Teutons at a comparatively late date, for the reason that they were driven out by the Danes in Scandinavia. Of the continental Teutons they remained the most original, by the preservation of their old customs and by the bold, defiant childishness of their national character. Legend or popular tradition is wanting in their case, as in those of the Rugi, the Vandals, and the Burgundians; there are, however, several signs that their Scandinavian recollections were preserved. Towards the end of the migratory period they were involved in the troubles of their neighbours and reduced to an unsettled, wandering life. Part of them eventually reached the North Sea, crossing a mountainous country, and thence travelled to Scandinavia, where in the modern Sweden they found a hospitable reception at the hands of the Götes (Gautes, cf. Vol. V, p. 437). We have several pieces of evidence that they reserved their right

to return in case their migration should prove fruitless, and that the despatch of successive parties was continued as a regular arrangement. Thus the Vandals, at the time when their African kingdom was flourishing, did not permit their compatriots who had been left behind in Pannonia to occupy the districts reserved for the emigrants in the event of their return.

It would be bad criticism to regard the somewhat meagre traditions of the Lombards as unworthy of critical examination. According to these traditions they regarded themselves as a third part of the people of the Winiles ("the warriors" or "the battle-loving") of Scandinavia (that is to say, of the north Teutons). Ficker has shown the original connection of their legal code with that of the east Teutons; a supposed objection to this connection has been already refuted above (p. 26). As they also carried out the High German phonetic shifting, the Lombards need not be considered as Germans. Moreover, their legal code most nearly resembles those of the Frisians and the Saxons; that is, the isolated group known to philologists as Anglo-Frisians, who form the connecting link between the south and the north Teutons, who had advanced to the north at an early date. During the first century A. D. we find a people settled on the banks of the lower Elbe under the name of the Bards or Langobards (thus named from the battle-axe with which they were armed). Velleius Paterculus said that "they even surpass the usual Teutonic ferocity," and Tacitus observes that "they are respected for their scanty numbers, as they can make head in battle against far stronger neighbours." About the year 165 they left their homes and migrated to Pomerania; thence about 200 they crossed to the right bank of the Vistula, which the Goths had already abandoned, and entered the district of Galinden. About 380 they proceeded through the district of the Lithuanian Jatwinges to the land of the Antes north of the Carpathians (cf. Vol. V, p. 326). Such is the statement of Friedrich Westberg (1903). Had no Lombard elements remained upon the lower Elbe (they were afterwards amalgamated with the Saxons), there would probably have been no local names compounded with Barden, and certainly no Bardengau in the Elbe district about Bardowiek.

To sum up: east Teutons in the general sense of the term were therefore the Goths, the Gepids, the Rugi, the Skiri, the Vandals, and the Burgundians. That they and the west Goths were conscious of any fundamental difference between these groups is impossible. The political and ethnographical ideas of the old Teutons (cf. below, pp. 31 and 33) were extremely simple; they were narrow, and yet open-hearted. That the east Teutons were ready to learn from the west Teutons was a possibility prevented by no admitted opposition between the two groups, but not necessarily forwarded by any feeling of relationship. The civilization handed on by the Germans to the east Teutons is in no way different from that given to the Finnish peoples and afterwards to the Slavo-Lithuanians, and in either case is severely practical. Some of the borrowings of the Kelts from the Germans were transmitted to the east and north Teutons. The same process was afterwards continued with acquisitions derived from the Romans. Apart from numerous objects of daily use, we have the employment of the Roman capitals for indented and Runic writing and the ascription of the Roman days of the week to Teutonic divinities.

(c) *Individual Anglo-Frisian Races.* — At an early period the Frisians arrived at the sea by that westerly path which was afterwards closed to the Lombards.

It was not until a later date that they extended eastward and northward to their near relatives, the Angles and the Jutes, chiefly upon the islands of the North Sea. It will be understood that their exclusive connection with the south Teutons produced similarity between their language and the dialect of that branch, and since the discovery of Frisian linguistic memorials a steady absorption of the Frisian by the Low German dialect has been observed. In other words, the Frisians became part of the west Teutons or Germans in consequence of that course of linguistic and political development which they pursued.

The Saxons, who also took their name from their favourite weapon, preserved legends relating to the arrival of their earliest ancestors upon the continent, which must be considered in connection with the Anglo-Frisian position (which they shared) as intermediary between the south and north Teutons. Though the Saxons were not west Teutons from the outset, yet they entered the west Teutonic group at a comparatively early date, and helped towards the foundation of a special German nationality. With the south Teutons of modern north Germany they formed that permanent confederation to which they have given their name; this confederacy again was subjugated to the Frankish monarchy, while the empire exercised an increasing influence upon the solidarity of the Saxons as upon the Frisians.

2. THE EXPANSION OF THE GERMANS UPON THE CONTINENT

Before Romans or Teutons learned anything of one another, the Germans had been borrowing civilization from the Kelts, upon whom they pressed with slow but irresistible expansion. This expansion (see the map "The Distribution of the Germans and Kelts in Central Europe, from 500 to 50 B. C.," facing p. 131) proceeded in the form of a circular wave. Unfortunately no Keltic Livy or Tacitus has written a history of these events. The sources of our knowledge lie hidden in language, in geographical names, or in the specimens of archæological collections; at the same time, we cannot always share the confidence of those who explain these memorials. Only when the movement happens to touch some nerve in the old Mediterranean civilization does the light of literature flame up and illumine some fragments of the advancing Teutonic band, or of its pioneers and scouts. Then these fleeting events are again shrouded in the prevailing obscurity. Until the time of Cæsar we have only scattered notices of the general migratory movements of the Teutons, and chance fragments or poems pointing to place and time. Such a fragmentary record may be found in the report of Pytheas, and we may thence conclude that the western Germans of the Teutonic advance had reached the mouth of the Rhine about 30 B. C. (cf. above, p. 27). The next mark of this concentric expansion is to be found on the south side; after 200 B. C. the Bastarnæ, indisputably a Germanic tribe, had reached the Carpathians, and part of them were taken into the service of the Macedonian kings as auxiliaries against Rome. The next phenomenon related by Roman contemporaries is the advance of the Cimbri. Then comes Ariovistus.

Of this great advance against the Keltic nationality, shrouded in darkness as it is, we may at least say this: where the Teutons found good arable land they

advanced with steady determination and left no room for the previous inhabitants except for those subjugated members who were bound to pay tribute (Laets). The central mountain district of Germany attracted them neither to form definite settlements nor to enter on a serious struggle; they attempted to move onward. Hence, we may explain the wide wanderings of such tribes. Their household goods and property, animate or inanimate, were carried with them, and their one desire was to secure a permanent settlement upon good arable ground; this was an indispensable condition. Hence, too, we may explain the unusual characteristics of that portion of the Suevi who advanced from the east. Cæsar describes them as undecided, supporting themselves with great difficulty, and going back to an earlier form of communism. Thus advancing from the mountain lands on the right bank of the Rhine, they disturbed the population in the neighbourhood, and made no difficulty in retiring before Cæsar's two advances across the line. The case was otherwise in the year 16 A. D. with the Cherusci, who conceived, though they did not execute, the idea of evacuating the country and retiring beyond the Elbe, only after they had suffered a military defeat.

A. Special Features of the Expansion

The details of this great and general movement are manifold. Sometimes a few emigrants separate from their compatriots. At other times whole populations or federated populations set forth voluntarily; this latter is the rarer case, and was due to the compulsion of war and not to want of land. While some went abroad to seek their fortunes, others, if they felt themselves strong, attempted to found a settlement at their neighbour's expense. Either they conquer, and the tribes they expel are forced to emigrate; or they are driven back by the peoples they menace, who defend themselves in isolation or in alliance until the attempt is given up or the assailants are annihilated, as were the Ambsivares (Amsivares). The general result of these individual movements, which are repeated at many points, and continually disturb the settled populations, is the map of the Teuton peoples as depicted by the Roman geographers and by Tacitus. Any attempt to form from their description an accurate picture of the distribution of the prehistoric groups must be given up as practically hopeless. The confusion and interconnection of the German tribes is extraordinarily complex, and all attempts to arrange chronological tables will end at least a decade out of date. The method of grouping upon the basis of the Ingwäones, the Istwäones, and Erminones as the old "tribes," which has recently been revived, must be abandoned. It is ethnologically valueless, and it is only useful as showing the legendary connection between nations, based as it is upon those early yearnings for legends of primeval origin which are manifest in all nations who think themselves of any account. The German tribes do not descend, but are formed in the course of history, are brought together by the stress of political circumstances, and then attempt to secure a unity by mutual accommodation. Any one who wishes to examine the recent and therefore more intelligible evidence may consider the people of Würtemberg, or of the Netherlands, who have broken away from their old nationalities and have become fresh unities by the amalgamation of very different elements, or the Bavarians of modern Bavaria, who are in the course of this development. At a previous date

the Germans who migrated eastward beyond the Elbe, though of most varied origin, thus coalesced in the districts of the Mark, Silesia, Mecklenburg, Pomerania, and Prussia. Long before came the Anglo-Saxons; before them again the Saxons, the Franks, Alamanni, Baioarii; before them again the Belgæ and others. In later periods foreign oppression, dynastic policy, and deliberate alliances have done much to accelerate such amalgamations.

(*a*) *The Nationality.* — In their historical periods the Germans are seen with no special political or ethnical appellation other than those which belong to their component nationalities, or to their transitory and often fortuitous and fragile federations for political purposes. The nationality is the final great conception of unity, known as the *folk*, or *thiot, diot, deot, diet.* With this alone is connected the idea of a common language, and of mutual understanding in habitual association; the word *deuten* is connected with *thiot, deot.* When fragments of this nationality emigrate, in certain cases they retain the name of their parent stock throughout their wanderings, as is the case with the Goths or Cimbri, or the Charudes, who came from the peninsula of Jutland to Ariovistus. If they become newly settled in an independent unity, they generally assume some fresh title, such as were taken by the Lombards, who were offshoots of the Winiles, and by the Batavi. These were members of the Chatti, who reached the great river island (*Au, Ava*) between the Rhine and the Waal during the general movements before Cæsar's period, and settled there. From this island the Bat-Au, the modern Betuwe, they called themselves Batavi, although they retained the ancestral nomenclature when afterwards providing names for individual settlements in their territory; these names thus begin with "kat." Their legal code is also that of the Chatti. But the two peoples ceased to hold intercourse; the Chatti shared in the phonetic shifting of the second High German transition, while the Batavi retain their older phonetic system even to the present day, as in the name *Katwijk.*

In this later process of name-giving, changing geographical conditions play an important part; we may mention only the further examples of the Ambsivari, who took their name from the Ems, or of the Sigambri on the Sieg, river names which are older and of Keltic origin. These local appellations only come into general use when a settlement has determined upon permanent residence. While Cæsar's Suevi were wandering vaguely on the right bank of the Rhine, or Ariovistus was attempting to found a supremacy on the upper Rhine and in Gaul, with fragments of the Suevi and other adherents (cf. below, p. 36), individual tribal names lost their material character and were all, or chiefly, absorbed in the great and famous federation of the Suevi in the districts upon the Elbe and Havel; all these people called themselves and were called Suevi. But when the iron girdle of the Roman Empire and of Roman policy forced the Suevi to abandon their advance, to leave their neighbours in peace, and to settle perforce in the hill country on the right bank of the Rhine, we meet with their separate tribal names in place of the general term "Suevi." While the Cimbri were migrating, we hear of no other name than that borne by their original stock; but the remnant of them who stayed in Gaul became Aduatici.

(*b*) *The Process of Arrangement between the Kelts and Germans.* — From the North Sea, to Bohemia and the Beskides, the Keltic nationality was spread at

first along the whole line of the Teuton advance, and the Teutons themselves perceived that it was with this nationality they had to reckon. They required some word to connote the totality of the Kelts, and for this purpose they generalised the national name of the Keltic "Volcae" (as the Romans afterwards wrote it) in the form "Walchen;" this is the proper Teutonic form of the word, as the *ŏ* of every Indo-Germanic people becomes Teutonic *ă*.[1] The Kelts already possessed fortified places, which the Germans attacked in vain, owing to their defective skill in fortification and siege work. They had finer and better-made weapons, which the Teutons could only obtain by importation, which proved more or less profitable; for instance, the Cimbri eagerly possessed themselves of these weapons, and considered them valuable objects of plunder. The public life of the Kelts was more advanced, and their military spirit was stronger; in all these respects the Teutons could learn much from them. In spite of these advantages, the Kelts gave way before the more primitive and humbler nation and retired, as in later years the warrior Germans retreated before the advancing wave of the frugal Slavs. The Teutons, who found their north German plains too narrow, advanced by the course of the Weser, and drove back to the Ruhr mountains from the Thuringian forest a set of tribes whom archæologists have regarded as forming a comparatively recent Keltic outpost. With far greater vigour than in the hill country of central Germany they crossed the lower Rhine and proceeded to occupy the Keltic territory. They were not wholly able to expel all the inhabitants, or afterwards to absorb them. They became masters of the country as far as the Scheldt, the upper Maas, and the confluence of the Saar and Mosel; between them, however, remained many Keltic settlements, either in independence or in subjugation, and the invaders began to be absorbed by the Keltic nationality, as afterwards happened to the Franks, the advance guard of the second Teutonic wave of conquest and domination. They became Belgæ, numbering twenty-seven nationalities in Cæsar's time, and still conscious of their Teutonic origin, though only five of the Belgian nationalities living near the Rhine were then actually Teutons. The Batavi formed the connecting link between these Belgæ and the Teutons on the right bank of the Rhine.

(*c*) *The Name of Germans or Teutons.* — With these events, in the Netherlands and Gaul, the rise of the name "German" is connected. As we have already seen elsewhere (pp. 21 and 32) the Germans themselves did not produce this appellation for their nationality, but the Kelts, who felt the need for some such general term. The "Germans" have not, to the present day, developed any general feeling for the necessity of any special designation denoting their philological totality (Germans, English, and Scandinavians). Those scientists who feel the necessity are contented with the old Keltic term, which the Romans adopted, and which German scholars borrowed from them. The Keltic origin of the word "German" is beyond doubt, though its etymological significance is not certain. All that can be said is that it was an expression suitable to denote non-Keltic nations, for the Kelts also applied it to their Iberian neighbours, the Oretani. On the Rhine they gave this name, as Tacitus reports, to the Tungri, who were the first to cross. "Thus the word was extended from its original application to a tribe to cover a whole nation" (Tacitus), and this tribe, first temporarily known as German, resumed its name of Tungri.

[1] Indo-Germanic [and Keltic] *ă* alternates with *ŏ*; cf. Dānubeus and Dōnau.

Cæsar, like Tacitus at a later period, closely examined the general relationship of the peoples established in Belgium, and with the care of an ethnographer, whose researches were guided by the wide political outlook of a rising power, was the first to point out the accurate lines of distinction between Gauls and Germans. Meanwhile it has gradually become clear that the Cimbri also belonged to that mysterious wave of peoples which the Gauls called Germans. Not until after the Cimbrian war, about the period of the great Servile war (Vol. IV, p. 378) does the opinion become clear in Rome, for which Cæsar was the first to give the desired and necessary evidence.

B. The Cimbri

The migration of the Cimbri is one of the numerous subordinate movements among the Teutonic tribes. Its importance is due to the fact that it led to the first immediate collision between Teutons and Romans, and obliged the latter henceforward to devote careful attention to the nations appearing upon the geographical and political horizon to the north of the Alps. It is impossible to dispute the fact of the later existence of a nation of the Cimbri upon the Cimbrian peninsula, by which the wandering bands were absorbed. The inhabitants of this peninsula were in relations with Augustus, surrendered to him the plunder which they had received from the migrating Cimbri, and were settled in a district which was by no means an Ultima Thule for the Romans, whose fleets then sailed the Elbe, who had gained the Frisians for allies, and who were considerably successful in their efforts to acquire a geographical knowledge of the whole Teutonic nationality, including the Scandinavian portion. When, however, these emigrants found their home too small, at what date they started out, how much time they spent in travelling or fighting their way through the Germans upon the south, through modern central and upper Germany, and through the Keltic nations there established, are questions entirely shrouded in obscurity. It is not until the last years of the second century B. C. that we gain any information upon the nature of their migrations.

In the year 113 the Cimbri had reached the north frontier of the Alps; commercial and political considerations had already turned the attention of the Romans in this direction. It was in the process of dividing the Keltic territories that the Romans and Teutons collided for the first time. The Cimbri considered that the world was wide enough for them both, and that the Keltic districts were extensive enough to suffer division into a Roman and Teuton sphere of interest. The same views are afterwards expressed by Ariovistus, and in either case there is no direct intention of challenging or attacking the deeply respected power of Rome. The Cimbri respectfully informed the Romans that they had heard of their victories over the Kelts, and were therefore anxious to secure a friendly accommodation. Whether they are treacherously surprised or openly attacked, the Cimbri gain victory after victory over the Roman armies; at the same time they are ever ready to make peace, send ambassadors to Rome, and continually urge that the Roman government should not oppose their establishment at a suitable point in the Keltic districts. Rome, on the other hand, which had suddenly become conscious of this Keltic question, though not knowing who the disturbers really were, declined to admit their requests, drove away the compliant emigrants from the north frontier of the Alps, and gave them no rest, even in Gaul.

At that point the Cimbri met with companions in misfortune, the Teutones, a great horde of emigrants like themselves, with the exception that those homeless Teutones were more probably of Keltic than of Teutonic origin. Their attempts to find settlements in Gaul, either in the dominions of the Romans or in those of the brave Belgi, had proved fruitless. An invasion of the Cimbri into Spain had led to equally little result, and the two hordes, recognising the unity of their purpose, resolved to march upon Italy. The Teutones chose the road over the western Alps, the Cimbri returned by way of Noricum, which was better known to them, across the Brenner Pass. Closer examination shows that there is more reason to suppose some rivalry between them than any project of military co-operation, such as Rome with her political ideas naturally supposed. It is impossible to say whether the Cimbri were pursuing any definite plan, whether they had resolved with greater determination than before upon the conquest of upper Italy, the most fruitful of the Keltic districts, the occupation of which the Romans had recently begun, or whether they merely wished to compel Rome to buy off their menaces at the price of some final concessions in Gaul. Further, the fact that the Cimbri left their baggage in northern Gaul in the care of a detachment left behind for the purpose, seemed to show that they merely intended a threat. Moreover, when they had driven the German armies out and secured a footing, instead of entering Gallia Cispadana, they spent much time in irresolute wanderings in the district of Gallia Transpadana, which was not yet entirely subjugated by Rome. When C. Marius at length confronted them, they again demanded from him permission to found a settlement for themselves and for the Teutones, as otherwise it would be impossible for them to make peace. It was only by the scornful answer of Marius that they learnt of the previous destruction of the Teutones at Aquæ Sextiæ. On the Raudian plain before Vercellæ, Marius inflicted equal destruction upon them. Of the migrating Cimbri there only remained the detachment which had been left in Gaul; these people secured a settlement among the Belgæ, and their amalgamation with the Tungri produced the Belgian nationality of the Aduatuci (p. 32).

C. Ariovistus and Cæsar

(*a*) *The Advance upon the Upper Rhine.*— The Cimbri were followed by other emigrants, who advanced within the Roman Empire in their northern search for settlements. At the point where the Rhine crosses the fruitful plains and the temperate region to the north of the Alps, Germanic peoples forced their way and settled as the advance guards of the Germanic settlements around the old Keltic towns; the Nemeti appear about Speyer, the Vangiones about Worms, the Triboci about Strassburg. The great river of Keltic name now flowed, as regards its middle and upper reaches, no longer through Keltic territory, or only through scanty portions of it. Throughout the districts of the Main and the Danube the Kelts were thrown into disturbance by the Teutons, were forced into movement, and collided with one another. From the Main to the Alps they retreated before the Teutons and surrendered their country, even before the invaders had determined upon its capture or retention. Thus in the angle of the Rhine, about the modern Baden and Würtemberg, the southward advance of the Helvetii created the "Helvetian Desert," and in this form the land about the Black Forest to the east

remained ownerless for a long period. The Teutons were more than ever anxious to secure a settlement where the soil and the climate would produce a rich and easy life. They were not then the patient agriculturists of later centuries; to that point they were only educated by the necessity for self-content. Their character at this time is rather arbitrary and pugnacious, than hardworking or laborious. While we proceed to base these events upon motives and interests of low standard, we must not judge them with too narrow a mind, or forget that migration begets the desire for wandering. The plains of the upper Rhine attracted the advance guard of the conquerors with far greater force than the mountains of upper Germany, and the sunlit civilization of the west and south also proved an enticement. More successful than the Cimbri two generations earlier, Ariovistus and the bands of Suevi, which he led, were able to make themselves masters of Sequani to the south of the Triboci, to seize the plains on the upper Rhine and on the south, and thence to extend westward towards Jura and the Doubs. The process of Belgian occupation in north Gaul began to repeat itself in the centre of the country.

(*b*) *The Fate of the Keltic Districts settled in Favour of Rome.* — Rome had been greatly paralysed by domestic dissension (Vol. IV, pp. 375–380), and it was high time for her to resume the Teutonic policy which she had carried out against the Cimbri and to secure the pacification of the Keltic district. Cæsar appeared as the great leader of this policy; he began by repelling the Helvetii, who had found life uncomfortable in their contracted settlements which were invaded by other Keltic tribes; exploring bands of Teutons increased their anxieties, and they were therefore seeking a settlement in Gaul to the west. Cæsar's victories drove them back, and he was able to use them as a buffer against the Germans. Ariovistus gave them no help; under the consulate of Cæsar, Rome had sent him presents of honour with royal insignia and had given him the title of a friendly king. When the Helvetian question had been settled Cæsar turned against him. The conference between the two leaders led to no result, and is remarkable only for the fact that Ariovistus was willing to lead his men as Roman auxiliaries if they might remain peacefully in their settlements among the Sequani. But Cæsar was not only anxious but compelled to drive them out; their expulsion was necessary, not only for the sake of the Gauls, but also for that of the remaining Teutonic tribes. An appeal to arms resulted in his favour, as in the case of his great-uncle Marius, whose triumphal monuments he had admired in his youth.

Cæsar was now able to pursue his great object; he proposed to solve the Keltic problem definitely by closing Gaul to any Teutons whatsoever, and making the Rhine a frontier of the Roman Empire. He had preferred not to venture on the experiment of including Ariovistus within the province he was about to create; but this policy he followed in the case of the Belgæ, who had lost their Teutonic nationality and become Gauls, although they offered the bravest resistance. The Belgæ were necessary to him to complete his work; he wished to make them the bulwark of his great province of Gaul, and not to leave them as a standing danger and a basis for marauding raids upon Gallia Minor. He was able to win over the Teutonic Ubii with greater ease; this tribe felt the need of such support, as they were continually struggling against wandering bands of Suevi and other neighbours. When Cæsar closed the inlets of Gaul, these Teutonic struggles upon

the Rhine naturally grew more intense. Such Teutonic bands as crossed the Rhine were destroyed by Cæsar with an utter disregard of his pledged word, even when they were the victims of those same Suevi, whom he regarded as the origin of these disturbances. Against the Suevi he undertook his two expeditions on the right bank of the Rhine, which merely forced that tribe to retire to the interior; these attempts were speedily ended by Cæsar before any disaster could occur. The Rhine frontier, however defective as a boundary, was retained throughout the decade following Cæsar's supreme command in Gaul. When the Teutons, who had been finally driven from their habitations, were admitted to the west bank (as, for instance, the Ubii), permission was given them to settle in definite form. Moreover, during the revolt of Vercingetorix Cæsar had opened a new profession to dissatisfied and restless Teutons by admitting them into the Roman service as auxiliary troops; it was a profession which speedily rose to repute, and was regarded as analogous to the German system of war bands.

It remained to repeat Cæsar's policy on the Rhine, and on the Danube also, before the Teutons reached and crossed that river. This was done by Cæsar's intellectual and political heir, Augustus, through the creation of the provinces of Noricum and Rhætia; the task was carried out without disturbance from the Teutons, whose main body had advanced no further than the Main.

New and more portentous incursions and disturbances broke out in the Rhine district. Rome did not care to remain content with the inadequate frontier line afforded by the river. When a world-empire is on the rise and its neighbours are in a state of political unrest, there is an unconscious tendency to push the frontier forward. Cæsar had secured Gaul; Augustus and his followers attempted to protect the three divisions of Gaul by means of the provinces of Germania. The first and second provinces of Germania were easily and rapidly created, as they were situated upon the left bank of the Rhine and composed of the German settlements already in existence; it remained to secure the third Germania by carrying the eagles of Rome to the Elbe, and thus following the lines of commercial intercourse which had been opened by traders in the frontier districts. Then in the year 16 B. C. the incompetency of the legate M. Lollius produced a general resumption of hostilities.

Nero Claudius Drusus had made the Rhine frontier a strong basis of operations by providing a full supply of forts and garrisons even upon the right bank; Mainz was the central point, while the construction of the Fossa Drusi had made navigation possible at the mouth of the river in the larger delta of the Rhine, which then lay further eastward than at the present time. He had won over the Batavi and the Frisians to accept a position of subjugation similar to that of the Belgæ, under Roman supremacy, had sent a fleet to the coasts of the North Sea and up the German rivers, and had traversed the future province in various directions with his army. Tiberius Claudius Nero, the successor of his brother, who died upon his return from the last great expedition (on the Elbe, 9 B. C.) pursued the same policy. Experience had, however, shown him that the Teutons were most easily Romanised if they were allowed to go their own way, were compelled to acknowledge Roman supremacy, and were left to offer their support, whereas a series of campaigns and premature plans of subjugation were more likely to turn their attention to their own powers and prospects of union. This policy proved, as might have been expected, so successful that the third German province was for a

time brought into actual existence. There was but one opponent to its permanency, Marbod, king of the Suevi, but a second arose in consequence of the blundering whereby P. Quinctilius Varus destroyed the achievements of Tiberius in the year 9 A. D. Marbot, like Arminius, would not accommodate himself to the short-sighted policy or to the ancestral institutions of the Teutonic tribes. It may be asserted that had it not been for the political and general education gained by the young Teutons in the Roman service there would have been no "German Liberator," and that the Teutonic characteristics would not have proved sufficiently strong to resist the process of absorption within the Roman Empire.

D. Conditions and Events during the First Century A. D.

(*a*) *The Constitution and the State.* — The "kindred" (*Sippe*) is a conception which the Teutons derived from their Indo-Germanic ancestors. It existed in embryo in all Indo-Germanic societies, though it was not developed until the period of separation, with the result that the characteristics and even the designation of a kindred are not the same in every case. Among the Teutons the kindred is rather democratic than patriarchal; it is a union of related families or households on the basis of equal rights, and authority exercised by the heads of families. The thorough conservatism under which Teutonic constitutional forms have developed has but little modified the old purposes and arrangements of the kindred even in historical times. In primitive and in later times it remains a defensive alliance, never asking whether a member is "guilty" or "innocent," but protecting him in feuds, blood quarrels, legal processes, oaths, and accepting the responsibility for his actions as long as he is not formally deprived of membership. The kindred is a coherent armed community, and as such forms the smallest unit of the army. It is an industrial and economic guild; the individual household has personal possession only of implements and movable property, among which the house was for a long time included, just as tent poles and coverings were among nomadic tribes.

This economic unity forms collectively with its inhabitants a village, which consequently in later times bore the name of the kindred, just as during the periods of migration resting places and encampments may have been named after the tribe that used them. Until the age of the Hohenstauffen, such local appellations exist as "zu den Sindelfingen." The preposition "zu," denoting possession, thus gains a local significance, while the patronymic (in *-ingen, -ungen, -ing, -inge, -igen*) of the tribal name (Baldingen, Merowingen, Amalangen, Chieming, Frutigen, Kolding, Billingen, Hastings) becomes a distinctive mark of the earliest Teutonic name places throughout the whole of their districts, even in the north. If circumstances compel the abandonment of a settlement previously occupied, the tribe carried with them in their own name that of the previous village, as was the case before settled communities existed. In this way local names wander from place to place.

The district which was occupied by the kindred or its settlement, the village mark, was the property of the community, which was thus a "mark corporation." The distribution of the ground which was carried out at stated periods gave the temporary usufruct to individuals, provided that they observed the conditions imposed on the community; pasture land and forest were for a long time enjoyed in common. The affairs of individual families also came within the purview of the

kindred in its character as an economic corporation, so far as families could affect the common possession of property or of labour; thus, for instance, the kindred exercised a right of confirming marriage contracts, and the appointments of guardians. Hence the separation of the individual from his kin, or opposition between the individual and the kin, was an unexampled occurrence at the outset of the historical Teutonic period.

About the beginning of the Christian era these conditions in other respects were of a very primitive character; a general organisation existed only in the form of kindreds within the mass of Teutonic tribes who were connected by a common nationality and language. This organisation was first extended by the necessity of concluding and of turning to practical account alliances of peace between the tribes. Thus federations composing several kindreds arose; these acted as corporations upon important occasions, and these corporations were a kind of judicial court. It was not a court which could decide or pronounce upon points of law, but it could hear agreements upon questions of compensation, when such questions arose and the kindred concerned were not in a state of antagonism. In such cases the court provided that the kindred upon which compensation or performance was obligatory should perform its duty; there was as yet no conception of a penal code. The old name for this larger conjunction of kindreds is the "hundred," or, in the northern provinces, *herad, herred, harde.* The term is derived from the numeral "hund," a hundred, probably the highest number which the original Teutons possessed. We cannot, however, venture to conclude from this term the existence of a numerical limit to the corporation. Any attempt of the kind is met by the most obvious contradictions; for instance, the hundreds are not extended or contracted in correspondence with the change in population. The term "hundred" was merely an indefinite expression, which might connote ten multiplied by twelve, just as much as ten multiplied by ten (the Teutons also possessed the term "great hundred"); the term is no more mathematically accurate than the usage of our more educated age, when it sends a thousand kind remembrances or speaks of millions.

The state, or, as the Teutons said, the *folk*, was formed at some date which we cannot determine. For the latter expression the term "army" is practically equivalent. Both were only formed gradually and slowly. The folk originated like the kindred and the hundred, though in another manner and direction, from the need for peace and mutual help. Hence its origin is not to be regarded as instantaneous or uniform, or its organisation as entirely systematic. It grew slowly and simply; in the historical period we find Teutonic races with this organisation only in midway process of development. A number of neighbouring and related kindreds and hundreds united to discuss the ways and means which should enable them to protect their territory and property against foreign enemies, and also, if occasion arose, to improve their position at the expense of others, by some common attack. The object of the folk is therefore wholly military. It is upon this basis that all its organisation is founded; the council which deliberates and frames proposals, the popular assembly (folk-moot) of the men capable of bearing arms, the law of crime (cowardice, desertion, and treachery), and the consequent rise of a criminal court and of punitive power. This new criminal code has no connection with the hundred courts, which are essentially different. The assembly of the folk is injured in its military capacity by such transgressions; it becomes a court, and proceeds to find a suitable means of executing punishments (by the hand of the priest). The

transference of punitive rights to the hundred courts is a far later regulation of the state, when it had become a regulating and highly organised power. At the moment the earlier corporate elements, the kindred and the hundred, are used only to forward its military objects as component parts of the "army." To put the matter another way, the kindred and the hundred exist as military elements, and there is neither opportunity nor reason for any other mode of division. On the other hand, in order to subserve the military purpose, the kindred permitted certain interference by the state with the rights of guardianship reserved to themselves and to their families by pronouncing youths to be capable of bearing arms before the popular assembly, that is to say, capable of being enlisted in the army upon the occasion of its muster. At the same time there is no actual interference of the state with the family power of the household; capacity to bear arms and patriarchal power are totally different characteristics.

With these creations we reach the ideas of people and patriotism, or, as we should say, of state and citizenship. Here, again, there is no settled system or line of demarcation. We find members of a nationality breaking away, founding new settlements and becoming independent peoples, as in the case of the Batavi and the Mattiaci, who were fragments of the Chatti. Had Ariovistus been permanently successful, the seven fragments of different nationalities, which at the least he led, together with the several thousands of the Charudes, who followed him, would have grown into one nation. We find remnants or fragments of one nation absorbed into others; for instance, the Aduatuci, a remnant of the Cimbri, amalgamated with the Tungri, who had "first" come to Belgium; the Sigambri, again, absorbed the remnants of the Usipetes and Tencteri. Sometimes there is merely a temporary amalgamation, and a later dissolution or attempt to dissolve; thus the Rugi, whom Theodoric had led to Italy, attempted, after the murder of Ildebad, to choose a king of their own, and broke away from the Ostrogoth nationality. Thus the history of the old Teutonic nationality is for these reasons, as well as for their continual migrations, far too complicated a period to be represented for more than a moment by maps or general views. For the same reason, it is impossible to use the information at hand as a basis for speculations about unknown prehistoric times.

(*b*) *The Federations of States and the Great Nations.* — A repetition of the process of folk formation can be observed, though taking place upon a higher plane and in wider form. The co-operation of the folk naturally did not abolish war from the world, but separated war and peace somewhat more clearly from mere disorder, and made the difference of more importance. Thus the impulse which had led to the formation of the folk remained operative, and conjunction was no less necessary than before. As formerly a number of tribes and hundreds were forced to combine, so now folk unions were driven to union. Hence the corporate character of Teutonic history as a whole regards the peoples as a transition form of the corporation, next in point of greatness to the allied state. This body again produces a transition to the "nation," in which the modern Teutons have arranged themselves, both to-day and at an earlier period, if at the cost of great effort.

This movement, which concerns the folk unions, began in prehistoric times, but it remains in constant and steady progress at the outset of German history. The possibility of achievement depends upon the equalisation of competitive con-

current forces. The existence of the folk union also exercises a retrograde influence. It is everywhere existent and recognised; its objects and its independence have overshadowed the individual of flesh and blood, just as the modern Mecklenburger or Westphalian is forgotten in his general German nationality. Thus the Bructeri or Cherusci as such did not forget the desirability of conjunction with others, but only when confronted with immediate danger did this possibility become urgent in their eyes; they must first become accustomed to a wider political outlook and do not care to see their customary traditions dimininished in importance. Thus at the time of primitive German history we find the Germans in a condition of more or less transitory federation, and only gradually do we find individual federations becoming permanent associations in the form of states. Possessions of the folk as such are not straightway abandoned to the federation when a folk enters into an alliance with others; it remains an independent and political community, and will have nothing to do with any federal institutions except the federal assembly, which for practical reasons is indispensable and generally employed. Under these circumstances some compensating element was required to guarantee fidelity to alliances, and this end was gained by oaths, religious forms, the union of divinities, and the subjugation of the alliance to the rule of the divine deities. When an Amphictyony thus formed (Vol. IV, p. 275) has remained some time in existence, a federal name, used for definite purposes, takes the place of the individual folk names. The need for an earlier historical origin is then felt, and finds expression in the form of epic legends or, what is a different process, in artificial ethnogonies and other fancies of the kind. Many alliances survive the course of only one campaign, while others remain in existence only in intention, and can be aroused by the impact of some strong collision. There is evidence to show that the federal religious festivities once celebrated were not necessarily allowed to collapse (the gods are not to be offended), though the political meaning of the federation may have passed away. We find, moreover, alliances which may have remained operative for a long time, perhaps for centuries, though they at least remember their great importance only in its after effects and tradition; this is true of the Suevi at the time of Tacitus. Apart from this we shall hardly be able to connect the isolated tracks which wind between different groupings of the German nations, or to gather any fruitful or definite result from the traditional fragments of ethnogonic ideas. Similarly, only in a few cases can we venture to say whether later states have grown up out of individual folks or from the remnants of alliances.

(*c*) *The Leading Families.* — To form and keep alliances in permanent connection, to secure the adherence of allies, and in this way to unify diverse tribes, remained the privilege of the kings and princes. The rise and formation of their houses was naturally based upon the individual folk. Any federation, no matter how democratic its basis, which pursues military and political objects, stands in need of leadership, not only in war, but also in deliberation. On the other hand, every man who desired power, or to work for the general welfare, was obliged, by the special character of the old Teutonic kin organisation, to act upon every occasion in concert with his kindred. He exists only for the kindred, and his every performance is open to discussion. Without the kindred he cannot rise to preeminence, and it is not himself, but his kin, that he brings into the foreground and

makes the leader upon national questions. The question thus requires examination upon this side, when we find leading personalities and their policies, however democratic and well founded, involved in domestic difficulties and overwhelmed by them.

On the other hand, at the period covered by the Annals of Tacitus (an excellent source of constitutional information), we find at times within an individual folk a leading kindred, with its precedence secured in a surprising measure, — provided in fact with a special legitimacy, which it carefully preserves in such cases as marriage contracts, which are confined to members of equal rank, in those instances which we can fully examine. *Stirps regia* is the name given by Tacitus to such a family, — the noble family of any specific nationality. This family provides the *furisto*, or princes, from whom generals are chosen according to their capacity. These leading men, known as *kuninge* from their membership of the *kuni*, or noble kindred, regarded as a family, are as yet far removed from any monarchical power or sovereignty; the latter belongs in all things to the general assembly. The princes settle only unimportant matters by mutual discussion, in accordance with a custom which arose for obvious reasons of convenience, and their decisions are subject to the consent of military, national, or popular assemblies. To the latter they have to bring their decision on the more important matters that have arisen in their own discussions. They are leaders in this assembly and naturally the most important orators, though anybody may speak who has the prospect of getting a hearing. In view of the solemnity with which even savages conduct debate, no doubt shyness forbade attempts to speak in most cases. All this is excellently described by Tacitus,[1] who also shows how the princes ruled *auctoritate suadendi magis quam jubendi potestate.*

For leadership in war and military expeditions the appointment of definite persons was a necessity. A duke was appointed, or sometimes two dukes. But the latter system was tried only in primitive times and was not always successful. The holder of the office is drawn from the noble families in every case of which history speaks. Tacitus is in agreement with this statement, though Beda emphasises the princely character of the dukes among the Saxons in Britain. But even in face of the enemy their power is by no means unlimited, and their careful plans are occasionally overthrown by the jealousy of their blood relations and the success of these in persuading the military assembly, which met for executive purposes as the folk.

The process by which a particular kindred took a leading part and became a noble family of historical import cannot be explained in full detail. There is some evidence to show that the noble family was able to pledge the credit of the whole, as the conceptions *adal* (noble) and *odal* (property) differ only by a distinction of vowels. Again, the princes in the time of Tacitus received gifts in virtue of their leading position, voluntarily given by their tribal associates; as such Tacitus mentions animals and field produce. It is, however, especially important that the manager of the general assembly should be in communication with the all-powerful gods. The members of the noble kindred provided the national priest or priests, built, administered, and maintained the sanctuaries of the gods (which we must imagine as buildings provided with subordinate offices, sheep, cattle, and pasture, and

[1] "Germania," chapter xi.

an adequate temple precinct, notwithstanding a passage in the "Germania" which Tacitus himself contradicts in the "Annals"). The division of the plunder taken in war remained the privilege of the popular assembly until Merovingian times, though no doubt the leaders gained certain preferences in this respect. A somewhat larger share of prisoners of war — that is, of slave labour — was assigned to the leading kindred, and enabled them correspondingly to extend their agricultural operations and their property. Thus their capacity and their public work received not only a social and political return from the whole community, but also secured an increase in property which steadily consolidated their position. Moreover, the formation of the above-mentioned ideas of a penal code threw the execution of punishment into their hands, as they were the priests who offered to the gods the sacrifices which appeased their wrath and secured their friendship; they alone could attack the person or the life of the Teuton. A further advance in power, which began at the time of Tacitus, may be seen in the fact that they not merely conduct the popular assembly, but also divide among themselves the right to visit and conduct the assemblies of the hundreds. We must not underestimate the high power which was given them by the system of retainers, or by their right of training the young to the use of arms where their parents or blood relations were unable to perform this duty. Here we have already in embryo the later right of tutelage exercised by the crown.

Hitherto we have spoken only of the princes as members of a noble kindred. As regards their mutual rank and position, they are all able to raise equal claims in point of right. Flavius, the brother of Arminius, renounces the royal position which belongs to him among the Cherusci, as he is remaining in the service of the Romans; but his son Italicus, who was brought up as a Roman, afterwards concentrates in his person all the rights of the kindred of which he was the sole remaining representative. These rights were respected as long as possible by the nationality which was especially mistrustful of new men and of innovations. Only in very special cases did the Teutons raise a new royal family by choice from one of the other kindreds in opposition to the old family. The overthrow of Marbod or Ermanaric, and the consequent confusion, does not prevent the resumption of their hereditary privileges. By the elevation of Witichis the Ostrogoths broke away from the younger house of the Amali, which had become alienated from the people; at the same time one of the first acts of Witichis was to secure a kind of right to share the legitimacy of the Amali by his marriage with Mataswinta (cf. p. 66). Though every member of the royal kindred has the right to come forward as prince, we find in numerous cases that not all of them actually exercised this right or would have had any prospect of success. The different blood relations of Segestes and Arminius are politically without any public reputation, although they enjoy not only princely rights, but also the princely title (*princeps*, in Tacitus). The same remark is true of the brother of Segestes and of his son, although his noble birth and consequent right to act as national priest induced the Romans to call him from the third Germania to act as priest at the Ara Ubiorum, which had been set up at Köln for the three Germanias, and corresponded to the altars of Rome and Augustus, set up at Lyons over the three Gauls. The father of Arminius, who outlived the greatness of his son, was of no political importance whatever. This narrower clique of *principes* (among the Cherusci, Segestes, Arminius, and his uncle Ingwiomer), who busied themselves with public affairs, attempted to deter-

mine the decisions of the people, and thus arrived at an attitude of mutual jealousy more or less pronounced.[1] The majority of the popular assembly follows now one, now another, of these leaders, according as he has been successful or represents the most popular view. No one of the nobles, or *kuninge*, was able to become the sole and privileged ruler in the later sense of the term, with definite and political privileges assured to him for a definite time; they were continual rivals, attempting to secure the momentary and fickle approval of the majority.

(*d*) *Marbod and Arminius.* — None the less, individual personalities appeared, sufficiently powerful to break through the restraints of the kindred and to concentrate its collective rights within themselves. Ariovistus is not exactly a prince of this character. He succeeded in securing permanence for his personal position as prince and duke to an extent unusual, and not in accordance with the principle of tribal constitution. This he achieved by securing definite authority over the Gauls and also from Rome (cf. above, p. 36). Marbod, on the other hand, is an overthrower of tribal legitimacy after the manner of the Cæsars. The Marcomanni, who belonged to that portion of the Suevi which had entered the Rhine district, had settled in the lower Main, and were there stationed when Augustus and Drusus began that policy which brought them between two hostile frontiers from Mainz and Rhætia. Marbod then led his people up the Main to the comparative seclusion of Bohemia, which had been abandoned by the Boii (cf. Vol. V, p. 231). Marbod had become a politician in the school of the Roman military service. He attempted to make himself a power equal to the Romans. He was a man of high importance, who, attempting to break through the restrictions of his native birth, had developed his capacity, driven away his blood relations, absorbed their rights, and founded the continuance of his supremacy on a basis of militarism, and also upon the predominance of the Marcomanni over other Teutonic peoples. His rule was obeyed over an area extending even to the Lombards at the mouth of the Elbe. Thus he appeared as a rival acting against the Romans on the east front of the Teutons to secure supremacy for the Teuton sphere of influence, and his rivalry was the more formidable as the existence of such despotism generally depends upon unceasing effort and extension. Formerly it had been important for Rome to save the Keltic districts from the hands of the Teutons, who, though an incoherent force, were advancing upon every side; and so now the question arose whether the district occupied by the loosely united Teutonic peoples between the Rhine and the Elbe should belong to Rome or to Marbod.

Such being the situation and the opponent, the former policy of Tiberius, to overcome the Teutons by peace and not by the challenge of campaigns (p. 37), proved inapplicable. After careful plans and preparatory expeditions through Germania, which showed him that the popular opinion of the Germans was inclined to support Rome and its policy rather than the supremacy of Marbod, he began his double attack upon the kingdom of the Marcomanni by a simultaneous advance from the Danube and the Rhine in the year 6 A. D. At this dangerous moment for Marbod, a revolt broke out in Pannonia and Dalmatia, and Tiberius was occupied with its suppression until the year 9 A. D. Marbod, who could hardly have sur-

[1] These questions have been discussed in greater detail in the essay "Die Staats verfassung der Cherusker," in the "Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher," 1895.

vived had he not given some diplomatic assistance to this revolt, calmly reverted to his old relationship to Rome, as a supreme king of equal weight with the emperor, and pursuing a like policy.

The third province of Germania was not to be lost to Rome on that account. Augustus had been able undisturbed to place the garrisons on the Rhine at the disposal of Tiberius for the subjugation of Pannonia. In Germany on the right bank of the Rhine the diminished Roman troops held their winter or summer camps in time of peace; the surrounding tribes and their princes who could be won over by the grant of empty distinctions admitted the claim of Roman supremacy, and the governor exercised the rights of levying taxes and of summary jurisdiction. The action of P. Quinctilius Varus, however, in either of these departments, went far beyond anything that the patient Teutonic tribes had hitherto borne in the way of pressure. Hence it became possible for Arminius to rise in opposition to Segestes, the friend of Rome, to deprive the latter of the leadership of the Cherusci, to secure the alliance of the other peoples on the right bank of the Rhine, to lead them cleverly against the position of Varus, and to destroy that leader with his army of Roman soldiers and Teutonic auxiliaries (from the peoples of the North Sea) in the Teutoberg forest (9 A. D.).

Arminius had returned no long time previously from the Roman service. C. Julius Cæsar, to whom the south Teutonic relations with Rome owe their beginning, had introduced the custom of using German troops as Roman auxiliaries. We must remember to distinguish between migrating tribes in search of land and the adventurous raids of bold companies. Cæsar was acquainted with Teutonic invasions of Gaul in either of these forms. When he discovered the urgent need for cavalry to deal with the last great revolt, he had employed the enterprising spirits of certain mounted troops of young Teutons. Whether or not this was really intended as a last resource in time of need, from that time forward German auxiliaries become a regular and extending branch of the Roman service. Thus, while the Roman state crushed the Teutons or attempted to confine them within boundaries, it opened its armies to this nationality by the offer of employment. Leaders of such barbarians became Roman officers, generals, administrators, and high officials. The Roman armies gradually lost their nationality and became a foreign force, consisting chiefly of Teutonic troops, paid by Romans, fighting for Rome, but unable to prevent the overthrow and disruption of the empire, and destined one day to seize Italy, the last remaining province of the empire, for themselves under the leadership of Odoacer. At the moment the use made by the German nobles — that is, by the members of the leading kindreds among individual peoples — of the instruction which they gained in the Roman service and brought home with them, is sufficiently remarkable. We have already spoken of Marbod. The *eques Romanus* Arminius when he led the revolt against Varus had no intention of following the precedent of the Cimbri and Ariovistus, by requesting the Romans to settle a time and place for a battle or for a judicial decision by the judgment of God. War indeed was *orlog* or *ur-lag*, and *lag* means law. Arminius, however, had been trained in the Roman school, and he paid his teachers in full for all their treacherous attacks since Noreja.

We know but very little of the ideas which inspired Arminius, but if in the joy of his triumph he had cherished the ambitions of Marbod, his capacity would have been unable to cope with the mass of opposition which he encountered. The

prestige of Segestes revived, and the rivalry between himself and Arminius continued for many years with varying success. The younger man was helped to recover his preponderance by the indefatigable efforts of Germanicus, the son of Drusus (cf. Vol. IV, p. 413), who held command upon the Rhine, to repair the defeat of Varus by campaigns against the Teutons. Segestes was eventually forced to take refuge with the Romans, together with his relations and adherents, who were obliged to follow him, and to abandon the field to Arminius. Germanicus might lead Segestes, whose company he had not compelled, in triumphal procession, but the fact that his ally was no longer in his own country was a wholly unexpected result of this struggle for Rome. Such was the opinion of Tiberius, who was now upon the imperial throne and saw this fresh confirmation of his old theories as to Teutonic policy. He put an end to the campaign, considering that if the third Germania was to be reconquered it could be better secured by peace than by war. The province, however, remained lost to Rome; and this was, as Tacitus says, "without doubt" the personal achievement of Arminius. He saved the Germans on the right bank of the Rhine from becoming Roman provincials, as those upon the left had become, in which process large and capable numbers of German population were lost to Germany, and thus he actually became, not merely the liberator, but actually the saviour of German nationality and of German history.

The Roman abandonment of punitive measures left Arminius triumphant during his own time. "In battles against Germanicus he fought with varying success, but as a leader of war he was unconquered," — thus Tacitus summarises his achievements. The tribes on the right of the Rhine were free, and owed their liberty to him. Among the Cherusci he had but one serious opponent, Ingwiomer. He now put forward the claim of supremacy over the Cherusci, and as Segestes had formerly gone into exile, so now Ingwiomer took to flight and went to Marbod. This fact expresses the whole change in the political situation. In place of the Romans, who had given up the conflict, Marbod led the opposition against Arminius, who was also confronted by Marbod's championship of the "freedom" of the country between the Rhine and the Elbe; the people who had hitherto obeyed Marbod now deserted to Arminius. An appeal to arms led to no clear decision. Marbod, however, was not triumphant; his despotism had begun to totter, and soon collapsed entirely. One of the nobles whom he had driven out, Katwalda, returned from exile and seized his position, but only to fall himself the more rapidly. Katwalda was soon living at Fréjus under Roman protection, as was Marbod at Ravenna, while their respective adherents had left the country and were settled by the Romans in the frontier district on the Danube. The "kings," however, of these Suevi — the name which they now resumed — were chosen by the Roman Emperors themselves.

Thus we meet with a new and clever system, introduced by Rome; the evils of tribal supremacy were utilised by Rome, by the help of her power and the weight of her name, to raise one man to high positions, who now became the *rex* though entirely dependent upon Roman patronage, in place of the *Stirps*, which was a continual source of disturbance. In this way the Romans gained considerable successes to the north of the Danube, even amongst the Quadi and Marcomanni. This German kingship was not, however, based upon the Roman policy, but upon the slow and systematic disregard of common family claims, — a process which could only be achieved after centuries had elapsed. On the other hand, it

will be perceived that this Roman policy was extremely likely to stimulate ambitious Teutonic nobles to secure a despotism with (or better without) Roman help, though such supremacy could only be secured for individual persons and not necessarily transmitted by inheritance to their children.

Among the Cherusci also the Romans were able to introduce "their" king. After the fall of Marbod Arminius found no obstacle to the task of making his leadership and his policy a permanent basis of settlement. He wished to "become king," in the words of Tacitus, who speaks of him as *regnum adfectans*. In the course of this attempt Arminius was overthrown by the existing members of the noble kindred whose rights were infringed by his efforts (*dolo propinquorum cecidit*). The principles of public right and the actual state of affairs were in opposition to the claims of this man. However, German tradition long remained faithful to this liberator, and at the time of Tacitus his fame was sung beyond the limits of the Cherusci in those epic poems in which the Teutons, for want of a written language, preserved their history.

At the death of Arminius a generation of conflict within the noble family confused the succession until the year 47. The only remaining representative of that house was the son of Flavius, Italicus, who had been brought up among the Romans. The invincible ideas of legitimacy raised this last member of the family, the nephew of Arminius, to the leadership of the nation, and with the support of the Romans Italicus entered the district of the Weser, which he had never before seen; he was now personally a *rex*, as the *Stirps regia* depended entirely upon him; he was sole king because there was no other *kuning*, no other man belonging to the noble family (*kuni*). But the cessation of political faction was an inconceivable result. Misunderstandings arose, and partisans from the struggles before the year 47 rose against Italicus. In vain did Italicus urge their want of nobility, as Tacitus expressly explains, and show that no right existed except that concentrated in himself; struggles began, and Italicus was forced to flee to the Lombards, who were then settled on the lower Elbe, to secure their interference. Further events are unknown to us; we are only aware of the depths to which the old prestige of the Cherusci sank, and of the fact that fifty years later their princes or kings were not the blood relations of Arminius. Instead of the Cherusci, their old rivals and opponents, the Chatti, became the most important people in western Germania.

(*e*) *The Limes.* — Our scanty knowledge of the history of Italicus shows plainly enough the embarrassments which inevitably arose from the well-devised Roman policy of protecting dependent kings, in view of the fact that the kings themselves did not stop at considerations of legitimacy. Even when the Romans fought with the Chatti and other Teutons in the course of the first century, no great achievement was ever attained, and the triumphs which the emperors celebrated before the Senate and people of the capital were but too plainly fictitious. The true inwardness of the Roman policy consists not in these struggles, but in the great technical labour, which lasted for decades, of establishing or protecting the lines or frontier. The several lines of the Rhine and the Danube, regarded as frontiers, were isolated unities and as yet unconnected; in the district of the upper Danube, on the wooded heights of the Baar and the Black Forest, which were as yet occupied by neither Romans nor Teutons, and also in the fair plains of

the Breisgau, the ownership of the land was a doubtful question, and its occupants always changing. The angle formed at the northeast by the upper Danube and the Rhine formed a deep wedge between Rhætia and upper Germania. While the world empire was still advancing, or while advance was contemplated, indecision on this point could be settled by a general advance of Roman authority either to the Elbe or elsewhere. When the intention of advance had been abandoned, it was necessary, before the Teutons reached the old Keltic territory, which was now ownerless, to close this wedge-shaped opening and the "Helvetian Desert," since known as the Agri Decumates (cf. above, p. 35), and to make the Danube and the Rhine the common frontier line from Pannonia to the North Sea. Such was the purpose and the meaning of the line of communication drawn from Kelheim to Rheinbrohl; the separate fortifications and protected lands were eventually united into one great fortified boundary line.

3. THE RENEWED OR SO-CALLED GREAT MIGRATIONS

ROME had now established her frontiers; the time of expansion, of attack and counter attack, had ended, and a respite follows. Then comes a period of defence and loss. From the Black Sea to the North Sea the Teutonic nationality surges over the frontier and breaks through the boundaries erected in Dacia and in the coast lands of the Pontus Euxinus; some rapid advances are driven back, but they remain a presage foreboding the inexorable rise and advance of a current that can no longer be checked. The material cause of these movements is not, as before, an increase of population which has grown too dense to be supported by the rude forms of pastoral life and primitive agriculture and is therefore forced to send out migrating bodies; in this case we have to deal with a general advance from the east, which can be recognised by its effects and by contemporary accounts. It resulted in a general shifting of nations and eventually brought the whole Teutonic world into movement.

A. THE ADVANCE GUARD

SIGNS of this movement become evident from Rhætia, against which the Chatti made a disturbing advance, to Pannonia and Dacia. The Teutonic world was in a ferment throughout its southern boundary, — an effect which points to a great number of previous changes in the unknown interior. The Marcomanni advanced to the Danube; the Lombards had left the lower Elbe for the most part and were following an easterly direction; the Vandals who were formerly settled in Silesia also started out. Marcus Aurelius spent half a generation fighting against these Teutons, and the still more obstinate Jazyges of Sarmatia (Vol. IV, p. 444), with the result that the proposed organisation of a Sarmatian province was abandoned, and Commodus permitted the settlement of Teutons in the frontier districts of the empire on the Danube. The "pores of the empire" were beginning to open to the Teutons. The Goths, again, who before the year 200 had been driven from the lower Vistula, had gone upstream and turned to the east about the Carpathians; about the year 200 they appear on the Black Sea and on the frontier of Dacia.

After a decade of struggle by land and by sea, Rome surrendered Dacia to the Goths after an expensive defence, and the first great province was lost to the Roman Empire. Aurelian was forced to surrender it, as Rome itself was threatened by the Alamanni, whose marauding bands passed through Rhætia into the peninsula itself. The policy of using the Teutonic tribes as a buffer was now shown to be purposeless and inconsistent.

B. The New Alliances

After a momentary attempt to cross the Vistula, the Lombards turned to the southeast and thus joined hands with the east Teutons, while the forces of the Alamanni advanced from the southwest. They came forth from the districts on the Elbe above the Lombard settlements and also from those upon the Havel and Spree. For a wide distance round the Elbe and to the right of it the country was abandoned by the Teutons, and room was made for the Slavs who desired it. The Alamanni were the nucleus and the remnant of the old Suevian federation and clung closely to this name, though they did not meet with recognition by other tribes on this account. In the first place the Alamanni no longer represented the old confederacy as such; during the migration other nationalities, who were not members, had joined them. Moreover, there were besides themselves many other Germans, who had also been Suevi, extending from the Marcomanni and Danubian Suevi in the southeast, along the whole line of the Roman frontier, to the hill country of the Rhine. These double titles have remained to the present day, and the name Alamanni has never been adopted by the Suevi or Suabians themselves except under the influence of scholars in later times.

The Alamanni marched towards the frontier of upper Germania, while the east Teutonic Burgundians followed in their path. These two nations pushed the Chatti and their adherents to the north, after driving them to abandon their previous attempts upon Rhætia and destroying their prospects in the southwest. In consequence the Chatti became a member, if not the principal nation, in the union of the "Franks," which extended from the central Rhine to the North Sea, and appeared as the rivals of the Alamanni throughout the westward advance upon the Roman Empire.

The year 213 marks the beginning of the struggle upon the frontier line itself; two generations later the Alamanni overran the Agri Decumates and settled there. In that country they formed a denser population, as is shown by old local names, than in their previous settlements to the east of the boundary; they had now reached the land under Roman administration, which had already been under cultivation and found in consequence a larger extent of arable land, and probably learned a more productive form of agriculture. But at the beginning of the fourth century this temporary satisfaction came to an end. Bands of Alamanni had long before been making raids beyond the Rhine into Gaul; larger bodies now, advancing for purposes of occupation, overran the province of Alsace and the district of the Vosges. Once again the military power of Julian drove them across the Rhine by his great victory of 357 (Vol. IV, p. 464). But Julian's death soon followed, and Rome was unable to prevent their return.

The Alamanni of the fourth century certainly formed a confederacy. Their several component nationalities pursued, upon the whole, a similar policy; but they

had methods of war and peace peculiar to themselves and even in their chief undertakings against the Romans they did not appear absolutely united. In the case of the individual peoples the leadership is at one time in the hands of one man, and is at another conducted by a commission of near relatives; in general the administrative and selective power within the *Stirps regia* (p. 42) had advanced considerably, compared with the time of Arminius. By what process a uniform nation was produced from this confederacy of the Alamanni we do not know. In any case, this further development began before the period when they were subject to Chlodwig. The districts occupied by the component nationalities are in the course of becoming districts, *gaue*, of the nation of the Alamanni; for instance, in place of the district of the Lentienses we find a "Linzgau," and the whole is ruled by a kingdom.

The details of the process by which such a federation became a coherent nation are known to us only in the case of the Franks. They also advanced steadily from the left bank of the Rhine in the fourth century. They too were checked, though not driven back, by Julian; notwithstanding his victory at Toxandria, he left them in possession of the country between the Scheldt and the Maas, which they had occupied a short time previously. In the third century the Franks had proved a burden and a danger to the Romans, by the incredible boldness and extent of their maritime enterprises. Now, however, they appeared in forces confined almost entirely to land; in other words, marauding raids had been given up in favour of permanent occupation.

The Franks themselves had been driven back by the Saxons, the third of these important and recently formed federations of the west Teutons. The origin of the federation and its name must apparently be looked for in Nordalbingia. The federation extended so far westward that it embraced the old Cherusci, and from thence it turned northward towards the Rhine, at the expense of the eastern Franks, and almost reached that river. The traditional task of maritime raids upon the Roman coasts, which made the process of conquest a maritime affair, became a monopoly of the Saxons; they were thus employed to a far greater extent than the Frisian coast dwellers, who formed a settled people and were content with coasting voyages.

To return to the Franks, the characteristics of their federation and constitution corresponded with those of the Alamanni. The intermediate step between the federation of nationalities and a uniform nation is seen in the fourth century; it is the cohesion of two allied nationalities, the Ribuarii on the Rhine, and the Salic Franks nearer the sea. In the fifth century we find the Ribuarii alone provided with a royal dynasty of their own.

The emperors of the house of Constantine and at a later date the regents of the Roman Empire, including the Ribuarian Frank, Arbogast, fought against the Rhine Teutons incessantly and often with ferocity. Chiefly on this account the imperial residence was temporarily transferred to Trier. The abandonment of this residence and the surrender of Gaul to the Alamanni and Franks and of Britain to the Saxons was not forced upon the empire until the time of Stilicho, and this retreat was due to the action of other Teutonic tribes and to the approach of danger in another quarter. The action of the Alamanni had formerly thrown Dacia open to the Goths, and the Goths now became the agency which opened eastern and northern Gaul to the Alamanni and the Franks.

C. The Goths

The Goths, who were divided into the subordinate divisions of the Visigoths and Ostrogoths, had extended greatly in their settlements on the lower Danube about the northwest and north of the Black Sea. So late as 375 the Visigoths were still suffering under the neighbourhood and the rivalry of individual tribal princes, for as yet the old tribal elements of the Tervinges, Taisales, etc., had not been entirely absorbed by the Gothic nationality. Among the Ostrogoths, on the other hand, the noble family of the Amalunges or Amalinges (the old language made no difference between *i* and *u* in this termination) had produced a powerful national chief, by name Ermanaric (Hermanrich, Vol. V, p. 320). His power is said to have extended over the Goths and the related east Teutons, over the Slavs and the nations of that Ural group to which, among others, the Esthonians and Finns belong, to the shores of the Arctic Sea. So wide an empire could never be coherent, and the invasion of the Huns in 375 shattered it at one blow. The unity of the Ostrogoths was broken by repeated dissensions between the remaining Amali and other noble princes, in the course of which the Huns appeared, now as adversaries and now as allies, and secured the mastery of all the Ostrogoths without trouble.

The Visigoths had made a vain attempt to prevent the Huns from crossing the Dniester. Athanaric, the prince who had hitherto possessed the greatest prestige and power, retired to the mountains of Transylvania with a number of his people, while the princes who had attempted to revolt and maintain themselves against Athanaric with the help of Christianity which was making its way into the country, asked and secured from the Roman Empire treaties guaranteeing the reception of themselves and their people within the empire. Bands of Visigoth converts to Christianity, who had been driven from their homes, had already entered the empire at an earlier date. The empire undertook to provide for their maintenance until they could begin agricultural operations and reap their harvests. This opportunity was turned to scandalous account by the Roman administrative officials, who strove to enrich themselves indefinitely at the expense of the Goths; the straits to which the settlers were reduced eventually brought about the Gothic revolt, which proved successful and ended with the slaughter of Valens on the battlefield of Adrianople (378). Thus a great Roman army had been defeated on Roman soil by barbarians hard by the capital of Constantinople, and for the first time for centuries a triumphant enemy was in the midst of the country. Though the Goths met with no open resistance in the Balkan peninsula, they were unable to capture any towns. At the same time this does not necessarily prove that they had any intention of making themselves masters of the country. In this situation the west Roman Empire succeeded through the Magister militum Theodosius in resettling the Goths within the boundary of the empire, as peaceful peasants performing military service. With the help of their forces Theodosius, who had been appointed co-emperor, starting from Aquileia in the east, conquered Arbogast, the regent who held the imperial power in the west, and established the unity of the empire. This result endured only for his lifetime. In either half of the empire, both Greek and Latin, he was succeeded by regents acting for his sons; these were Rufinus in the east, and in the west the Vandal Stilicho (cf. Vol. IV, p. 468 and Vol. V, p. 33).

Alaric, of the Visigothic noble family of the Balthi, the leader of the Visigoths in the battle of Aquileia, was the first to impress upon his nation the knowledge of the fact that Rome no longer had power to command the Goths, but was in their hands. He had been the originator of the plan "of founding kingdoms with his own forces instead of obeying strangers." The consent and approval of his nation made him military king; noble families who had formerly claimed to lead retired to the background and did not reappear until after his death. The first enterprises of the Visigoths, who revolted against east Rome, proved fruitless. Alaric was in the same position as Fridigern; he was able to march through the peninsula without resistance, but could not tell what to do with the power he had gained. In fact, he suddenly betrayed a certain timorousness before the vast fabric of this Old World civilization, which even in its weakness appeared invincible.

Stilicho did not allow the opportunity to pass of acting as champion for the helpless Roman Empire; he did not, however, propose to free the hands of the Byzantine government by any decisive victory over Alaric. With the assistance of Byzantium he concluded a compact by the terms of which Alaric and his followers were to be settled in Illyria, Alaric himself becoming commander-in-chief in that imperial prefecture. Thus the Goths were thrust in between western and eastern Rome, and Stilicho might expect to have their forces ready at his disposal, especially against the east, should necessity arise. The situation, however, was entirely changed by the difficulties which the west Roman court threw in the way of the regent's policy. Stilicho had ordered Alaric to prepare for an attack upon east Rome, but was obliged to countermand his orders at the command of the emperor. Alaric demanded compensation; Stilicho championed his request, but the emperor declined, whereupon Alaric led his people, who were under arms, against Italy. The result was a wholly unintentional co-operation and connection between the Gothic enterprises in the east and those of the Alamanni and Franks on the upper Danube and Rhine. The western half of the empire, the political outlook of which had for a long time been limited by the jealousy of the east, was suddenly confronted by the danger of immediate destruction at the hands of barbaric hordes. The capital of Rome, which had been recently fortified by Aurelian against the marauding raids of the Alamanni, was abandoned by the court, which transferred its residence to the almost impregnable sea fortress of Ravenna. Once again Stilicho drove Alaric and the Goths out of the plains of the Po, which they had overrun almost to the western Alps. This success was only secured at a dangerous price, involving perhaps permanent loss, as Gaul and Britain were almost entirely deprived of their garrisons, of which they were in urgent need.

Shortly afterwards, Stilicho with the same troops destroyed the bands of Radagais, to whom Alaric's advance had pointed out the way; they were a gigantic army of emigrants, composed of east Teutons and Suabian Germans, who had already crossed the Apennines and reached Fiesole. This band had reached the central Danube in a state of unrest, the reasons for which apparently continued. As, however, the invasion of Italy was a failure, other bodies of the same kind advanced by the Danube, broke through the positions of the Alamanni, and crossed the Rhine in 406, some of them remaining in Gaul, while the main body reached Spain, where they founded the kingdom of the Vandals, the Alans, and the Suevi (Vol. IV, p. 490). Their forcible passage through the territory of the Alamanni

proved a benefit to the Burgundians, who had long been hostile neighbours of the Alamanni and had been prevented by them from advancing. They now followed this band to the Rhine, where they stopped, and founded a kingdom about Worms, one of the few tangible historical events in this general history of change and migration, which has, however, found a special and tragical illustration in legend and poetry.

Stilicho was unable to use his victories for the restoration of the west Roman prestige, or to take new measures to secure the northern provinces which had been abandoned owing to force of circumstances. He ended his life in the course of a court intrigue (408), and a contemptible paroxysm of panic against the Teutons ended in the massacre of the women and children of the very troops who had just saved Italy. The warriors who had suffered under this visitation then turned to Alaric, who now found no army to oppose him. On several occasions he made himself master of Rome and of the whole peninsula as far as Ravenna. If he wished to occupy Italy permanently, it was necessary to secure his possession of the corn provinces of Sicily and Africa, without which Italy might well be starved out, under the stress of opposition from the east Roman Empire. On a journey to the Straits of Messina the Visigothic king died in the year 410 (Vol. IV, p. 469).

After some hesitation his brother-in-law Athaulf gave up an attempt to found, as he expressed it, a Gotia in place of a Romania, — a fact which points to some similar idea entertained by Alaric. Athaulf was convinced that the "unredeemed simplicity" of his Goths made it impossible for them to follow the Romans as masters of a civilized empire. Thus a convention was concluded with Ravenna; the imperial court which had seen Gaul overrun by Burgundians, Vandals, and Alans, and partially absorbed by Franks and Alamanni, placed the Visigoths in the south of this province. Gaul, which was now to receive the "unredeemed simplicity" of the Goths was at least upon an equality with the Italy of those days in point of culture; many characteristics of civilization which had decayed and died in Italy, especially literature, were still cultivated in Gaul. Athaulf's ideas were largely influenced by the emperor's clever sister, Placidia, who became the wife of the Goth, and was especially anxious to see Honorius master of Italy. It was intended that the Visigoths should receive their province in south Gaul as federal allies; Rome then might persuade herself that she was acting for the protection of this province, then threatened upon every side. After some months of internal and bloody confusion among the Visigoths and after a barbarian reaction against the relations of Athaulf with the Romans and their emperor, which ended in his death, an arrangement was concluded upon these lines. This arrangement rather favoured than prevented the possibility that the Visigoth community might develop into an independent empire, side by side with the west Roman court, which ruled Italy from Ravenna.

D. The Vandal Geiseric

Their settlement in Gaul and a certain understanding with the policy of Ravenna had turned the Visigoths against Spain and the Teutonic powers in that country. But before these questions could become acute, the Vandals under King Geiseric evacuated the peninsula, and left only their name, (V)andalusia, to the

southern districts which they had inhabited. The far-seeing Geiseric then availed himself of the hostility existing between the imperial regent, Aëtius, and the African governor, Bonifatius. This latter, as commander of the only province which had as yet been spared invasion, regarded himself at least as important and supreme as the master of the other provinces; Italy was to him no more than a province, owing to her dependence upon Africa for her corn supply. In 429 the Vandals crossed the straits; they soon overran the country and finally conquered Carthage. They occupied the Balearic and Tyrrhenian islands, and made a footing on the shores of Sicily, while their fleet was supreme in the Mediterranean (Vol. IV, p. 241). It seemed that the Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts were steadily falling into the hands of the Teutonic nations. The retirement of the Vandals from Spain proved of advantage neither to a revival of Roman power in that country, nor to the little kingdom of the Suevi, but placed the Visigoths in the position of future masters. Rome was again in that position which she had occupied before the Punic wars, with the difference that her power was now upon the decline.

Rome, however, still possessed the tradition of a policy superior to that of the barbarians, if wielded by a clever hand; she could replace the decaying forces of her citizens by mercenaries. In view of the horrifying loss of Africa and in opposition to the east Teutonic power that was there rising, Aëtius felt the need for some temporary success of the Roman arms. For this purpose the Burgundian kingdom of Worms appeared weak enough, and it was certain that neither the Alamanni nor the Franks would help it, as it had pushed itself between them. An occasion for war was easily provided by some infringement of Roman rights in Gaul. With the help of the Hunnish bands Aëtius destroyed the aged king Gundikar and his kingdom in 437 (cf. Vol. V, p. 321). The homeless remnants of the Burgundian people might become a source of general disturbance in east Gaul, while the Gallic problem could only be settled by their complete subjugation; the Roman ruler was therefore obliged to give personal consideration to the matter, and after some years settled them as federal allies in Sabaudia on the lake of Geneva at the frontier of the Alamannic conquests on the southwest.

The Huns had now but a short way to go in order to reach the Rhine. They were already masters of the Teutonic peoples on the Noric Danube, so far as these had not retreated before them, under pressure from the expeditions of Radagais and the Gallic invasions of the Vandals and Danubian Suevi; certain Vandals still remained in Pannonia among other tribes in subjugation to the Huns. Their employment against the Burgundians had already shown the Huns the road westward. This same employment, however, had inspired Geiseric with the idea of inviting the Hun forces westward, to further his own political aims. Geiseric recognised that the Visigoths even now might become the principal opponents of the Vandal empire; they were a rising and a conquest-loving nation, and as all other directions had more or less been closed to them by the Teutons, they would be forced to expand along that line which the Vandals had followed forty-five years previously.

Thus the famous advance into Europe of Attila, the leader of the Huns and allied peoples during the year 451, was chiefly due to the diplomacy of Geiseric. In accordance with this policy the Visigoths and Aëtius formed the main line of resistance. Notwithstanding the indecisive result of the battle on the plains of Mauriazen (Vol. V, p. 323), Attila speedily abandoned the attempt.

The plundering raid which he undertook upon Italy in the following year, which was opposed by Aëtius and not by the Visigoths, displayed even greater indecision. No definite plan of changing the situation in Central Europe seems to have been entertained by the Hun monarch. On the death of Attila in 453 the empire of the Huns speedily collapsed (cf. Vol. V, p. 324). The subjugated east Teutons and Suevi secured their freedom under the leadership of the Gepids, while the east Roman Empire recovered its courage for offensive measures, and for those Asiatics a new period of nomadic life began.

E. Odovacar

Geiseric remained master of the situation in the West. In the confusions which followed the fall of Aëtius (454) he appeared in Rome as arbitrator. As if he were gathering plunder from subjugated territories for his capital, he shipped objects of value, works of art, and trophies from Rome to Carthage. Between east Rome and Africa, Italy now appears as a province the fate of which had not been definitely decided. While the east Roman Empire was anxious to secure the existence of a west Roman emperor who should in reality be east Roman governor in Italy, the Teutons simply occupied the country as they pleased. No attempt of the kind was made by the Vandals, who would only have hampered their action by such occupation, or by any other emigrant nation, but only by the Teutons, who formed the standing army in Italy. Their leader, Odovacar, was a noble, most probably belonging to the east Teutonic tribe of the Skires. When his troops settled in Italy as the future population and became proprietors (their desire for land was the main reason for this change), Odovacar was able to assume the title of king. As large estates had long been increasing in Italy and as economic prosperity had been shattered by the constant diminution of labour, this change betokened a social and economic improvement. There was no resistance within the land, and the Roman Senate declared its satisfaction with the rule of Odovacar, provided that he secured the emperor's consent.

The undiminished continuance of the Roman Empire and of its universal supremacy remained not only unquestioned by Italian ideas, but also by the Teutons in Italy (Vol. V, p. 36). The Byzantine emperors had recently wielded the imperium which existed unimpaired. The Byzantine government had despatched Julius Nepos as emperor of Italy (Vol. IV, p. 472); he, however, was obliged to retire to Dalmatia before the adroit upstart Orestes, the successful maker of emperors, and Patricius, the father of Romulus Augustulus. The fact that Odovacar now secured the fall of Orestes was but another satisfaction to Byzantium, though there was no prospect of restoring Nepos to Italy. It was necessary to conclude a treaty with Odovacar recognising him as a dependent king, as formerly with Athaulf and Wallia, to whom the empire had previously abandoned parts of Gaul; but an attempt was made to secure some theoretical supremacy over Italy. Through Odovacar the Senate proclaimed the abolition of the Italian imperial dignity, which had always been more or less dependent on east Rome (Vol. IV, p. 472). By way of compensation east Rome was asked to grant Odovacar the title of Patricius and admit the legitimacy of his position with regard to the Italians. Rikimer and Orestes had been Patricii, had ruled as such,

and acted as emperors without making their power dependent upon east Rome; the request was thus by no means unreasonable. The concession was accordingly not refused, though not officially confirmed.

Such were the events of 476. Odovacar certainly never suspected that his achievement in overthrowing the west Roman Empire would be the starting-point of a great historical period and that historical science would treat his reign as a landmark. The mapping out of such periods is merely a matter of practical convenience, for in the progress of history every event marks a transition (cf. Vol. I, p. 15). On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that the importance of the events of 476 is not merely confined to the replacing of Nepos and Orestes by Odovacar, but is accentuated by a long series of previous events and by the possibilities which were laid open for the future. Moreover, as the remaining Teutons recognised in Italy a Teutonic and not an imperial court, many obstacles to their development, though of a somewhat imponderable character, were removed; as Odovacar was not a supreme authority over them, the quondam west Roman province now seemed for the first time to be left in isolation, or abandoned to those who desired to extend their power. Thus the settlement of the old Roman Teutonic army in Italy is connected with further changes in west and central Europe.

4. THE AGE OF THE FRANKS

A. The Franks

The Franks were predestined by the nature of their constitution to surpass or to outlive the other Teutonic federations which shared in the migrations, and to prove, in spite of many vicissitudes, the true ancestors of German history. This success was due to historical circumstance, and not to any special national capacity, such as the theories of Taine would presuppose. Careful examination will show the mistake of deducing the fortunes of a people from its origins, or from its national character, which in any case can only be accurately observed at a comparatively late period and is no less a product of history as exemplified by them. For instance, the inhabitants of Würtemberg, Switzerland, the Margravate of Old Baden, the Catholics of the Black Forest, the old Austrians of the Breisgau, are all of one and the same Alamannic origin; yet how great is the difference between their respective capacities and temperament! How upon such evidence can the characteristics of the primeval nation be discovered? How phlegmatic is the north Bohemian Germanic, and yet how little is this a characteristic of his blood relations within the German Empire! The characteristics and the achievements of nations and their component elements are expressed in their common experiences and circumstances, which exert an educative influence slowly or rapidly, as the case may be; should these change, the effects are apparent only a few generations after the change has taken place. Immutable national types — that is, types which can suffer no change — are unknown to history.

(*a*) *The Federation.* — About the time when the petty Teutonic tribes of the continent were permanently amalgamating in alliance with larger nationalities,

the Franks appeared in the whole of the lower Rhine districts. In the second half of the third century they were known to the Romans by this name. That this name was intended to distinguish the peoples whom it denoted as being "free" compared with those within the Roman provinces on the left bank of the Rhine, seems improbable; it is more likely that the name, as among the Saxons and others, was adopted from some military weapon, and only at a later period became the designation of the dominant people of the Franks, and also an honourable appellation. The chief nations which formed the Frankish federation are the Chatti, Chattwari, Chamavi, Sigambri, Bructeri, Ambsiwari, Canninefates, Kugerni, and Batavi; the latter, a fragment of the earlier federation of the Chatti, had previously migrated to the district at the mouth of the Rhine. Thus the north and south extremes of the federation appeared as closely related.

In the case of individual nationalities the royal family is invariably retained; a purposeful and vigorous federal policy is called forth only by the necessities of some important war with the Romans. At other periods raids are made by individual tribes, or rather by enterprising bands sent out by the tribes, and for this reason the tribal names are preserved by the Romans throughout the fourth century. After that period they disappear behind the general name, Frank. The individual tribes become Frankish districts, which remain independent military communities, with their own royal families, developing their legal rights in isolation. Among the Chamavi, a traditional right of this kind retained its force for centuries, long after one reigning tribal family, that of the Merovingians, had secured the domination of all the remaining Franks, and an equalisation of constitutional rights had been secured, at any rate among the two larger groups.

These two groups formed a transition stage on the road to a uniform constitutional system, and were provided by that general amalgamation of tribes into federations, of which we have spoken above (p. 50); these groups appeared as the Ribuarii and Salii. The connection of the Salic Franks with Saal, Salland, Salhof, Salweide, is not very striking in view of the strong contrast between the Franks on the shores of the Rhine and the "sea Franks," while the latter branch may be shown, philologically, to have gained their name from the word "Salhund," meaning a "sea-dog." It has also been urged, and perhaps correctly, that the most southward, or upper Franks, who advanced their settlements beyond the Moselle and later to the Maine and beyond the Neckar, should not be included among the Ribuarii. In that case the great people of the Chatti would form a special group in the federation, side by side with the two above mentioned. Questions of this nature must remain open, the more so as specialists upon Teutonic history, such as J. K. Zeuss and W. Braune, object to the derivation of the name of Hesse, from the Chatti, whereas the derivation is defended by Otto Bremer and others.

The Empire often fought against the Franks with military success, and the name of Julian was as terrible to them as to the Alamanni, but these wars did not produce permanent peace. Moreover, the Romans were enabled, by the loose composition of the federation, to play off one tribe against another, and to take discontented nobles with their followings into their own service. As regents of the empire, Arbogast, himself a Frank, and Stilicho repelled the Franks by force. When, however, Stilicho was obliged to recall the troops from Britain and the Rhine to protect Italy against Alaric, the Franks did not forthwith overrun Gaul; a settled peasant population, even at a stage when property ownership is unde-

veloped, must have more cogent reasons for abandoning their homes in a body than the possibility of exploiting a subject population in new territory. It is more probable that they gradually spread into Gallic territory from their previous boundaries, as the superfluous and enterprising elements of the population felt the need of migration, and preferred to make fresh settlements upon Gallic soil rather than open up fresh ground at home. Their occupation was carried out according to the usual economic forms; and the question must remain for the moment unsolved, whether the Franks thus advancing left any of the Gallo-Roman population in the area of their new settlements. Hitherto the possibility is better attested by the existence of Frankish and also of Walloon laets, and by the fact that Latin documents are sealed with a Roman signet ring by King Childerich, than by the proofs which an examination of Frankish place names is supposed to yield. In any case the Frankish language was predominant in the districts immediately acquired.

The upper or Chattian Franks advanced to the Moselle, Nahe, and Saal. After Aëtius had destroyed the Burgundian empire of Worms, they also occupied this district; that final success of the Roman power upon the Rhine, if intended to intimidate the Franks, produced no permanent effect. This movement brought the Chattian Franks into competition with the Alamanni, who were also extending in that direction. Sooner or later the question would require an appeal to arms. The Ribuarii advanced over the districts of Eifel to Triers. At an earlier period the Salii had advanced from the old settlement of the Batavi to Toxandria (p. 50) into the land between the Scheldt and Maas. Although the Romans were highly indignant at this "presumption" Julian himself preferred to leave them undisturbed; it would certainly be wrong to say that they appeared in Julian's campaigns as the most distinguished of the Franks. After the year 400 they advanced by the Scheldt, on either bank, towards the Sambre and the "Kohlenwald," where the carboniferous strata appear on the northern slopes of the Ardennes, that is to say, nearly to the modern Franco-Belgian frontier.

(*b*) *The Earlier Merovingians.* — About this period the federation as a whole possessed little importance; in the year 451 portions of the Franks fought both for and against Attila. The Salii were still under the royal families of their component nationalities. We observe, however, that as soon as the darkness begins to recede in the course of the fifth century, the kingdom exercises a leading influence, which grows clearer as the nationality extends in area and begins to pursue a definite foreign policy. In particular the Salian Merovingian family (for the name cf. p. 41) consciously turned to account the immediate neighbourhood of the Roman dominion, which still existed by the side of its own people in Gaul.

The Merovingian king, Chlodio (a nickname derived from some more formal name which is not known), the first historical personality that emerges from the mists of epic and etymological legend, extended his empire at the beginning of the fifth century to the Somme from the districts which were still called after the former Belgian Tungri. It would be a mistake to estimate the culture or the character of the early Frankish kings by the scantiness and the barbarity of our sources of information, or to regard them as standing upon a lower level than Odovacar or the Visigoth kings. The Merovingian who is mentioned after Chlodio, Childeric, was master of the Franks and the provincial population of Roman Gaul.

as king he attempted to fill this double position, like the kings of other emigrant peoples. The Franks might confidently anticipate, when they occupied Roman Gaul (concerning its condition, see the special section further on, especially p. 144) that they would be received as saviours, rather than meet with any determined resistance. Their entry was marked by no special struggle, any more than that of the other Teutonic hordes who had invaded Gaul since the outset of the fifth century. Apart from them, the Alamanni remained masters of the country with the Visigoths, and the Burgundians in their new home in Sabaudia. At the time of King Childeric, the only part of Gaul in alliance with western Rome was that north of the Loire, which was held by Aegidius, as permanent governor; in 464 he was succeeded by his son Syagrius, who, twelve years later, was made independent master, by Odovacar's action, over this Gallic remnant of the moribund west Roman Empire.

So far as the policy of these first Merovingians can be observed, they seem to have rendered military service with some profit to the Romans and their governors in northern Gaul, against many opponents, of whom the Visigoths and the Alamanni were the most important, and also against the Saxons, who were attempting to make their way into the country from the Atlantic. Thus they continued their old service under Rome, though with greater independence. But in this district also, the help of the federated barbarians was speedily followed by their antagonism.

(*c*) *Chlodwig.* — The general trend of Chlodwig's policy has often been examined; the dexterity has often been pointed out with which he alternately planned to secure the amalgamation of the Teutonic and Roman populations and to keep the balance between them. If our information for this period were as extensive as it is for later centuries, the prudent simplicity of Chlodwig's policy would probably vanish before the revelation of the many-sided and complicated relations which are usually maintained even by states the civilization of which is inferior to that of migrating nations. All that we can attempt to determine is the position as evidenced by the course of events. Chlodwig was a Teutonic and a heathen ruler of a Franko-Salic district with a Gallo-Roman population. As long as the Gallo-Roman supremacy persisted as a state, and as inapplicable to certain parts of that population, many dangerous points of difference and unsettled questions must have arisen, even though the Gallo-Roman population considered that their prosperity was advanced by the Teutonic ruler. In 486, the Merovingian overthrew the power of Syagrius, added the territory of that ruler to his own, and extended his power at first to the Seine, and afterwards over the whole district. On this question he had to secure an agreement with the remaining Franks; out of consideration for them, or for the by no means inadequate forces of Syagrius, he had appealed for their help as members of the federation before the war, and this at least some of them must have given him.

Thus the whole of the Roman dominions in Gaul now became a Teutonic kingdom and lost all connection with any foreign political centre, except possibly with the distant Byzantium; Ravenna was no longer in Roman hands. There was, therefore, no reason why Chlodwig should make haste to conciliate the orthodox church, to which a considerably increased number of his subjects belonged. His history is by no means characterised by precipitate action, but rather by con-

sideration and foresight. It was, however, in the nature of the case that he should be converted sooner or later, even as his father had worn the Roman signet ring. He had no inducement to remain an Arian, as his wife was a Catholic and his children were brought up in that faith. We shall also be correct in emphasising the fact, which has often been noted, that, as a Roman Catholic, Chlodwig would gain the adherence of a Frankish party among the Catholic subjects of the Arian Burgundians and Visigoths. Even if the fact had never occurred to him, it must have been brought to his mind by the congratulations of the Burgundian archbishop, Avitus of Vienne, on his baptism. It is said that Chlodwig's Catholic wife was the instrument of her husband's conversion. Had she been able to secure this result unaided, her efforts would certainly not have ceased until the kingdom had sent forth a mission to work among the Franks. But of this we hear nothing; when Chlodwig became a Christian he was thinking of his Roman and not of his Frankish subjects. The conversion of his immediate followers was inevitable, as they were bound to follow their leader; the free people obeyed their own inclinations, and remained for the most part in heathenism.

The date of Chlodwig's conversion coincides with that of his first campaign against the Alamanni in 496. This nation was now a uniform whole, under the king, Gibuld (or Gebaud, which is nearly the same in the Alamannic phonetic system); the war was conducted by the Franks as a federal war, and the king of the Ribuarii, Sigibert, received a wound in the knee which lamed him, in the course of it. The problem at stake was the general decision, whether the Frankish federation or the people of the Alamanni should exercise supremacy in the east and north of Gaul and secure the lion's share in the appropriation of land. In the concluding campaign of 501 the Franks were victorious, and took care to destroy the prospects of the Alamanni for the future. To the advantage of the upper Frankish nationality of the Chatti, the Alamanni as a whole were driven behind the Lauter and Murg. To the south of that point they came under foreign supremacy; numerous Frankish lords, especially in Alsace, had made good a settlement among the Alamannic tribal villages, in the manner in which the Franks had already settled in Roman territory; and by the side of these, much of the occupied lands remained reserved as Frankish state property.

The conflicts of Chlodwig with the Alamanni and the Burgundians are certainly connected as regards the forces which were employed. The Burgundian war falls between the two campaigns against the Alamanni.

The Burgundians, after their settlement in Sabaudia by Aëtius, had (443) strengthened their position under King Gunjok who was a member of the old royal tribe of the nation, and had gradually extended around the district of the Rhone. Upon the death of Gunjok in 473, the leading royal family consisted of his three sons, Gundobad, Godegisel, and Chilperic. As the giving of names among Teutonic princes was often made a means of fulfilling political courtesies, it is interesting to notice, by the side of the purely Burgundian name, Gundobad, a name also borne by the father of Geiseric, namely Godegisel; even if this should be mere coincidence, we have a true Merovingian name in Chilperic; these names thus give a shadowy reflection of the political position of the middle of the fifth century. In any case the Burgundians of this period occupied themselves with the problems of an extensive foreign policy. In the last year of Gunjok's life, his son Gundobad governed in Italy as Patricius, after the death of Rikimer. Thence he was

speedily recalled home at the outset of a family feud between the rival brothers. After the fourth brother, Godomer, had been set aside at an earlier period, Gundobad killed Chilperic with the sword (according to the comparatively clear information provided by the epic poem) and extended his supremacy towards the Mediterranean, the settlement of the account between himself and Godegisel being deferred for the moment. The Catholic Church of the Roman inhabitants was suffering under the oppression of the Arian Burgundians, and had the satisfaction of gradually invading the distracted royal family; for instance, it found a zealous champion in the wife of the Frank, Chlodwig, a daughter of Chilperic, whose two brothers Gundobad is also said to have supplanted. When Chlodwig himself became a Catholic Christian, and discovered speedily afterwards the Frankish interest that existed among the Roman subjects of the Burgundians, the natural result was an informal compact between the royal family and Catholicism and a certain rivalry in this direction, in which the conflicting brothers strove to outstrip one another. Godegisel requested King Chlodwig to interfere on his behalf (500 A.D.). Gundobad was beaten at Dijon and forced to retire to Avignon. At that moment, however, Chlodwig suddenly broke off hostilities, and turned upon the Alamanni, who had not been definitely defeated, and now completed their destruction. Godegisel was abandoned and executed, when Gundobad seized Vienne; the latter, until his death in 516, reigned as the sole king of the Burgundians, issued important laws, and strove by improving the organisation of his kingdom, and his relations with Catholicism and the Merovingians, to avert the grievous dangers that had threatened his rule.

B. The Ostrogoth, Theodoric the Great

These final events had increased the preponderance of Chlodwig, who now stood without a rival in Gaul. On the other hand, Byzantium laid claim to a general supremacy over Europe, so far as the gaze of the civilized world extended, while, strangely enough, partly on the side of Byzantium and partly directed against it, a new power had arisen in Italy with imperial claims.

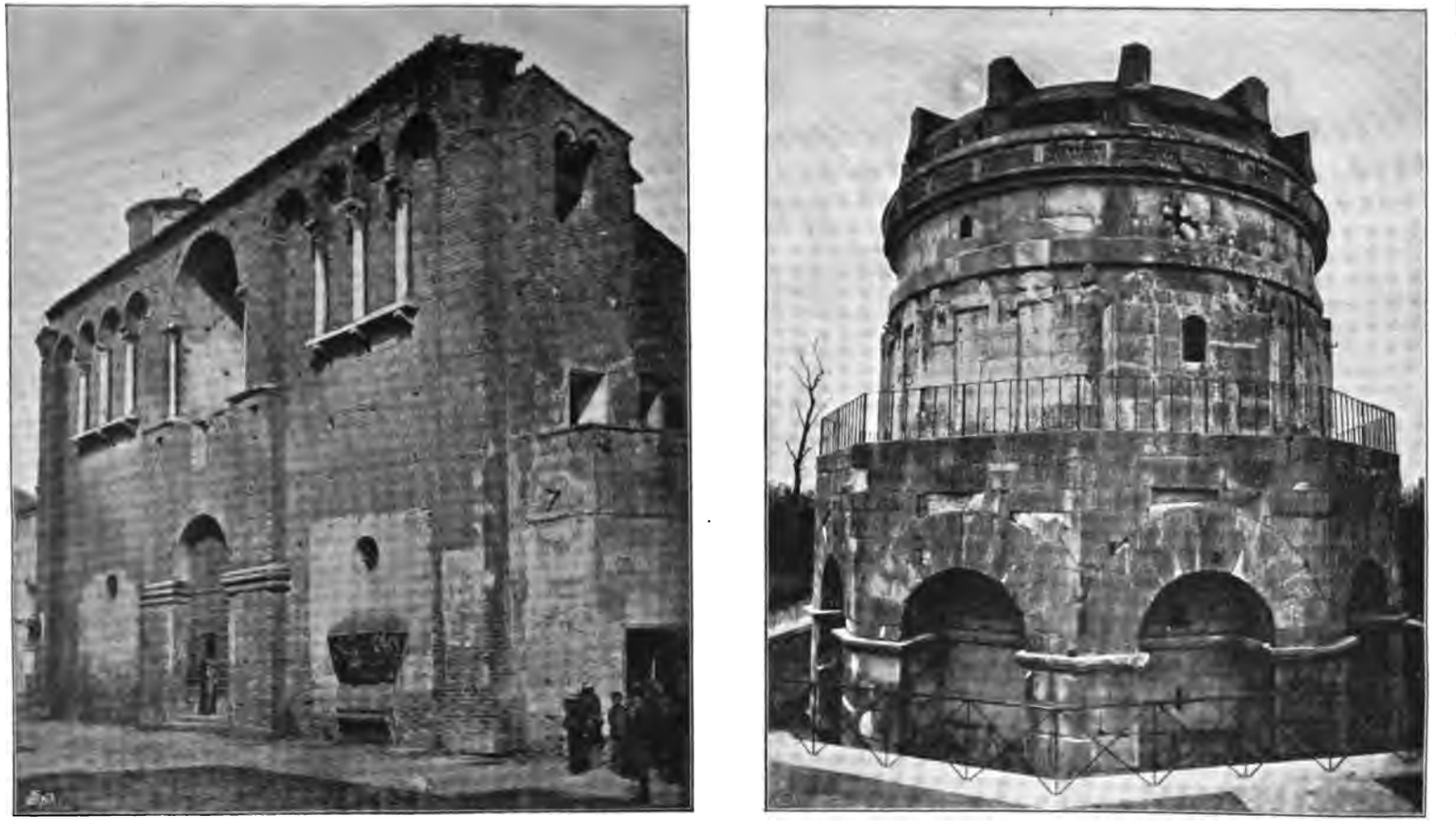
Odovacar had never entertained any thoughts of an imperial policy; he wished to take the place of the Western emperor only over Italy itself and its Roman inhabitants, and as the plenipotentiary of east Rome. He certainly defeated the Rugii, who had established themselves in Noricum, a province still remaining to Italy; but after his success, he abandoned the province and transferred the Roman population to Italy. Odovacar's campaign in Noricum had been caused by the intrigues of Byzantium with the Rugii. Byzantium, indeed, was extremely reluctant to see this upstart upon the throne of Italy; if a Teuton were to reign there at all, it would be better to have a king who was bound to the imperial court by respect and friendship, and who would consequently act in full compliance with Byzantium. Such a character was Theodoric, an Ostrogoth of the family of the Amali from Pannonia; he had grown up in Byzantium as a hostage, had full knowledge of and a high respect for Roman civilization; he had now united in his own person the power of his father and his two uncles, and also that of a prince who was not of the Amalic kindred. If he entered Italy he would be exactly the ruler whom Byzantium would wish to see; moreover the Ostrogoths would then leave Pannonia, where

they had established themselves after the collapse of the Hun supremacy, and where they might easily become inconvenient to eastern Rome. Here the emperor Zeno invested Theodoric with full powers, and the remnants of the Rugii were to follow the Ostrogoth to Italy. Odovacar's action, a short time previously (448) when he surrendered and evacuated Noricum, the province neighbouring on Pannonia, was a vain attempt to avert the coming storm. In that same year the Goths and the Rugii started, and reached Italy in 489. A year later the supremacy of Odovacar had collapsed, though the sea fortress of Ravenna protected the king until he could be blockaded with a naval force. In 493 Odovacar surrendered on condition that he should be left as joint ruler in Italy; Theodoric speedily freed himself from this embarrassment by murdering his rival. Thus he reigned alone over the peninsula, as Patricius; the capital and many Romans regarded him from the outset as a conqueror, who was justified in recovering Italy for the emperor; his Goths settled upon the allotments occupied by the troops of Odovacar who remained subject to him.

Theodoric's rule is to be understood from two special points of view; in the first place he restored their former conditions of life to the Romans in the country after the government of Odovacar, which they considered as a foreign usurpation; in the second place his reign implied a renewal of Western imperial supremacy over its former province of the west Roman Empire. The policy implied in the first point of view, and the consequent consideration which Theodoric showed for Roman customs in general was increased and developed to a remarkable care for the prosperity of the country. He introduced an economic revival and provided Italy with new or improved material appliances. He constructed buildings greater than any emperor had built for a long period (see the plate facing this page, "Buildings of the Ostrogoth, King Theodoric the Great, in and near Ravenna");[1] he encouraged a later growth of the native antique philosophy (Boethius), and in every respect was ready to consider Roman claims as much as Gothic. As regards the revival of the supremacy of the west Roman Empire, we find a curious state of double dealing; Theodoric acknowledged the imperial rights of Byzantium and its supremacy over himself, but on the other hand his chancery documents, delivered to the court of Thuringia in the silence of the Teutonic interior, referred to himself and the house of Amali as free and independent heirs of the west Roman emperors. Thus Theodoric, probably with complete success, after the manner of Aëtius, regarded the whole of the West, including old Germania and the Africa of the Vandals as contained in the political purview of the Western imperial power which he represented, and in every political event or transformation, throughout central and western Europe, he felt bound to declare his position. Thus when Chlodwig defeated King Gibuld, and deprived his people of their independence, and when the loss of a king had left them without a leader, Theodoric proceeded to exercise his supremacy over Rhætia in the old province of Italy and over the Alamanni there settled, who had been in course of migration.

Theodoric, relying partly upon ties of kinship, attempted to hold in connection the Visigoths, the Vandals, Burgundians, Thuringians, Heruli, and the Varini in one great friendly federation, managed from Ravenna and turned against the restless Franks; he was also anxious to gain influence over his brother-in-law, Chlodwig,

[1] Modern investigations show that the so-called palace of Theodoric in Ravenna belongs to a somewhat later period.



BUILDINGS OF THE OSTROGOTH KING THEODORIC THE GREAT, IN AND NEAR RAVENNA. ON THE LEFT THE REMAINS OF HIS PALACE IN RAVENNA, SIDE VIEW; ON THE RIGHT, HIS TOMB AT RAVENNA, KNOWN AS "LA ROTONDA," FROM THE BACK

(From photographs by Luigi Ricci of Ravenna)

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by overtures of friendship. His efforts proved fruitless. In the year 507 the Merovingians advanced to the attack upon the Visigoths, a conflict which the world had anxiously awaited for many years. The Burgundians were allied with the Franks during the struggle, and the other tribes remained neutral. Theodoric, who was thrown upon his own resources, saw the defeat of his son-in-law Alaric II; while in the next year (508) his dangerous ally subjugated almost the whole Gallic portion of the Visigoth Empire. Only in Spain, which after the elevation of Odovacar the Visigoths had rapidly conquered as far as the Suabian Galicia, did the Visigoths and Alaric's son, Theodoric's grandson, who had taken refuge there, find themselves safe.

The struggle in the West was followed with close attention, and with the foresight of a superior ruler, by a yet earlier power, that of Byzantium. The politeness of Theodoric, his loyal recognition of his position as the vassal of east Rome, his care and consideration for Roman civilization, could not prevent the existence of a deeper hostility between the two powers than had ever existed in the old period of joint imperial rule. The great point of variance was the fact that the east Romans hated the Goths as Arians and as heretics ruling Catholic Rome. Hence Chlodwig, since his baptism, was now regarded by Byzantium as Theodoric had formerly been, when the destruction of Odovacar was a desired object. While Chlodwig marched against Alaric II, an east Roman fleet had attacked lower Italy without any open declaration of war. When Chlodwig returned from his victorious campaign he met envoys from Byzantium, who invested him with the dignity of Roman Consul, which he accepted with the greatest respect and with a show of outward solemnity. Byzantium then helped to check the advance of that Teutonic power which alone among the new conquering states maintained close connection with the districts of pure Teutonic nationality, and in consequence, alone seemed capable of creating a future for the Germans.

Such being the state of affairs, Theodoric abandoned his position of neutrality so far as to send an army across the Alps, the success of which secured him a certain share in the plunder; he conquered the country between the Durance and the sea, which the Visigoths had occupied at the time of Odovacar, and which Chlodwig had handed over to the Burgundians as the price of their help. The Franks, on the other hand, retained Auvergne, Aquitania, and the territory north of the Garonne, and south of it Gascony, including Toulouse. Thus the Visigothic kingdom of Spain retained in Gaul only that strip of coast-line, with the town of Narbonne, which is known as Septimania. The Ostro- and Visigoth kingdoms were connected by the geographical line of passage over the Tyrrhenian Sea. Moreover the Franks allowed Theodoric to exercise for the moment a supervisory power over the Visigoths.

As regards the destruction of other Frankish noble tribes by Chlodwig, and the despotic institution of a general Frankish federation, or imperial supremacy of the Merovingians, Gregory of Tours has, indeed, no chronology to give, as he borrowed his narrative of these events from the epic legends of the time; he therefore adds the events to which he can give dates as an appendix. He also adds a further isolated notice of the fact that Chlodwig murdered his own nearest blood relations. The weakness of the more developed Teutonic states still consisted in the lack of any monarchical succession, and in the old traditional rights of the royal house. Two powerful rulers attempted to avert this danger in favour of

the monarch. Geiseric created the right of seniority, that is, the right of the oldest member of the family, to the succession, an idea calculated to offend as little as possible the theory of family right; an institution through which the Vandal Empire perished. Chlodwig, with characteristic disregard of theoretical definitions, but with full practical effect "not sparing his own near relatives," apart from the royal families of the other Franks, secured the result that of all the Merovingians, he alone remained in existence for the moment, and the succession was afterwards secured to his sons to the number of four. Even this means naturally proved ineffectual in the future. Thus family right continued to retain its power, even among the Franks. Both the later Merovingians and the Carolingians were able to limit its influence only by reducing the number of claimants by murder or other violent measures of exclusion.

Of these two great Teutonic contemporaries, the west Teuton and the practical politician, Chlodwig, was the first to die, in 511. His kingdom was not divided, but after their father's death, his four sons all became kings of the Franks and of the subject peoples. Their working arrangements regulated only the amount of their income and the limitations of their administrative power. The result was by no means to produce four ruling houses. On the contrary, when the death of one brother occurred, the survivors took particular care to reduce the extension of the ruling power and to exclude the sons of the deceased from any share in the government; the policy was successful upon one occasion, on the death of Chlodomer, but fruitless on the death of Theodoric, the governor of the pure Teutonic subjects of the empire, who had his capital at Metz. The rights of the royal family as a whole, which in early German history had been subject to the practical effects of personal influence, were driven back a step by these effects; the actual governor became more strongly distinguished from hereditary claimants, partly as a result of his own course of aggrandisement and partly under the influence of the manifold responsibilities of the kingdoms which now represented the supremacy of the Franks over other nations and over Roman subjects.

Consequently the foreign policy of the Franks and of their kings followed the common and federal interests, and in the course of it the most strongly interested brothers appeared as the leading and guiding powers. Among the Burgundians, Sigismund, the son of the deceased Gundobad, attempted to repair his position by adopting Catholicism and courting the favour of Byzantium, with the result that he exposed himself helplessly to the attacks both of Ostrogoths and Franks. Theodoric was strengthened by the domestic difficulties which hampered the Frankish government, and when the Franks deposed and killed King Sigismund in 523, he annexed new parts of the Burgundian territory; the Merovingians on the other hand were obliged to spare the Burgundian kingdom under Sigismund's brother, Godomer, and not until 532 were they able to overthrow and to incorporate it with their own.

C. The Downfall of the Ostrogoth Empire

Theodoric died in 526, saddened by the knowledge that his policy of care and reconciliation had proved fruitless, and that he had only stimulated the tendency of the Italian Romans and their Catholic Church towards the Eastern Empire.

The epic poems of popular tradition, in their picture of his character, concerned themselves but little with these concluding events, of which they were in any case not likely to take account. They have depicted the main feature of his fame as resting upon the fact that he became perforce an arbitrator and the greatest of the heroes who have governed the Teutons and restrained both the Siegfrieds and the Hagens among the Franks. The picture will in any case remain the more striking as after his death no one arose to prevent the Franks from disturbing the Burgundians, the Thuringians, the Alamanni in Rhætia, and the Baioarii in Rhætia and Noricum.

In Byzantium that strong, energetic, and prudent ruler Justinian had succeeded to the throne about the time when the successor of Theodoric, the Queen Regent Amalaswintha, began to grow alienated from the Goths, owing to her ungovernable preference for everything Roman. Her government was only legitimised by her son Athalaric, who died in 534; but a short time previously she had been able to perform important services to the East Roman emperor and his generals upon the occasion of the African expedition which had begun after long hesitation, and ended in the destruction of the Vandal kingdom (Vol. IV, p. 244). Having secured his power in Africa and upon the Tyrrhenian islands, the emperor of the Balkan peninsula could not avoid the obvious necessity of finally destroying the intermediate Gothic position in Italy.

An outward reason for war was afforded by the fact that his ally, Amalaswintha, was murdered by an Amalian, Theodahad, who became king after the death of Athalaric (535). After Theodahad, who was by no means a ruler to the liking of the Teutonic nation, had fully displayed his incompetence in the field against Belisarius, Justinian's general and the conqueror of the Vandals, the Goths considered themselves justified by circumstances in breaking away from the alienated and degenerate family of the Amali. In their council, or *thing*, upon the open field they elected a new king and leader, Witichis, who had distinguished himself by his bravery in a war with the Gepids. The Italian war of Justinian was regarded with favour by the Franks, as they hoped to derive advantage both from their old friends the east Romans and also from the expelled Ostrogoths, to whom they owed a debt of assistance. Witichis left to them the concessions which Theodahad had already made, the districts of Southern Gaul, formerly occupied by Theodoric. But Frankish policy was cherishing bolder plans. Theudebert, the son of Theuderic, an energetic character, was ruling at Metz. It was he who proposed the carefully planned attack, in alliance with the Lombards and Gepids, upon the superior power of east Rome, and who removed the figure of the emperor from his gold coins and placed on them the word Augustus after his own name. At the moment when Witichis succeeded in involving Justinian in a war with the Persians (539), Theudebert invaded Italy with a great army, and fought both against the Goths and against the Byzantine troops, who were intended for further employment in Asia. A supremacy over the West was indeed inconceivable without a position of predominance at the old centre of the empire, the more so as Theodoric the Great had strengthened the theory that the two conceptions were inseparable. Carolingian history thus announces itself in the person of this ambitious Austrasian. He was not, however, able to inspire his peasant infantry with a permanent enthusiasm for his imperial policy, and sickness among his troops forced him to retire from the Apennine peninsula. At a later period the Merovingians

renewed their attempts to gain by diplomatic means some territorial concessions in Italy.

The majority of the Ostrogoths abandoned Witichis in consequence of his lack of success. Belisarius, whose policy recalls that of Wallenstein, threw away the opportunity afforded by his command of the war in Italy, and the royal position among the Goths was characteristically given to a relation of Witichis, his uncle Uraja. He, however, was advanced in years and advised the choice of Hildebad, who had bravely and nobly defended the important town of Verona against Belisarius, and who was of noble birth, as the nephew of the Visigoth king Theudis. He began not unsuccessfully to reconcentrate and reorganise the confused Gothic kingdom, but jealousy broke out between his family and that of Uraja, in which he took the wrong side, lost much of his prestige, and was finally murdered to satisfy private revenge. At this moment the Rugii, who were settled in isolation from the Goths (cf. above, pp. 28, 40, and 62), set up a king of their own, Eraric, while the Goths remained for months without a leader, or accepted the rule of the Rugic king.

Eventually Badvila (Totila), a nephew of Hildebad, was appointed king, and Eraric, who had attempted to consolidate his position by recognising the imperial supremacy and accepting the dignity of Patricius, was murdered. The Goths once again gained an interval of twelve years for unity, recovery, and hope. King Badvila regarded Justinian's actions as dangerous in 550, when he attempted to play off against him the old royal rights of the Amali. Theodoric's granddaughter, Amalaswintha, was still living in Byzantium. Witichis, who had formerly been elected king by the people, had prudently married her. At the present moment she was the wife of Germanus, the emperor's nephew, whose capacity and wealth determined Justinian to make an expedition to Italy. Germanus was then suddenly carried off by sickness while he was collecting Teutonic light troops in Illyria for his enterprise; as a matter of fact, the Ostrogoths showed much indecision and weakness before this danger. Once again Badvila gathered his forces for a determined advance, upon the appointment of Narses who had already held a command under Belisarius. His fleet, however, met with disaster at Sinigaglia, and the rude Danubian Teutons, who formed the flower of Narses' troops (5,000 Langobards, 3,000 Heruli, 400 Gepids, all picked men; that is to say, the special followers of kings and rulers), surrounded Badvila and conquered him at Taginæ (Gualdo Tadino). The Gothic king received his death wound from the Gepid leader (552).

Thereupon the Goths intrusted the political power to Teja, who commanded a considerable force as Badvila's general, though his troops had not arrived in time for the battle, and therefore remained intact. In the battle of Vesuvius (553) Teja was unable to save the Gothic Empire, though he preserved the inextinguishable honour of their armies, which was not the case upon the downfall of the Vandals.

The remnant of the Goths in the town garrisons of upper Italy now sent for the Frank Theudbald, a son of Theudebert. But this youthful king (548–555) died so early that he was unable to exert any personal influence upon the course of affairs in Italy. On the other hand, two west Teutonic "dukes" of Alamannic origin, the brothers Leuthari and Butilin, invaded Italy, unchecked by the Frankish government, with seventy-two thousand Alamanni and Franks. They were joined

by the remnant of the Teutonic nationality, and seriously threatened the position of Narses for a considerable time. The Arian east Teutons were also divided by dissension of every kind from the Catholic Franks and the Alamanni, who were chiefly heathen. The usual summer maladies broke out among the Germans, and Narses was master of them all until the spring of 555. The danger of the government of a Radagais or of an Odovacar in Italy was averted. The last warriors of Teja had marched northwards across the Alps at an earlier period. Other thousands of the Goths were now transferred to the east Roman Empire. The commander of the Heruli, who had held a post under Narses, Sindwal (probably Sindwalt), attempted to establish himself on the Etsch. He, however, was overthrown and executed by his former master.

D. The Lombards

Byzantium could now regard the period of migrations as closed, and proceed to organise Italy, which had been won back for "Rome," as an "exarchate." Then in 568 the Lombards, more fortunate than the leaders of the Alamanni and stronger than Sindwal, seized the greater portion of the land that, mainly by their agency, had been wrested from the Ostrogoths.

The inhabitants of the Barden district, described in Tacitus, who had remained behind upon the lower Elbe, developed as members of the Saxon confederacy into a Low German stock, together with the Saxons and Frisians. Traces also of that neighbourhood were unmistakably retained, as regards language and legal system, by the Lombards, who reached the Danube after long migration (p. 29). L. M. Hartmann has proved that the comparatively small numbers of the emigrants may have strengthened themselves for their future course of development by the enfranchisement of their bondmen and by the inclusion of foreign elements. The theory is confirmed by their constitutional principle, which in this case was inevitable, that the Lombard legal code should be also binding upon the members of other nationalities than themselves. The Lombards shared in the Danubian campaigns of Marcus Aurelius. They also seem to have sought their fortunes in Pannonia, as we know that they hoped to utilise Odovacar's destruction of the Rugian kingdom of Favianæ in the year 487 (a town in "Rugiland" above Pechlarn).

For three years, towards the end of the fifth century, the Lombards were settled further to the east in a more desirable "home," for which we must look in the modern Hungarian Alföld; they were then tributary vassals of the Heruli; already were or soon became Arian Christians, at any rate in outward show; and in a series of struggles, which are glorified by part of their epic legends, they destroyed the Herulian kingdom under its king, Rodulf, about 495 (or according to Fr. Westberg, between 506 and 512). The Heruli now sought a refuge in the mountainous "Rugiland" on the Danube, and eventually migrated in part to east Roman territory, while another portion returned to Scandinavia, their original home. Ambassadors of the Heruli, when under the rule of the east Romans, twice elected as king from among their compatriots, now settled in Swedish Gothland, that member of the royal family who seemed more suitable to themselves. "They fought only under their own leaders," say our sources of information concerning those Heruli who fought for Byzantium in the armies of Belisarius and Narses.

In every case the restricted dynasties consolidated their position, either under the influence of a constitutional organization, which increased their responsibilities, or under the necessity of securing an improved and more definite foreign policy. In this case, in the obscurity of the Danubian districts, marriage contracts were concluded to serve foreign policy, exactly as under Theodoric the Great; at the same time, the noble families were induced to enter upon such contracts by the idea of preserving the purity of their distinguished blood, as formerly among the Cherusci and Chatti (cf. pp. 41 to 44). The Lombard rulers were allied by marriage with the ruling houses of the Thuringians, Gepids, Heruli, Franks, and also with the Bavarian Agilolfings.

Since the revolt against the empire which Attila had left behind, the Gepids had been the most distinguished nation within the later Hungarian district. Thus they appear as the chief opponents of Theodoric's Ostrogoth campaign to Italy, and of the state which he founded in that country. At a later period they also remained hostile, though dissensions within the royal Gepid family induced individuals to join Theodoric. When the Ostrogoth power had been overthrown, and the Heruli had been conquered by the Lombards, the struggle for supremacy in the Danube plains lay between the Lombards and the Gepids, who had been opposed at an earlier period. After long struggles, which form the main content of the Lombard epic poems as preserved by Paulus Diaconus, they joined the Lombards who were supported by east Rome and also by the Avars. Byzantium had granted them, apparently in 546, the Roman province of Pannonia, which in any case had long been occupied at intervals by the Teutons, so that the Lombards became the neighbours of the Baioarii, who were establishing themselves in Noricum and east Rhætia. With these former members of the Marcomannic tribe, and with their Swabian tribes on the Danube they remained for the most part on terms of permanent friendship, though an exception is reported in the case of a campaign undertaken by their king, Wacho (died about 539), against the Svavi.

The Tartar nation of the Avars (Vol. II, p. 157) had appeared on the horizon of the Byzantine Empire in the fifth century and had undertaken extensive plundering raids, which led them to Thuringia (Vol. V, p. 232) and to the boundaries of the Merovingian kingdom. Their presence was a heavy burden upon the Gepids and Lombards. When the Lombards demanded their help against the Gepids they required as compensation a tenth of the cattle and of the whole Gepid territory that might be conquered. However, Albwin (Alboin), the Lombard king, concluded the alliance about 586 and defeated the Gepid king, Kunimund, in a murderous battle, while the Avars invaded the Gepid territory simultaneously from the other side. The Lombard chieftain then led his people to the conquest of Italy (568). For the purpose of his attack upon Italy and Byzantium, he renewed the Avar alliance, though it was only to become effective in case of need, and left them in possession of the Lombard Pannonia, with the proviso that he should have the right to resume occupation for the space of two hundred years (cf. pp. 39 and 71) in case the Lombards should return dissatisfied with their emigration.

E. The Middle Merovingian Period.

(*a*) *The Expansion of the Franks in Central Europe.* — The descendants of Chlodwig had turned to excellent account the disappearance of Theodoric's defensive

policy and the annihilation of the east Teutonic tribes on the Danube. If their attempt to gain a footing in Italy failed, the absorption of the central European territories into the Frankish kingdom would continue as before, with less to impede it.

Long before, the Hermunduri had advanced from the river district of the Elbe to that of the Main, whence they had maintained friendly relations for the most part with the Romans, though they passed through severe struggles with their western neighbours, the Chatti. The general migration of the second century pushed the Hermunduri forward to the Danube frontier and the Limes. The forward movement of the Alamanni and Burgundians then cut them off from contact with the Romans; they disappeared from the view of Roman or of modern historians, and their existence is unfortunately buried for us in the forests of Central Germany. There is no doubt that the Düringe or Thuringians are connected with them; these people appeared within the neighbouring sphere of Frankish history after the fifth century, though at first only in the dim light of epic tradition. Thoringi were also to be found on the left of the lower Rhine among the Franks, and these must no doubt be regarded as emigrants from the main body. This formed at that time a considerable kingdom under one dynasty, extending from the Harz to beyond the Main. After a long period of cautious friendship, the sons of Chlodwig proceeded to wage the same decisive warfare against the Thuringians with which their father had attacked the Alamanni; they were at the same time helped by the struggles of kinsmen within the royal house, such as had previously favored intervention. In alliance with the Saxons they destroyed the Thuringian kingdom in 531 and pursued their triumph as thoroughly as Chlodwig had done in the case of the Alamanni. The Frankish settlements were advanced along the Main to the heights which form the Thuringian forest; and such Thuringian tribes as were living to the north of the Rennstieg were made dependent and tributary. For the future history of Germany, it was a highly important fact that the triumphant Frankish Empire proceeded to expand eastward, and that its extended supremacy in German districts was united with a system of Frankish colonisation.

This conquest could never have been achieved by the Franks, except with the help and alliance of a people whom they would obviously have to fight for eventual supremacy, the Saxons. These latter, as the price of victory, received the land from the Unstrut to the Saale and Elbe; they made the inhabitants tributary, reducing them to the position of *laets*, themselves occupying that of overlords. For the moment the Merovingians could afford to defer the impending struggle for supremacy. The strong conservatism of these Low German populations had hitherto declined to allow any one tribal family to secure political preponderance over the rest, such as might be secured through the leadership of a close federation or an over-kingdom of Saxony. Nor did anything of the kind develop in the future. On the contrary, the aristocracy of the noble tribes, retaining their equality, were able to increase their prestige and to secure it by legal forms, usually in connection with questions of wergeld and marriage contracts; the old nobility of the other great peoples did not attain success, because they were broken down at a comparatively early date and fettered by the monarchy which arose in their midst. This refusal to permit the rise of a strong individual leadership produced its natural consequence upon the federal policy of the Saxons; their federation, which was great, and upon occasion powerful, was inclined to avoid collision elsewhere; inter-

fered but little in the affairs of other Teutonic alliances; and confined offensive operations against the Franks to petty wars which produced no result, and were feebly conducted until the final and long delayed struggle was eventually forced upon them by the decision of Charles the Great.

Together with the Thuringians, or as a result of their defeat, a number of other racial fragments came under the supremacy of the Franks; these had settled down as dependents of the Thuringians between them and the wave of Slavs advancing from the east; they included fragments of the Angles, who formerly inhabited the peninsula of Jutland, and took an important share in the migration to Britain; there were also the Wareni or Wereni or Varini, who were ruled by their own kings as late as the time of Theodoric; they were a fragment of that considerable people formerly settled on the Baltic and driven away by the Slavs, which also took some share in the colonisation of Britain. Under the Frankish supremacy, both were considered as forming part of the Thuringians, though down to the time of Charles the Great they retained separate legal codes. As the Angles and the Varini migrated simultaneously from the neighbouring districts in the north, it is not surprising that under Carolingian sway these two codes were united in one, which held good in the Thuringian districts of Engili and Werinofeld; the less so, as these two peoples had been neighbours for centuries in central Germany.

At the point where these Angles and Varini were settled, and, in fact, everywhere to the east of the old Thuringian district, settlements were thus lying vacant for homeless peoples (we also find Frisians in the district (gau) of Friesenfeld) for the reason that these districts were menaced by the advances of the Slavs. Similarly the "Helvetian Desert" (p. 35) though not occupied by the Teutons, had formerly attracted and retained such Kelts as, in the words of Tacitus, had been made desperate by necessity. Thus the Saxons, who had turned to the eastern Harz, after the destruction of the Thuringian kingdom, may not have felt themselves entirely comfortable. When the Lombards started to Italy, an independent band of Saxons, said to be more than twenty thousand strong, accompanied them. A gap was thus formed on the Slav frontier and this the Frankish governor hastened to stop with Swabian settlers (that is, north German Suevi, not of the Alamannic tribe), who were given the districts of the Bode and the Dipper for colonisation. This information suggests that the cession to the allied Saxons of territory from the east Harz to the Elbe in 531 may have been a clever piece of far-sighted Frankish policy, intended to form a barrier against the Slavs. The existence of a mediæval "Hassingau," also points to the settlement of Hessian colonists on the lower Saale. The Saxons who had marched to Italy were unable to acquiesce in the necessity of becoming Lombards, as the Lombard legal code demanded; they were unwilling to abandon their national law and custom, as the continued preservation of these implied national, if not political, independence at that date; this theory met with considerate and successful treatment from the Frankish conquerors. The Saxons therefore started out again in 572 and crossed Mont Genèvre to the Merovingian kingdom, at first with no settled plan, but in 573 with the object of recovering their old possessions on the Harz. They were given permission to march thither. The Hessians were so diminished in battle with the Suevi, who were first affected by the attempt of the emigrants to resume their lands, that at length both nationalities found the available land sufficient for their purposes. So late as the thirteenth century there existed a *gau* of Svevon and "Swawen" to the south of the Bode.

Shortly after the subjugation of the Thuringians, the Merovingians incorporated the Burgundian kingdom in their empire (534); also the district of the Alamanni, who were formerly under the protectorate of Theodoric at the moment when Witichis abandoned the Ostrogoth part of Gaul (p. 65).

The Franks were now neighbours of the Baioarii, or Bavarians, and afterwards incorporated this nationality within their empire, towards the middle of the 6th century, apparently by peaceful methods.[1] The family of the Agilolfings which was equal in rank to the royal houses, and superior to the five other noble families of the Bavarian federation in respect of wergelds, retained, or thus acquired the leadership of the Bavarian people; the latter alternative is the more probable. Possibly the Agilolfings were Franks transferred to this district. The Merovingians naturally could not permit the existence of other kings, and certainly of none with full governing powers in their own empire beside themselves; hence the well-known Roman term *dux*, the title of the provincial military commander, which had been borne, for instance, by Alaric in Illyria, was employed in the comparatively similar case of Bavaria. The obvious translation of the old *dux* by the term duke (Herzog) gave a fresh meaning to this latter Teutonic word. Thus the Merovingians permitted one of the subject nationalities within their empire, not only to retain their own legal code (a permission given on principle to all the Ribuarii under Frankish influence, whether Teutons or Romans), but also to retain their special military organisation and political administration with leaders of their own. *Duces* soon began to arise in other portions of the empire; documents, which are in no case of official authority, suddenly employ the word to take the place of more accurate descriptions. At the period when the duchy of the Agilolfings begins, the Lombard kings appointed *duces* as officials, and then as military commanders.

After the Lombards had become masters on the plains of the Po, local differences and collisions began in the Alps between themselves and the grandsons of Chlodwig, which eventually became lengthy wars, under the continued impulse of Byzantine diplomacy and money expended in subsidising the Franks. On the Frankish side the struggle is marked by an effort to extend their territory to the Italian mountains, while the Lombards were anxious to appear as the heirs of the Ostrogoths, and to secure their former supremacy in southern Gaul. At the same time the Franks and Lombards did not respectively determine the destinies of the Teutonic world, as Chlodwig and Theodoric had once done; nor did the new masters of Italy, who were not yet in full occupation of the country, and had difficulty in making head against Byzantium, attempt to follow any imperial policy in western or central Europe. The old friends of the Lombards, the Bavarians, had gone over to their side, notwithstanding their inclusion in the Frankish monarchy. After some attacks of the Franks, which seem to have been delivered with greater vigour, these campaigns ended in the year 590. The Merovingians gave up their attempts to secure influence in Italy, which they had continued for more than half a century at various intervals, and refrained on their side from interference with the Lombards in southern Gaul.

The indecision of the Italian policy of the Franks, the loose connection of the

[1] Felix Dahn has well pointed out (1905) that the Bavarians had every reason for desiring the protection to be derived even from temporary adherence to a new power, in view of their situation after the protectorate of Theodoric over the Teutonic nations was broken down.

Bavarians with the Frankish empire, and other indications of decay, are to be explained by that cause which acted as a disruptive or weakening influence upon the Teutonic empires in general, namely, the family struggles within the reigning dynasties; these invariably revived upon every question of policy or other pretext; and the special course which they ran among the Merovingians will justify reference to them, as the struggles of Brunhilde and Fredegunde.

(*b*) *The Frankish Mayors of the Palace.* — Of these struggles the most important result is the rise of the new Frankish nobility. Chlodwig had thoroughly exterminated the old noble families. Thus the Franks of the Merovingian period surprise our constitutional historians by the fact that in contrast with the Alamanni, the Bavarians, or the Saxons, they possessed no aristocracy or nobility standing immediately below the crown. The new aristocracy was one of service, and arose among the superior secular and ecclesiastical officials. Distinguished from these was the Mayor of the Palace, whose office originally represented the royal prerogatives which were derived from *patria potestas* of early German society, — a power exercised over followers and household servants, and now increased in proportion as that power had extended. Among the Visiogoths, Burgundians, and Anglo-Saxons the *major domus* never became more than a distinguished master of the household (the title is borrowed from the Roman official of that name, in accordance with early and modern German reluctance to form new words and titles from the native language). The Frankish mayor became the chief supervisory official and overseer both of the king's property and of all court and state offices. Eventually powerful "nobles" in the gradually increasing lands of the empire, such as Austrasia, Burgundy, and Neustria, which were enlarged despite the partitions and struggles of the Merovingians, made this important office a personal and family possession; they then speedily ceased to lead their vassals in the king's service, and began to use them as a weapon against him. This connection between the mayoralty and the rising aristocracy eventually led to the fall of Brunhilde.

Although the Merovingian royal house was never lacking in leading characters, this connection never allowed such leaders full access to sovereignty and administrative power; it was a connection prepared by Chlodwig and actually used by his descendants in conjunction with Roman conceptions of supremacy. The Teutonic communities of the Frankish people came into existence only during the military mobilisations held in different years, and were only occasionally concerned with political affairs, while the action of the Crown was restricted by a continuous and more or less constitutional co-operation of "nobles." Moreover, the nobility, as ruling aristocracies are ever particularist (for community of interests is destroyed by excess of unity), frustrated those opportunities which occurred for concentrating the dynastic government of the whole Frankish kingdom in one person. It was not until the mayoral system grew sufficiently strong to pursue its own ambitions or dynastic purposes, and to employ the military forces of the official nobility, notwithstanding their territorial and particularist tendencies, that the struggle began afresh for supreme power within the Frankish kingdom. In this struggle succumbed successively the Austrasian mayor, Grimoald, a son of the elder Pippin, and the Neustrian, Ebruin (Ebroin), the latter upon his first attempt. After Ebruin was murdered in 681, at the moment of his success, the nephew of Grimoald and the grandson of Bishop Arnulf of Metz, upon his father's side, Pippin

of Herstal, the *major domus* of Austrasia became the mayor of the whole French Empire by his victory at Testry (near Peronne and St. Quentin) in 687.

The kings of the Merovingian dynasty then became of no importance. Compared with the *major domus*, they occupied a position analogous to that which belonged after 934 to the Caliphs of Bagdad, as compared with the Emir al-Omra (Amir al-Umara; Vol. III, p. 339) or to the Japanese Mikado before 1867, compared with the Shogun (Vol. II, p. 47). Teutonic traditions forbade that the king should be entirely shrouded from sight by a cloud of ceremonies, but it is remarkable that in a Christian epoch ceremonial usages should have laid stress upon the sacred nature of the monarchy, the old Teutonic priesthood, which with all its institutions had long been merged in the monarchy and practically abolished when the period of sole government began. Among these institutions must be placed the ox waggon, which was formerly employed in the sacred celebrations connected with the larger meetings of the Teutonic peoples, and which reappeared in the agricultural solemnities of the migratory seventh and eighth centuries.

F. The Early Carolingians

After the victory of Testry there "reigned," in the words of the annals composed shortly after that event, the family of Arnulf and Pippin, united in the person of Pippin, which was afterwards known as Carolingian. For the national history of the Germans, it is of the highest importance that the victory had fallen to the lot of Austrasia and of that thoroughly German family, which held property in the Ribuarian districts of the Moselle and Eifel, and therefore lived under the Ribuarian law. It is indeed conceivable that had the victory remained with Neustria, where Frankish characteristics were retained only by the dominant and ruling classes, the non-Frankish subjects on the right bank of the Rhine might eventually have broken away and begun a new course of development and have settled the question of supremacy among themselves. In that case, however, the German nationality among the Franks would have suffered great losses on the left bank of the Rhine under stress of foreign influences, as formerly happened to the Belgæ in Gaul, who became Keltic Romans. The German family of Austrasia, which had received the sole power in the Frankish kingdom, though upon the left bank of the Rhine, was careful to secure the adherence of the west Teutonic nations upon the right bank. This was naturally not the result of some modern idea of nationality, but was an attempt to secure their valuable military help for the interests of the empire, and the result of that natural attention directed to a neighbour.

Pippin therefore began the task of incorporating the Frisians in the empire with greater determination than had been previously brought to the attempt. He also tried, by force of arms, to subjugate the alienated Alamanni; their dukes had risen from the position of officials to become national leaders in the wide sense of the term, and leaders of a nation which regarded itself as a special and independent race. The Frisians were among those Teuton tribes who had been most strongly influenced and utilised by the Romans, and during the Carolingian period they displayed the greatest capacity of all the Germans for trade and manufacturing pursuits; their political and constitutional organisation remained, however, for centuries far removed from the characteristics of the old German institutions. Though we cannot gain much information upon their earlier history, we can yet see

that about 1300 their institutions corresponded with those current in the past federal epochs of other nations and were analogous to those of the Alamanni in the fourth century. The folk, with its assemblies and its noble families, formed a unit of organisation. Every year at a special time, namely, in the spring (Whitsuntide was the season provided by Christianity which was driving out or transforming the institutions of heathen priesthood), the general assembly of all Frisians met at Upstallsboom near Aurich, and discussed the affairs of the federation and such matters as war and peace. The customary law of the Frisians was developed for the individual communities, and also for the whole of Friesland, by the legislative activity of the annual assembly.[1] We have observed the process by which the folk becomes a nation in the case of the Franks (Salii and Ribuarii), and how it was carried out by pure geographical distribution among the Lombards (Austria and Neustria) and the Saxons (the Eastphalians, Angrians, and Westphalians). The origin of the Ostrogoths and Visigoths, notwithstanding their artificial genealogies with their invented proper names which have no connection with popular epic poetry, must be conceived to have started in the same way, perhaps before their migration from Scandinavia. Hence we may distinguish between northern, western, central, and eastern Frisians. The officials who reduced the Frisian code to writing did not trouble about this latter division, but attempted to gather information upon their law from the most different localities, times, and legal sources within the three imperial districts of western, central, and eastern Frisia. We find a correspondingly definite grouping of dialects within these subordinate divisions.

The Frisians had been visited since the outset of the seventh century both by Franks and by missionaries. As among the Visigoths during the Dacian period and afterwards among the Danes, or as, in the case of Catholicism, among the Burgundians, the missions had been largely supported by the political interests and aims of individual nobles. After the middle of the seventh century Aldgild is known both as duke and as king of the Frisians in the annals which we owe to his influence; similarly Ratbod, who was afterwards conquered by Pippin at Wyk-te-Durstede, bore a Frankish title equivalent to that of duke, while his position must be regarded as equivalent to the ducal status among the Bavarians and Alamanni. The prospect of any general leadership of the Frisian nationality was, however, destroyed by the rivalry and the struggles of the noble tribes.

When the Carolingians occupied the position of king and had ceased to be merely higher officials, it was inevitable that they should absorb family rights as they exercised their authority and interfered in the struggles of relatives which thence arose. This process began immediately upon the death of Pippin, and Charles Martell emerged victorious. Former quarrels had, however, shown both the Frisians and the Neustrians the means of breaking away from the supremacy of these Austrasians and of the empire which they represented. Charles was obliged to overcome these movements. He also attempted by a vigorous series of campaigns to break down the independence of the Aquitanians, the Bavarians, and the Alamanni under their own dukes, which they had begun at an earlier period; his wars with the Saxons showed the inevitability of a future trial of strength.

[1] The reduction to writing of their code, which was secured by Charles the Great, cannot be compared in its effects with the later written codes, for the reason that Charles's arrangements for generally stimulating the art of reading were destroyed by his successors. The written codes thus remained mere library furniture, though the process of legal development continued unchecked.

Although he was never able to consolidate the empire as a whole, his efforts were by no means fruitless, and his achievements were perhaps limited at the moment by the approach of a serious danger, the invasion of the Spanish Arabs into Frankish Gaul. Against these enemies he could place in the field both the Frankish army and also the troops of the Thuringians, Alamanni, and of some Frisians. The German bravery shown upon the arena in Neustria saved Central Europe from that fate which had been experienced by the Visigoth kingdom in Spain; if the future of German history was not assured, an intermediate period of Saracen rule, or the task of absorbing a new element in the population was averted; it must be remembered that the struggle against the Arabs was continued from 730 to 740, and was not definitely settled by the famous battle in 732 at Old Poitiers.

G. The Feudal System

The successful repulse of Islam from Central Europe not only proved the salvation of western Christianity, of Roman civilization revived by the Teutons, and of the general Indo-European character of the composite races in Europe, but also gave a considerable impulse to new developments. The necessity of keeping a standing cavalry force under arms in southern Gaul for the long struggle with the Saracens stimulated the process of transforming the German military system in the direction of chivalry. Among the Frankish portions of the Empire the transformation of the Teutonic army into a cavalry force was a process which had gradually pervaded the remaining tribes, though the Saxons and Frisians were least affected. At the time of Ariovistus and Arminius mobile troops of cavalry, which at that time were formed from the chieftains' retainers, were the exception; they now became the rule and dictated the whole manner of military organisation.

Cavalry service demanded greater sacrifices from the individual free man than did the old infantry service with its simple weapons; it therefore gave a new impulse to those constitutional and economic developments which were interwoven with the contemporary institutions of the Teutonic retinue and the Keltic vassal system; and produced, under the influence of other models and influences, a complete feudal system. The Franks and the Germans in particular had become the heirs of Roman constitutional ideas, but did not on that account resume or continue these ideas in their entirety; on the contrary, feudalism became the method and form of all constitutional progress in the early Middle Ages. The feudal system is, at bottom, the refusal to accept the conception of the state; it binds its members to no state duties as such, but reduces the individual to dependence upon the overlord, to whom he is bound by the acceptance of a fief and by his oath of service. Even the chief vassals, directly dependent upon the king, were no longer inclined to regard the king as the incarnation of the idea of a state, which was greater than the king's person and above his will or displeasure. In spite of all the efforts and the imperial power which Charles the Great exerted to secure the direct administrative action of the state upon questions of government, all official duties and responsibilities committed to other hands assumed a form of feudal dependence, and this the more easily, as the advance of agricultural progress involved the payment of all rewards in the form of arable ground and soil. The possession of offices, the capable management of surplus products, the continual entrance into some feudal

relation of free men who wished to be relieved of their public duties or the difficulties of existence, the exemption of influential lords from the general duties of state administration and the grant of judicial powers over their possessions and their people ("immunity"),—these were all influences which steadily advanced the size and the independence of great territorial domains. In this way they overspread the old state of free cultivators, and lay in it like privileged islands, connected with the crown only by the vague obligation to service which was incumbent upon the individual occupant.

It was, however, the Church which turned its landed property to special account in acquiring administrative powers and lordship. She received far more extensive immunities than the laymen. She was not discouraged by any temporary decrease of possessions or power, such as took place when Charles Martel, finding large supplies necessary for the repulse of the Saracens, procured them by wide appropriation of church property or of property which in popular ideas had long been regarded as subject to the Church. His sons, Pippin and Carlmann, agreed to return what they could. The Church, however, was able to make use of any opportunity. About the time when the armies of the Austrasians and other Germans had saved the west from Mohammedanism, and during the following decade the Frisians, the middle and the southern Germans were largely won over to Christianity, and their districts subjected to church organisation, by means of the missions of Anglo-Saxon and Frankish evangelists, and especially by the pioneer work of the Anglo-Saxon Winfried (Boniface; cf. section 6). The Teuton conceived of his Christianity as giving him membership in a greater community, wider than his own tribal district, or his most extended conception of the *diot*, an idea which in the political world was to dawn upon him much more slowly. Nor was this the only common point of interest which bound the Frankish Mayors of the Palace to the Church and induced them to regard the universal claims of the Bishop of Rome, which Winifred invariably exalted above his own, as coincident with their own interests.

H. The Carolingian Monarchy

The Byzantine supremacy over the Bishop of Rome had grown weak. The latter had absorbed or grasped many of the powers belonging to the Greek exarch of Ravenna. In place, however, of the Byzantines, a portentous danger had arisen for him in the shape of the neighbouring Lombard kings, who now competed with him in annexing the exarch's powers, and who seemed inclined, in the province and city of Rome, to make the bishop subject to themselves. If the bishop could therefore secure the help of the powerful but more distant Franks, he would be temporarily secure against the Byzantines and Lombards. At the same time he would close the gaps in that spiritual supremacy which he exercised over Italy and among the Anglo-Saxons. The older West Frankish Church of Gaul and the mission districts on the right bank of the Rhine would increase the authority of his hierarchy. It was possible that the new Christians of youthful Germany might become a valuable means of propagating the faith, as their Anglo-Saxon brethren had been, who had long since found a home in Britain and had been converted. On the other side, it was valuable for the Mayors of the Palace,

apart from the impulse of Winfried's great ideas, to have at their disposal the prestige of the Bishop of Rome, supporting their policy and their position, and connected with themselves by a friendly bond of interest.

This point of view had been fully appreciated under Charles Martel; but at that time the Arab danger forbade any attempt to check the Lombards. Further alliance between the Franks and the Pope became most evident under his sons, when, upon the retirement of Carlmann (746), Pippin considered the time had come for him to assume the kingship. The Carolingian mayors were "reigning"; they no longer regarded their position as an office, but inherited it by family right, like the early kingship. Thus Charles Martel had been succeeded by his two legitimate sons, and not by one only; and thus again, when Carlmann retired to a monastery, his sons regarded themselves as the joint occupants of the mayoralty. Pippin, however, declined to give them a share; he and Carlmann had already excluded their half-brother Gryfo. The law of inheritance had begun to grow contracted, and to assume points of view which were resisted down to the time of Otto I, by all who thought their own interests were impaired. If Pippin became king, the result would not be to abolish the conception of family right, but would merely mark a personal anticipation of other current claims, and would compensate for the exclusion of those other claims. Moreover Pippin could look back to important successes. In spite of the fact that the resistance and the intrigues of Gryfo had inspired every tribe and district, from Aquitania to Bavaria, with a desire for independence, resistance had been crushed; the youthful Tassilo of Bavaria had been forced to do homage for his duchy, and the Frankish power had also been asserted against the Saxons. If Pippin now thrust aside the shadowy Merovingian king and placed his own dynasty in that position, he was clever enough to throw the responsibility upon others, upon two in particular, in order that he might be dependent upon no one. Of these two the first was the national assembly in its representative character; this body had assumed right and pre-eminence from old German and Teutonic times, so that it was now also called to raise a new tribal family to royal powers in a case of difficulty. In the second place there was the Pope, whose approval Pippin secured. From this spiritual authority he received unction at the hands of Winfried as newly appointed king. This Old Testament form of coronation, borrowed from English usage, showed that the new monarch had abandoned the strict Teutonic conception of sovereignty; if the royal title, "Dei gratia," was adopted only by Pippin's successors, it is but a formal resumption of the new theory.

In this way Pippin obtained the throne in 751, and immediately made a return to the Pope when the latter found himself hard pressed by King Aistulf. The Lombard was obliged to surrender his conquests in the exarchate; and Pippin undertook to return to the Pope all territory to which the Holy See established a claim. It was perhaps in connection with this affair that the great forgeries of Constantine's deeds of gift arose (on this point see further back). Here we have the origin of the States of the Church. The deed of grant or "restitution" made by the Frankish ruler had important effects on the relations between empire and papacy, until finally Innocent IV, the opponent of Frederick II, was able to relieve the States of the Church from imperial interference and to remove local resistance from the path of future popes.

Even after 755 the papal chair was not entirely secured against Lombard inter-

ference, or against troubles which originated in the city of Rome itself. But the Pope could now count upon the Franks as his firm defence. A question of most enduring permanence was immediately raised; while the papal position was morally and spiritually superior, the German crown exercised a protectorate, which as exercised by the present representative of the German state had proved most useful, it was therefore a question whether the crown should retain its great preponderance, or whether the papacy should shake off a patronage which had become burdensome.

J. Charles the Great

On the death of Pippin in 768 the succession fell to his two sons, Charles and Carlmann. The premature death of the latter in 771 obviated all necessity for an appeal to arms. The dissatisfied party on this occasion had been Carlmann, who persisted that his elder brother had been born out of wedlock. At this point Charles had married the daughter of the Lombard king, Desiderius, and had thereby failed to avert the opposition of Carlmann, though he had broken down a dangerous understanding between his brother, the Lombard king, and the latter's elder son-in-law, Tassilo. After Carlmann's death the hereditary right of his sons was maintained by the Lombard king against their uncle Charles, who increased the tension by divorcing his Lombard wife (see the plate facing this page, "Charles and his Wife").[1] Hence the decision which had hitherto been delayed became inevitable. With the united forces of the Frankish power, Charles overthrew the Lombard Empire, of which he made himself master, and assumed the title "Rex Francorum et Langobardorum." The necessity for incorporating the mixed race of the Lombards in the Frankish monarchy, which was already saturated with racial admixtures, was thus avoided and an innovation was created. The monarch's action was unimpeded at home and abroad if he retained both kingdoms in separation. At a later date Charles placed his son Pippin in Italy as regent.

The overthrow of Tassilo, the son-in-law of Desiderius, although delayed by his irresolute and feeble policy, followed in 788. Bavaria had for a long period regarded itself as practically independent, had organised its ecclesiastical and temporal system on this principle, and leaned rather upon Lombard than Carolingian friendship. It now became immediately dependent upon the Frankish crown. Charles, however, who resided for many years in the country (at Regensburg), continued the capable work of Tassilo. He drove back the Slavs and Avars with decision, sent Bavarian settlers across the Traun and Mur, and made important concessions to the Bavarian Church in modern Austria and western Hungary. In

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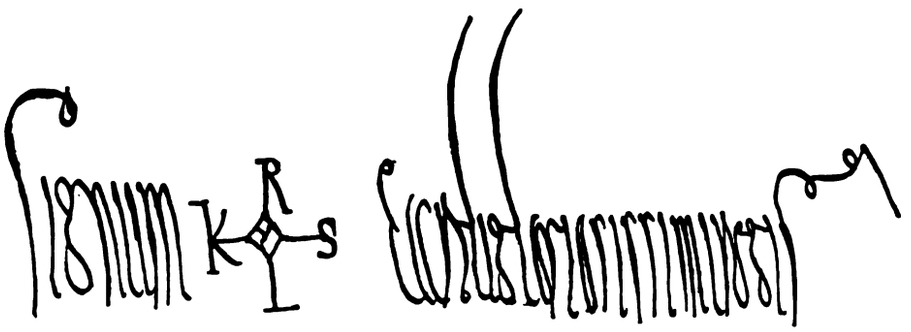
[1] From the time of G. H. Pertz our illustration has been regarded as one of the earliest of Charles and his wife. The opinion has been repeated without criticism by Paul Clemen, and was given to Pertz by Pater Scheuchenberger in the monastery of St. Paul. On the other hand, K. v. Amira has given good reason for supposing that the picture rather represents the Annunciation, and therefore belongs to the series of those annunciations of the Virgin Mary which were afterwards produced in large numbers. There is no well-attested likeness of Charles. Of earlier representations the mosaic portrait in the Lateran is a restoration of an earlier reproduction, and the famous statue of Metz in the Musée Carnavalet at Paris is of disputed authenticity. In addition to these difficulties, the intentional character of portrait painting in that period has been disputed. It is a problem affecting Italy to the time of Frederic II and Germany to the reign of Rudolf of Hapsburg. None the less, all early illustrations are valuable as illustrating the culture of the time. The fine head on the signet ring of Charles is that of the Emperor Commodus, as the early Carolingians were accustomed to seal with antique gems set in metal.



CHARLES THE GREAT AND HIS WIFE, AFTER THE EARLIEST PORTRAIT

(From the miniature of a MS. in the Library of the Monastery of St. Paul in Carinthia)

Beneath, the signature from a document of Charles' of the year 775

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATE OVERLEAF

THE earliest portrait of Charlemagne is to be found on the verso of page 1 of a legal manuscript written between 817 and 823, preserved in the library of the monastery of St. Paul in Carinthia, and catalogued as Cod. pergam. Blasian 4. It is a rude sketch in dark brown pigment, coarsely coloured with red and yellow. The artist was probably a Langobard. The emperor's powerful figure is seen in ordinary popular dress: leggings wound with straps, short doublet with narrow sleeves, and short square cloak fastened to the shoulder by a buckle. Charles has a thick, round head, short hair, large eyes, and a trace of moustache; the chin is smooth. With his left hand he supports himself with a staff; with his right he points to his consort, who wears a flowing robe and a diadem, and is raising her hands as if in astonishment.

(After P. Clemen, "Die Porträtdarstellungen Karls des Grossen;" in Vol. XI of the "Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins.")

The subscription is: Signum Caroli gloriosissimi regis (signature of Charles, the famous king). It is taken from a document of Düren dated October 25, 775, preserved in the state archives of Marburg; in it Charlemagne gave the tithes of some crown property to the monastery of Hersfeld. The subscription was written by a chancery official; Charles merely completed the monogram KAROLVS (by making the two strokes across the rhomboid in the centre).

(After H. von Sybel and Th. v. Sickel, "Kaiserurkunden in Abbildungen.")

this way he overwhelmed the efforts of the Bavarian dukes. He also showed his solicitude for the welfare of Bavaria by many other measures, including the construction of his famous canal, which was to unite the Main (Rednitz) and Danube (Altmühl). This policy placed important aims before the empire, as such, in the East.

His earliest and most important enterprise, which was only temporarily interrupted by other occupations, was the incorporation of the Saxons in the empire. The Saxon problem had troubled the Frankish Empire since the Merovingians, and had grown more imperative in the time of Charles Martell. It is impossible to conceive what course German history would have pursued without this solution. As things were, the future nation gained the support of this great Low German nationality or race which spoke a language essentially different from the others. The danger was thus averted that the Saxons might remain foreigners and strangers to the Franks, as the Danes have always remained. Their incorporation in the empire prevented the Saxons from advancing further northward, withdrew them from their Danish inclinations, and united them so firmly with continental policy that the old connection of the Saxons with the sea was lost for centuries. In the past their ships had continually ravaged the coasts of the Roman and the Frankish empires (cf. the cases noted on pp. 22, 50, and 59). They had landed and founded a permanent settlement in Britain. The continental, economic, and feudal character of the Carolingian Empire now withdrew them from maritime pursuits, commerce, and navigation. The sea thus became for them a mere boundary; their old transmarine connections were abandoned and not extended. Hitherto they had been pure Teutons like the Scandinavians. Henceforward gradually and with reluctance, though more completely than the retrograde Frisians, the Saxons were thrown into that mixed Romano-Teutonic civilization tinged with traces of Keltic influences which we know as German. The German and Slavonic coasts now became the battleground of Slavs, Saxons, and Northmen. The empire, however, had gained a most valuable influx of fresh, unspoiled nationality and military power, a new and powerful counterpoise to the Romance and other non-Teutonic elements.

With the sword, by organisation, by legislation, and by ecclesiastical influence, Charles accomplished the task of subjugating the Saxons (772–803), and secured their adherence in spite of all opposition. He lived just long enough to see the achievement of this great object. Saxon resistance displayed much bravery, love of freedom, confidence, defiance, and heroism, but no systematised plan of defence. The old disruptive particularism, which wasted the military and political power of the Alamanni during the period of the Roman wars, now reappears. Even Wittekind, the Arminius of the Saxon federation, was unable to secure any concerted action or to accomplish any important plan or idea. Other heavy tasks, which from the time of the Lombard war claimed the attention of Charles, were not turned to account by the Saxons, but implied nothing more than a temporary cessation of Frankish attacks. The advantage which the Franks had gained by their long connection with the civilization of their developed monarchy cannot be better illustrated than by comparison with the useless waste of strength expended by the disunited Saxon race.

Even as Charles resumed the Eastern policy of the old Bavarian dukes when he became immediate master of the country, so now, when master of Saxony, did

he turn his attention to the Slavs on the right bank of the Elbe. During the struggle with the Saxons he had used them for his purposes, but as soon as he felt his possession of Saxony comparatively secure, he began to create a Saxon sphere of influence beyond the Elbe. The German advance up the Danube is no less due to him than the German expansion on the northeast, though the practical results of this work may have been reserved for later generations. He did not attempt any definite attack upon the Danes who had helped the Saxons and provided a refuge for their leaders. Any attempt to force the Frisians, Saxons, or Teutons on the Baltic to accept absorption with the Franks, Thuringians, Alamanni, and Bavarians was considered seriously neither by him nor by his successors. The empire and the rise within its limits of a German nation from a number of more or less divergent "tribes" thus terminates at the Eider, and only a frontier mark was afterwards pushed forward as an outpost. In other words, the close similarity between the related groups and the native culture of Teutonic Jutland, Denmark, and the Scandinavian peninsula, suffered no interference from the mainland.

In the year 800 Charles became "emperor" instead of merely king of the Franks. He already ruled a large portion of the Continent, governed the most important peoples among the Teutons and Romans, was temporarily powerful in Spain, entered on relations with Harun al Rashid (Vol. III, p. 330), was Patricius and protector of the Western papacy. The imperial title was assumed in consequence of his own desire, and that of the Pope, that he should exercise imperial rights at Rome. In this case the title of Patricius did not suffice, as this word, according to ancient use, was a borrowed official title from the east Roman Empire, though its conferment or acceptance finally ceased to denote any connection with east Rome. Charles, however, required equal rank with Byzantium in contemporary opinion for the interests of his monarchical and international position. The general opinion of the educated considered that the Roman Empire would endure to the end of all earthly things and that it would be the last world-power before the millennium. The great congeries of nations over which Charles ruled as a Christian monarch could in any case be regarded only as a portion of this eternal Roman Empire. Charles's monarchy was therefore either a kind of governorship carried on in the name of the Byzantine emperor or it was an independent government, and in the latter case it was a revival of the west Roman imperium. It was considered that the time had now come to revive it as the west Roman Empire, by a corresponding diplomatic preparation. This announcement was made somewhat prematurely by the Pope on December 25, 800; moreover, to all appearance the form of coronation arranged by the Pope failed to please the ruler. He accepted the dignity and secured recognition at a later period from Byzantium, though not without great trouble and expense; the coronation by the Pope he considered was not to form a precedent. On September 11, 813, he handed over the empire to his successor, Lewis, the only survivor of his legitimate sons, at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), the city which he had made the capital of his empire and had decorated with works of art brought from Ravenna. He there called upon his son to take the crown from the altar, in well-founded anticipation of the possibility that the emperor might not always be able to secure its transmission to an heir.

K. Lewis I the Pious

A few months later, on January 28, 814, the fortunes of the empire devolved on the shoulders of this Lewis the "Pious." He was wanting in that manliness and energy which had chiefly distinguished the deceased Pippin among the sons of Charles. The boy had been brought up far away from his father and his home, in close seclusion, with the title of Governor of Aquitaine. His early life had been unlike that of a Teutonic layman and also unlike that of his father. Charles was a true believer, and anxious to support the Church and her missions; but he desired also that the Church should transmit her knowledge to the Germans and so stimulate their progress; these efforts were to include the laity and to stimulate the formation of a native German civilization side by side with the Roman. With all these things the son was out of sympathy. He also lamented the hearty enjoyment of life manifested in his father's character, which at times showed a lack of conscientiousness, but which, if measured by the standard of the age, displayed no degeneracy, merely failing to correspond with strict Christian morality. When Lewis travelled to Aix-la-Chapelle to assume the government, he regarded his father's court as a stable of Augeas, and he looked upon the rapid reversal of many points of his father's policy as the sole means of salvation. Under the influence of his ecclesiastical teachers he excluded Charles's project of general instruction from his programme, and thus purposely reserved a literary training as the sole privilege of the clergy. The efforts of Charles to reduce the dialects to written form, to encourage the study of Frankish grammar and the art of composition, were treated by him with scorn and neglect. The brief development of old High German and Saxon poetry, encouraged by the influence of Charles, and its rapid reabsorption by the ecclesiastical literature of Latin Christianity are due to the reaction which Lewis introduced, no doubt of set purpose.

There is no question that this reaction and its effects were an influence no less important upon the development of the German nationality than were the political discussions which arose during the reign of Lewis. These were evoked by the conflicts between the united empire and the reviving claims of various ruling families to a share in the supremacy. In this struggle the empire was supported by the universalism of the Church and by Lothar, who was called to the post of emperor, as the eldest son; on the other hand, the claims for a share in a government of limited extent, but in accordance with old tradition, were supported by Lothar's brothers, Lewis and Pippin, who died before his father. An opposition thus comparatively simple was complicated by the emperor's second wife, Judith, who was anxious to secure half or more of the whole for her son Charles, for which purpose she shrank from no possible intrigue, and the unfortunate emperor became the tool of all these various party factions. His death, amid this confusion, in 840 helped at least to clear the atmosphere.

5. THE EAST FRANKISH OR GERMAN EMPIRE

Lothar, when sole emperor, considered the concessions made to Charles as too great, and thus drove his brother to the side of Lewis, who had been previously oppressed by both. Lewis and Charles in conjunction defeated the emperor. In

the compact of Verdun (843) it was arranged that Lothar should retain the empire and a formal supremacy, together with the Italian dominions and a piece of territory extending from the Aar and the Rhine on one side, the Rhone, Saone, and Scheldt on the other, to the North Sea, and including Friesland to the right of the Rhine. Charles the Bald secured the district to the west of this boundary, and Lewis, whose separate kingdom had originally consisted of Bavaria, gained the territory on the east. He therefore was in charge of the main body of the future German nationality.

There was here no question of any nationalist idea, even though at the confirmation of the Strasburg oaths on the 11th and 14th of February, 842, the troops of Charles spoke Romance and those of Lewis German. A man who had been educated under the general lay instruction initiated by Charles, and who was still inspired with this spirit, the historian Nithard, acted in a nationalist spirit, and transcribed the oaths in the dialects of each people; but no such thoughts or ideas inspired the general policy or the totality of those affected. The compact of Verdun was a purely geographical division of territory. Lewis's share was not intended to include "Germans," but the Bavarians, Alamanni, Franks, Thuringians, and Saxons who happened to be in that district; other Alamanni (in Alsace) and other Franks (further away on the left bank of the Rhine) were, like the Frisians, assigned to the artificial Middle Kingdom. The word "Thiudisk," "German" (Deutsch), was first intended to explain that a man spoke no Latin but only a vernacular dialect. For convenience of distinction, Lewis is styled by students the "German."

A. The German Carolingians

The rights of the royal family as recognised in the compact of Verdun made their influence felt, both in the realm of Lewis and in the east Frankish portion and also in the share of Lothar. The compact of Verdun began to be imitated at every individual point, and its effects were multiplied in correspondence with the justice of the claims of the victorious communities; it seemed that the empire of Charles would be broken up more quickly by his own family than by the existing forces of disruption. In the imperial districts of east Francia the Bavarians were assigned to the share belonging to Carlmann, the Alamanni to Charles the Fat, and central and lower Germany to Lewis the Younger. Of the foundation of the German Empire by their father, Lewis the German, there can be no question.

These events were largely conditioned by the fact that Lothar's family soon became extinct, and that the questions of imperial succession and title were therefore revived. As regards the latter, Lewis the Pious and Lothar had given the Pope the right of coronation at his desire; the former had been recrowned at Rheims by Pope Stephen, as he thought the first coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle was inadequate, while Lothar had received the imperial crown at Rome itself. An understanding between Charles the Bald and the papacy secured to the former the imperial crown after the death of the Emperor Lewis II, son of Lothar I (875), though it actually belonged by right of succession to Charles's elder brother Lewis the German. The latter and his sons maintained their rights against Charles the Bald and his west Franks by energetic military and diplomatic measures. Hence they gained a considerable share in the plunder from the desolate and

shattered central kingdom. After 870 the convention of Mersen advanced the boundary of the east Frankish Empire to a line running from Geneva along the upper Moselle, the Ourthe, and the Maas, while in 879 the brilliant victory of Andernach extended their powers beyond the upper Maas to the Scheldt. The east Frankish Empire thus included not only almost all the unmixed "German" tribes, but also a number of Romance subjects, and even now it was not regarded as natural that the boundaries of nationalities should coincide with those of states. Metz and its immediate neighbourhood formed at all times an isolated centre of Romance language and civilization; there were, moreover, Romance peoples in the Eastern Empire, further to the west of the upper Lotharingian district in modern Belgium, from the central Scheldt to the Maas; these were the Walloons, a Romance people, speaking a language of Keltic origin with many Frankish additions, and clearly distinguished from the later French. The Low Frankish Flemings, who were Germans, inhabited the coast beyond the Scheldt, in the west Frankish Empire, to Dunkirk. Eventually the imperial throne was recovered by the most successful son of Lewis the German, Charles.

In the east Frankish Empire the Carolingian family disappeared, through death and misfortune, as rapidly as in the two other lines. After 882 the Emperor Charles III, known as the Fat, found himself master of the whole kingdom. Even then, however, no uniform national German Empire was developed. In no long time Charles merely became once again the chief of the whole Carolingian Empire, as in western Francia German help was urgently required against the Normans. The present incapacity of Charles made it impossible for this help to be rendered, and a final solution of the problem thus became inevitable. West Francia and the new kingdoms of Burgundia and Italy went their own way, while the leading tribes of east Francia combined to break away from the dishonourable government of Charles. It is through this somewhat negative enterprise and this military agreement that the German Empire and nationality was really founded. The German representatives united to elect a leader in place of the legitimate emperor, and chose from his family, as his nearest blood relation, the illegitimate son of Charles's deceased brother, Carlmann, who had held a Bavarian office in Carinthia.

This change introduced the principle of royal election into German history, — a principle which was better than the joint succession of the most nearly related families, though not so good as dynastic primogeniture. The elections were not conducted upon any revolutionary principle; it was not demanded that the succession should remain undetermined until the death of the existing king, or that all other considerations should be disregarded. The traditional feeling that the succession ought to be vested in the reigning family continued to exercise a hardly diminished influence, and remained preponderant until the interregnum, and indeed for some time subsequently. The innovation, however, that the successor was subjected to general recognition by a process of election which might take place even during the lifetime of the reigning monarch, modified the dynastic idea, and led to a connection of the two theories. In the case of Arnulf's son, Lewis (in childhood), the anointing and coronation were carried out by the hand of the bishops for the first time in the history of the east Frankish kings; in west Francia this transference of the ceremonies usual at an imperial coronation to the coronation of an emperor had been employed to confer greater distinction upon Charles the Bald.

Arnulf (887–899) was distinguished for his brilliant victory at Löwen on the Dyle, of October 20, 891. This prevented the Normans from plundering or fortifying positions in Germany, which was then defenceless by sea. Henceforward northwest France and the British Isles remained the sole areas open to their enterprises and establishment. These raids, like the settlements of the Northmen in Russia (Vol. V, p. 438), are to be regarded as a sequel of the general Teutonic migration, and point to a series of related causes and events in the same manner as the great migration proper. Arnulf's interference in Italy and his assumption of the imperial crown have but a temporary importance. Immediately after his reign the crown became the object of petty papal intrigues with Burgundia or native rulers who were aiming at a dominant position in Italy and had secured their independence as officials under the vanishing power of the empire.

Under Arnulf's successor, Germany was terribly ravaged from the southeast by the Magyars; neither the government which ruled in the name of Lewis the Child (899–911) nor the bold individual resistance of the tribal duchies, which now began to act for themselves, were able to impose any permanent check upon these invaders.

B. The Rise of the Tribal Duchies. Conrad I

The stage was now clear for the appearance of the tribal duchy; the election of Arnulf to the kingship had definitely established the elective theory and superseded the partitions of the kingdom among the royal families. Arnulf's illegitimate son Zwentibald, the namesake of the great Moravian despot Swatopluk (Vol. V, p. 233), while joint king of Lotharingia had only succeeded in discrediting this form of partition and in driving his subjects from himself to Lewis the Child. Tribal particularism as such was far from abolished. In place of the partition kings, who, like the individual tribes, no longer were members of the royal stock, native rulers attempted to make themselves supreme with the good will of the people; these traced their descent from families possessing hereditary estates and prestige; their importance was increased by the tenure of high offices. It was not immediately clear in every case which family was the most capable to rule, or would be able to maintain its ground if appointed. In Franconia, for instance, there was a keen rivalry between the Conradiner family which was settled in the Lahn district and the eastern family of the Babenbergers, which held property on the upper Main. The imperial government itself favoured Conrad and helped him to secure a definite victory over the Babenbergers, permitting him also to adopt the somewhat indefinite style of duke. Under Lewis the Child, the title of duke (cf. p. 71) became in Saxony, Francia, Alamannia, and Bavaria the ordinary method of denoting a popular leader. The same was the case in Lotharingia, where the original sense of Frankish relationship had been modified by historical events.

About 900 the imperial government chiefly consisted of the leading ecclesiastics of east Francia, Archbishop Hatto of Mainz, and Bishop Salomo of Constance. Under Lewis the Pious, the clergy had attempted to secure all possible political unity in order to preserve their ecclesiastical unity; so now, when the division of the empire into halves had proved definite and irrevocable, they attempted to pursue some policy of union within the east Francian division. There were at the same time more direct motives to influence their action. The results which the

upper clergy might expect from the division of the empire among the leading princely families were also to be expected from the more obvious and tangible power that the dukes either claimed or exerted over the bishoprics which lay within their spheres of government.

Thus, when Lewis died in childhood leaving no heir (911), the episcopate immediately undertook the choice of an east Frankish king; the laity offered no opposition, as this seemed the surest means of breaking away from the hereditary claims of the west Frankish Carolingians and from the collective monarchy. Whether they would obey the new ruler of their choice was another question. The Frankish count or duke, Conrad, was elected. He was a suitable character in the eyes of the leading ecclesiastical princes, and he was also related to the Carolingians, so that the breach with the old dynasty seemed less violent; and by the choice of Conrad the crown remained "among the Franks." Upon all these questions people thought as tribesmen, not as members of a nation, and therefore the crown was regarded as the property of the Frankish tribe. A polite request was sent to the most powerful duke, the Saxon Otto, of the house of the Ludolfings, which was declined; this was but one of the preliminary negotiations which preceded the election at Forchheim on Frankish soil (November 8, 911).

Such was the indifference with which the revival of the monarchy was viewed; its existence was made conditional upon individual consent, and its power was yet further diminished. None the less it remained in existence, and precarious as that existence was, it yet became a traditional and historical idea. If its practical power decreased it secured an influence less easy to estimate, which eventually enabled it to surmount the considerable dangers which were yet to threaten its existence. Hence we observe that the passage from Charles the Great onwards through German history is by no means direct and is explicable solely by the partitions between 843 and 870. Of his immense, statesmanlike work, many achievements disappeared entirely and with unmerited rapidity. The permanent element in his work, which exercised an enduring and deciding influence upon Germany, is the fact that Charles united a large number of diverse Teutonic tribes on the right bank of the Rhine with his own empire; by administration, by civil and ecclesiastical government, he bound them so firmly together that they were unable to separate in spite of their mutual animosity. Their crown, however, their political union, their common institutions, and their future nationality were plants which either withered or grew with difficulty, and which for a long time could only be prevented from extinction by the most careful attention.

C. The Empire under Low German Rulers

These new growths would certainly have perished had not Conrad I (or whoever advised him) taken a step in the hour of death which produced a profound and salutary impression. The proud and powerful Saxons were extremely anxious that the crown and the leadership should fall to themselves, the youngest members of the imperial alliance. Expediency and generosity, on the other hand, urged the Franconians to give their consent. In this way they remained the supporters and preservers of the power of the crown, though this was a pleasure which they did not exaggerate. Thus, in the midst of general indifference, these two tribes at least

elected a king, the son of the deceased Duke Otto. The most dangerous moment in the existence of the German crown had been passed, and henceforward all was progress.

The methods of Henry I (the Fowler) largely consisted in a policy of humouring the particularist spirit as far as possible. He acted like the layman he was, granting neither the right of coronation nor any obvious influence to the imperialist section of the clergy; their influence would not have suited him personally, and his energies were chiefly expended in cases where others would have been glad of his help, entirely for the benefit of his Saxons, in whose duchy the Thuringians were incorporated. Thus it was only his own duchy that he liberated from the Magyars in 933 by means of a truce and a victory, acting as if this were the course of action generally approved. He proceeded very cautiously to secure the recognition of the supreme royal authority in Bavaria and Alamannia (Suabia); he even left the appointment of Bavarian bishops in the hands of the Bavarian duke. As soon, however, as the Suabian duchy fell vacant and a leader was required, he immediately chose a foreign duke for the country from among the Franconian supporters whom he wished to reward. Lotharingia alone, which with its duke Giselbert had given offence to all the other Germans, he proceeded to treat severely on the first favourable opportunity, which he also seized to secure his recognition as east Frankish king by the west Frankish government, though he was not himself a Carolingian. He carried on his former Saxon policy, with the military power of his well-trained Saxon troops, by making an advance into the Slavonic lands of eastern Europe. He thus pointed out the road for the future, which was to be a German and not merely a Saxon line of advance so soon as the tribes co-operated and the gain of the individual became that of the nation. The same remarks apply to his creation of a Saxon frontier against the Danes, the mark of Schleswig.

The succession of his son, Otto I, which he had personally secured, began in 936 with a kind of manifesto against Henry's careful policy of retirement. The new generation and the imperialist clergy were anxious to announce their theory of the constitution. Otto was crowned in Aix-la-Chapelle with great solemnity and reaped the fruits of Henry's silent successes. The great dukes acted as his household officers during the coronation feast, thus admitting their position, not only as servants of the empire, but also as servants of the king. Otto further announced his general position as *primus inter pares* and a crowned tribal duke, by immediately intrusting the Saxon government to the hand of a representative, Hermann Billung, who was specially commissioned to guard against the Danes and the Baltic pirates. With Hermann the great margrave Gero administered the frontiers and directed the Saxon policy of expansion upon the Slavonic side. Otto was anxious from the outset to appear as the universal king, equally supreme in every matter. The natural reaction took place; there were dissensions between Saxons and Franks; revolts were joined by two of Otto's own brothers, who had been unable to understand the reason why Otto should be elevated rather than themselves, at this moment when the dynastic theory was only nascent; there were complications with several of the dukes and with the superior clergy in the course of these revolts. Otto had some difficulty in averting these dangers, and as among the Danes, Burgundians, and west Franks or French there was no lack of tribal or dynastic tendencies, a kind of protectorate over their kings was immediately offered him.

Otto's system of placing the duchies in the hands of personal friends or immediate and younger relations was not carried out in every case. His son, Ludolf of Suabia, was no exception. He, like his Bavarian uncle Henry, Otto's brother, was carrying on an independent foreign policy beyond the south frontier, exactly as the duchy had done during the weakest period of the German crown. Henry, however, having learned wisdom by many attempts at revolt and past favours, maintained friendly relations with Otto, whereas Ludolf was inclined to act out of jealousy with his uncle. Hence the Suabian duke was induced to challenge his father prematurely to a trial of strength. The latter's interference in Italy was urged upon him by the necessity of showing that the king himself was master of his foreign policy. The Saxons thus followed the paths leading beyond the Alps which had been used by the old Merovingians and by their successors the Carolingians, of whom Arnulf was the last. At length the claims of east Francia to Italy and the imperial crown, which had long been allowed to lapse, were revived. Otto acted like Charles the Great by proclaiming himself "Rex Francorum et Langobardorum" at Pavia and demanding the imperial crown at Rome shortly afterwards. Between these two steps he married Adelheid, the sister of his protégé, Conrad of Burgundy, and the widow of Lothar, one of the kings who for some decades past had occupied Italian soil by usurpation. She was a pleasing and distinguished lady, though she did not bring with her the Italian crown, — a gift which Otto, indeed, had never expected.

The imperial crown was refused him by the timorous Alberic, who had made himself governor of Rome and lord of the papacy; in Germany the old revolts were for a moment revived with the help of Ludolf. Otto therefore returned and agreed to a convention concerning Italy, which satisfied no one except Henry of Bavaria, who gained the old Friuli with Verona and Aquileia for his duchy. Among the dissatisfied parties was Berengar of Ivrea, who had regarded his own kingdom in Italy as secure upon the death of Lothar and who had now received only a diminished feudal kingdom; dissatisfied also were Otto's son-in-law, the Frankish duke, Conrad of Lorraine, and Ludolf and his partisans. A new and formidable revolt broke out, the danger of which was increased by a simultaneous invasion of the Magyars, but public opinion declared in favour of the king. After 954 Otto suppressed the revolt and initiated a new policy, intrusting to the bishops a certain share of the secular government in the duchies and counties, and securing that close personal connection with them which he had desired to introduce in the case of the dukes. His capable brother Bruno, the archbishop of Cologne, was given the supervision of Lotharingia, always a thorn in the side of the empire, which was henceforward divided into two duchies. For the help of the Saxon policy against the Slavs, and the germanisation of the country beyond the Elbe, he proposed to support the power of the army and the margrave by making Magdeburg on the old frontier a metropolitan seat and thus a centre of ecclesiastical activity. Upon the Magyars' return in 955, Otto inflicted upon them a heavy defeat at the Lechfeld near Augsburg (Vol. V, p. 378), which finally liberated Germany from these marauding raids, and was regarded throughout the empire as an exploit which had secured the salvation of the common monarchy.

The consequence and power of the energetic German king were now obviously in their maturity both at home and abroad; all his activity and all earlier events were turned to some account. The splendour of the age of Charles the Great

either revived or was surpassed; Greeks and Saracens sent embassies with presents of honour from empire to empire, according to the forms of courtesy in use at the period. This fact itself was an invitation to consider the possibility of reviving the imperial power of Charles. It was a possibility further implied by the fact that the Saxon dynasty had attempted and failed to unite its interests with those of the tribal dukes, had transferred its favour to the upper clergy of the empire, and was in close sympathy with the missionary and universal aims of the Church. The Church and its wide influence possessed a wholly unworthy head in Pope John XII; and it was therefore all the more important to withdraw no longer from the Roman ecclesiastical centre of gravity the influence of an imperial power which could make ecclesiastical policy its own and become the ally and patron of the Church. Moreover the revival of the empire would provide a definite solution of those Italian problems which had been raised by the behaviour of Berengar and of his son, Adalbert. Every recent development of Otto's later policy seemed to point the way to Rome. The foundation of the archbishopric of Magdeburg could most easily be arranged at Rome, since it was opposed by the metropolitan of Mainz, who could from Rome be prohibited from further extending his great ecclesiastical province eastward. It therefore appeared that the most tangible national object, the extension of the empire and of the nationality upon the Baltic and in the eastern interior, could best be furthered by measures undertaken in the distant country of Italy.

The expedition to Italy was begun in 961; in the course of it Otto accepted the Lombard crown, and was finally crowned as emperor at Rome by the Pope on February 2, 962. Henceforward the imperial power was not thought to have been fully acquired until this form was carried through. Shortly afterwards the papacy was reformed by a forcible change of Pope under the judicial supervision of the emperor himself. Northern and central Italy immediately became new districts of the empire, as formerly under Charles the Great; the Pope became the chief imperial bishop, even as the metropolitan of Mainz had been the chief bishop of the German kingdom. The latter was obliged to assent to the bestowal of archiepiscopal rank upon the new see of Magdeburg. Like Charles, Otto proceeded to effect a composition with Byzantium, which was indignant at his rise to power. After much ill-feeling an understanding satisfactory to both sides was secured by the marriage of the emperor's niece, Theophano, with Otto's son and namesake, whom he had already in 961 appointed to succeed him. Like Lewis the Pious, this second Otto became emperor during his father's lifetime, in 967, for the purposes of the Greek marriage contract. The Saxon dynasty thus calmly established itself, both in its old and new positions, and it seemed that Otto the Great was about to resume the Carolingian traditions in their entirety, when he died on May 7, 973.[1]

The government of Otto II (973–983) is remarkable in Germany rather for the continuance than the extension of his father's work. The centre of gravity for the empire shifted so far that it no longer remained in Germany. The existence of the imperial crown made the Lombard crown a superfluity, and this later theory of the situation secured the complete uniformity of the whole empire. Imperial assemblies upon Italian soil decided the affairs of Germany. For the coronation the emperor's successor, the child Otto III, who was designated at Verona the

[1] See the plate facing this page, "The Interior and Crypt of the Church at Kloster Memleben."

EXTERIOR AND CRYPT OF THE CHURCH OF KLOSTER MEMLEBEN

(From L. Puttrich and G. W. Geyser the younger's "Die Kirchen zu Kloster Memleben," Schraplau and Treben, Leipsic, 1837)

EXPLANATION OF THE VIEWS OVERLEAF

Above: Exterior of the church at Kloster Memleben in its former condition; drawn by H. Budras, etched by Witthöft, Jun.

Below: Interior of the crypt of the same conventual church; drawn by G. W. Geyser, Jun., lithographed by L. Courtin.

The traveller from Laucha in Thüringen who follows the path in a westerly direction by way of Thalwinkel passes a high range of hills, and finally reaches a wood of oak and beech trees, which leads down to the valley of the Unstrut. Before reaching the foot of the slope, glimpses of an attractive countryside may be caught through the openings in the foliage at the edge of the wood. Immediately before the onlooker lies the little village of Memleben hidden in fruit trees. Thence the meadow valley, the "Goldne Aue," extends for miles, with the Unstrut winding through it, until the green surface is lost in the blue of the horizon.

Our village of Memleben is first mentioned as Mimelebo in the list of those places given to this monastery by Charlemagne in the time of St. Lullus, Archbishop of Mayence († 786) and founder of the Abbey of Hersfeld on the Fulda. The rulers of Saxony often visited the spot. King Henry I died in the Castle of Memleben on July 2, 936. The body was taken to Quedlinburg and there buried in the church of St. Servatius. As fate would have it, Otto I also breathed his last in Memleben on May 7, 973. Accompanied by several princes and nobles, he left Merseburg on May 6 to go to Quedlinburg by way of Memleben, to celebrate Whitsuntide, and reached Memleben on the evening of the same day. The next morning at dawn the Emperor rose and attended matins; he then lay down again, was afterwards present at Mass, shaking hands with the poor, and returned to his bedroom after breakfast. He came to the midday meal refreshed and in good spirits and was afterwards present at vespers. During the recitation of the gospel, however, he began to stagger, and the princes at his side placed him upon a chair. Here he received the Sacrament, and during its administration he passed away. The body was embalmed and the intestines buried in the church of Memleben, after which Otto II took his father's body to Magdeburg, where it was entombed in a marble sarcophagus in the collegiate church.

It was in the early years of his reign that Otto I founded the abbey of Memleben. On November 21, 998, Otto III presented to the abbey of Memleben for his soul's welfare and that of his parents the town of Wiehe (the birthplace of Leopold Ranke), together with the estates thereto attached in five neighbouring districts, and also Hechendorf and the salt pans at Frankenhausen. There is no doubt that the monastery buildings of Memleben were completed before the end of the tenth century. The architectural style is romanesque.

The lower parts of the walls have been accurately copied from the ruins as they stood before the restoration by Frederic William IV of Prussia; the upper parts, the roofing and the tower above the cruciform nave, have been restored partly from the clear though very badly executed copper-plate, in Schamelius ("Historische Beschreibung des vormals berühmten Benediktinerklosters zu Memleben," Naumburg, 1729), partly from the sketches by Stieglitz (in Weisse's "Musäum für die Sächsische Geschichte I, 1), and finally from an early sketch by Wilhelm Dilich (about 1630). The two western towers were incomplete, as they do not appear in any of the sketches. As, however, their foundations remain, their form has been given here.

The crypt lies exactly beneath the choir, corresponding to its full length and breadth and including also the space occupied by the adjacent apse. The entrance formerly led through the cloister. The choir of the crypt is one step higher than the crypt itself, and of the same octagonal form as the projection of the choir of the upper church.

(Chiefly after L. Puttrich and G. W. Geyser, Jun., "Die Kirchen zu Kloster Memleben, Schraplau und Treben," Leipsic, 1837.)

archbishop of Ravenna, as well as the archbishop of Mainz, travelled to Aix-la-Chapelle. The relations of this son of Adelheid and husband of Theophano with the Mediterranean thus differed widely from those entertained by the successor of Henry I. The conquest of Græco-Saracen lower Italy — an enterprise threatened by Otto I in order to put pressure on Byzantium — became for Otto II the most important object of his reign. His carelessness brought down upon him the appalling defeat of July 15, 982 (at the modern Capo di Colonne south of Cotrone), which inflamed the slumbering hostility of the Lombards, Wends, and Danes. The emperor died before he could repair these heavy losses. The difficult work of restoring the prestige of the empire devolved upon the regent Theophano. With the help of Archbishop Willigis of Mayence she defeated the intentions of the younger Henry of Bavaria, a grandson of Henry I and a Ludolfing, who considered himself as such better qualified to rule than a queen-regent of alien nationality and dynasty, or even in the last resort than Otto III himself, who, though crowned, was still a minor.

Otto III suffered more than any other German ruler from the consciousness that he was nothing but a German. We learn from reliable evidence that Theophano was inclined to manifest her personal scorn and contempt for the Germans, and even for the German characteristics of her own husband. Otto III complained of "the rudeness of his Saxon character," which had not been entirely overcome by his tutors, who were chiefly foreigners, or by the foreign friends with whom he surrounded himself. He changed his capital to Rome and thus to the neighbourhood of his friend Gerbert, whom he made Pope Sylvester II in 999. He fulfilled that theory of the empire which had already been manifest at the court of Otto II, by organising his court upon Byzantine models. He proclaimed himself upon his seal and otherwise as the first real restorer of the Roman Empire in the full sense of the term; for this reason he added "Romanorum" to his title "Imperator." He regarded the Germans merely as a nation subject to the empire, which had its capital in Rome. He assumed the secondary title "Saxonicus," by which he meant not "the Saxon," but "the Governor of the Saxons," after the pattern of the old triumphal titles of Africanus, Germanicus, etc. Believing that the prestige of this empire was but increased by powerful vassals, he bestowed ecclesiastical independence upon Poland by founding the archbishopric of Gnesen over the grave of his Czech friend, Woitech (Adalbert; cf. Vol. V, p. 472). This measure destroyed the usefulness of Magdeburg. In the same spirit he freed the Poles from their obligations to the German Empire and to the Saxons. He helped the Hungarians to secure a royal crown (Stephan; Vol. V, p. 382) as a papal fief, and to found the archbishopric of Gran. By the latter measure he destroyed the position of the Bavarian Church among the mixed peoples of the Hungarian territory.

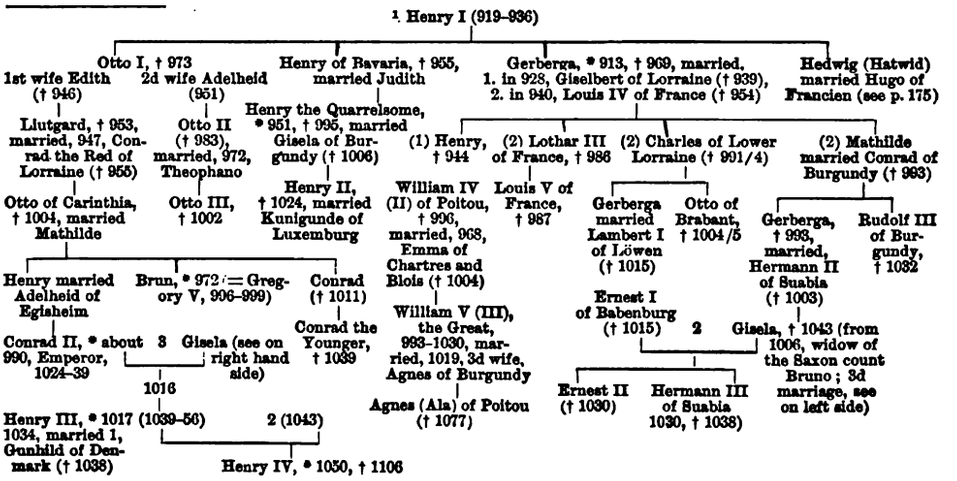
Otto was himself to feel the bitterness of beholding the collapse of the empire thus modelled upon antique forms. The Romans drove out the German who had renounced his nationality from his pampered "aurea Roma." He died in 1002, while he was attempting to make a forcible re-entry, and the transference of his corpse to Germany was completed amid the revolt of Italy.

King Henry II, a Ludolfing of the Bavarian line, whose election was not secured without the opposition of rivals, is, more than all others, the restorer of the royal power in Germany and the German sphere of interest (see the map facing

this page, "Germany about the year 1000"). Although personally a South German, he resumed the policy of the Saxon rulers. He averted the danger of a great Slav empire, under the energetic Duke Boleslav Chabry (Vol. V, p. 236), maintained German supremacy over Poland and Bohemia, and founded the bishopric of Bamberg in order to secure the transformation of the Slavs on the Upper Main into true Germans. His interference in Italian affairs (1004) was merely confined to preventing the foundation of a national supremacy by Arduin (Hartwin) of Ivrea. Instead of treating Germany and Italy as one kingdom, after the example of Otto II, he followed that of Otto I, and accepted the Lombard crown which Arduin had temporarily lost. In 1014 he made a rapid journey to receive the imperial crown. This restoration of the German monarchy as ruling separate kingdoms led to the acquisition of Burgundia for the German crown through a treaty which promised German protection to the childless king, Rudolf III. The latter in return promised the royal succession to Henry in his territory. This acquisition, which could not be refused, and also Henry's close but entirely political relations with the Church, which were maintained not so much through the worldly minded bishops as through the reformers, obliged him to enter the paths of imperial policy. In 1019 and 1020, at the request of the Pope and at the appeal of the faithful Lombard episcopate, he was begged to return to Italy. He undertook the journey in 1021 and 1022, and reorganised the affairs of the north and centre. In his case, however, all these resumptions of imperial policy had a prospect of permanence and success, as he had previously been careful to secure the predominance of Germany.

D. The Franconian Emperors

(*a*) *Conrad II and Henry III.*—The policy of the childless Henry II was continued in many respects by that of Conrad II, a Rhineland Franconian of Salic extraction. His dexterity in crushing a Franconian rival of the same name secured his success in the royal election of September 24, 1024.[1] The empire had thus passed out of the hands of the Saxons, who had practically lost it in 1002; such, at any rate, was their own opinion, when the Bavarian Duke Henry secured the



[1] Henry I (919–936)

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ROMAN-GERMAN EMPIRE

L. GERMANI: (Kingdom of Germania)	
Friesland:	BCD2,3
Almere (Zuidersee)	C2
Flaridingan (Flardingen)	B3
Heligoland (Island Helgoland)	D1
Isala (River Yssel)	C2
Nordin (Norden)	D2
Texla (Island Texel)	BC2
Thuredreht (Dordrecht)	B3
Trajectum (Utrecht)	C2
Walacra (Island Walcheren)	B3
Lower Lorraine:	BCD2,3
Alost (Aelst)	B3
Andwerpa (Antwerp)	B3
Aquisgranum (Aix la Chapelle)	C3
Birtena (Birthen near Wesel)	C3
Bunna (Bonn)	D3
Brida (Breda)	B3
Cameracum (Cambrai)	B3
Colonia (Cologne)	CD3
Davintre (Deventer)	C3
Ganda (Ghent)	B3
Julica (Juliers)	C3
Legio (Liège)	C3
Malinas (Malines)	B3
Narsureum (Namur)	B3
Ninmaga (Nimwegen)	C3
Scaldus (River Scheldt)	B3
Stabulaus (Stablo)	C3
Trajectum (Maastricht)	C3
Tungri (Tongern)	C3
Zulpike (Zülpich)	C3
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Andernacum (Andernach)	D3
Confluentia (Coblenz)	D3
Ivosium (Ivois)	C3
Lunaville (Lunéville)	C3
Metis (Metz)	C3
Prumia (Prüm)	C3
Sara (River Saar)	CD3
Theodonis Villa (Diedenhofen)	C3
Treveris (Trèves)	C3
Tullum (Toul)	C3
Virdunum (Verdun)	C3
Saxony with the Marches of Billung and Schleswig:	DEF12,3
Aldinburg (Oldenburg in Holstein)	E1
Alera (River Aller)	E2
Bardanwich (Bardowiek near Lüneberg)	E2
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Minden (Minden)	D2
Osnabrugge (Osnabrück)	D2
Patherbrun (Paderborn)	D3
Rura (River Ruhr)	D3
Sliaswig (Schleswig)	E1
Susat (Soest)	D3
Thrutmanni (Dortmund)	D3
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Frankenevurt (Frankfurt)	D3
Fridealare (Fritzlar)	E3
Herolfesfeld (Hersfeld)	E3
Hirsaugia (Hirsau)	D4
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Spira (Spires)	D4
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Onoldesbach (Ansbach)	E4
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Nagalta (Nagold)	D4
Nordilinga (Nördlingen)	E4
Rhin (River Rhine)	E5
St. Galli (St. Gallen)	E5
Strazburg (Strassburg)	D4
Swites (Schwyz)	D5
Tuonowa (River Danube)	E4
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Ancapure (Enns)	G4
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Bauzanum (Bozen)	F5
Brixina (Brixen)	F5
Culminaha (Kulmbach)	F4
Egire (Eger)	F3
Eistet (Eichstätt)	F4
Forichheim (Forchheim)	F4
Frisinga (Freising)	F4
Ine (River Inn)	F5
Inticha (Innichen)	F5
Isara (River Isar)	F4
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Moin (River Main)	E3,4
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Aquilegia (Aquileja)	G6
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Bettowo (Pettau)	H5
Brinta (River Brenta)	F6
Celeja (Cilli)	H5
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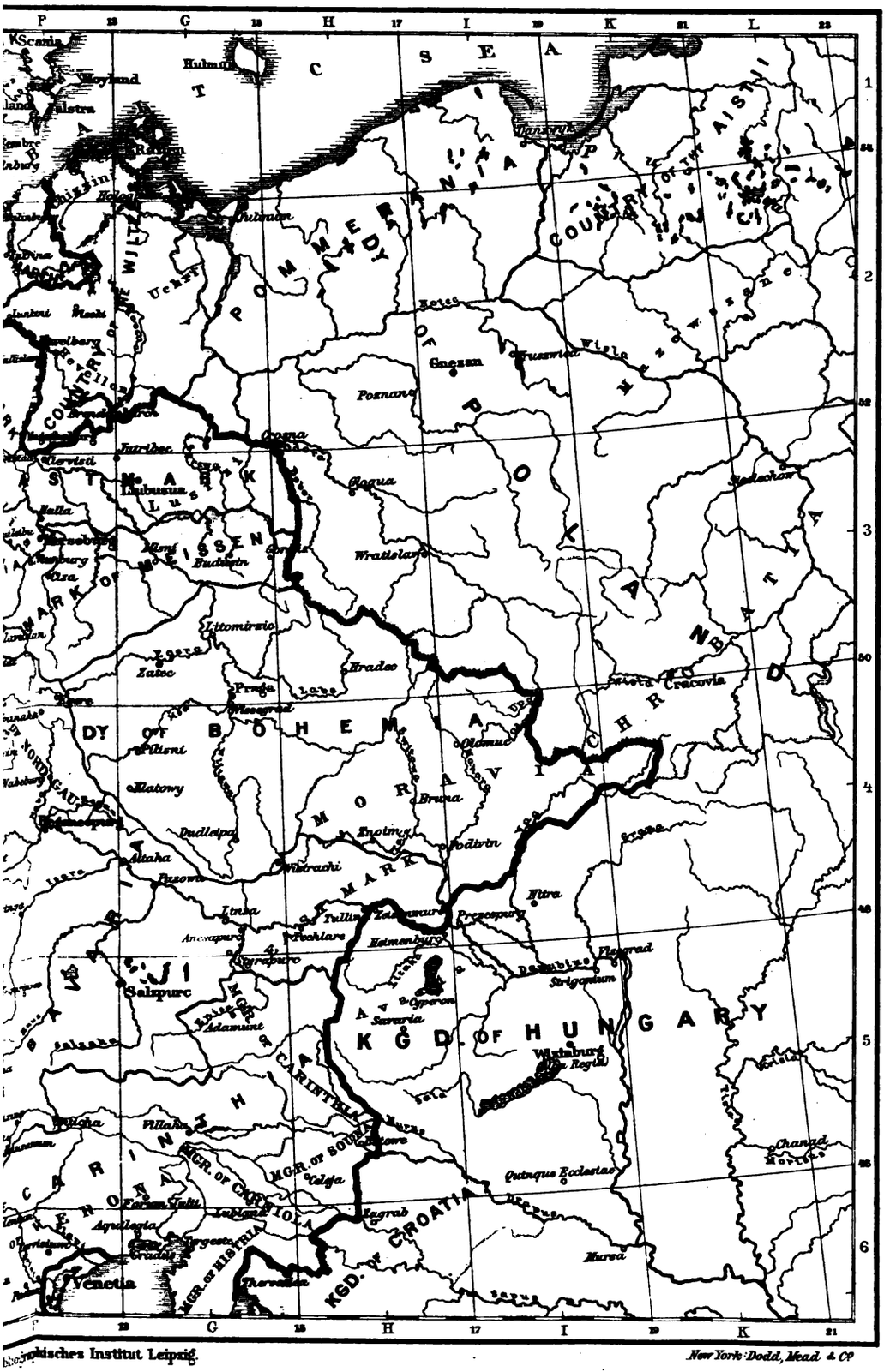

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crown, although he was a Ludolfing. The fact that it now returned to the Franconians was due not so much to a regular resumption of the old principle of succession as to the closer relations subsisting among the great Rhine ecclesiastical princes. Conrad, though not educated by court chaplains like most future emperors, but by laics, like Henry I, did not reject the imperial ideas which were forced upon his notice in the most varied directions. He attempted to combine them with an essentially German policy. Hence after the Italian bishops had visited him at Constance during his royal progress and had invited him to come to Italy, he accepted the invitation in 1026, received the imperial crown in 1027, and extended the power of the empire from Lombardy, where it was urgently required, to the south, including the position of the Normans, who were now settled in Lower Italy. As the legal successor of Henry he was able to renew the compact with the king of Burgundy and to resume the government of the country in 1033, after Rudolf's death, being formally elected and crowned in this case as in Italy. The Imperium of the Germans thus comprehended three separate kingdoms, with a guarantee for their permanent union.

The alliance of the Polish duke, M(i)esko II (Vol. V, p. 473), with his uncle, Knut of Denmark and England, threatened danger to this government, which Conrad was able to avert by immediately contracting a friendship of his own with the Danish king. This was consolidated in 1035 by the marriage of the emperor's son, Henry III, with Knut's daughter, Gunhild or Kunigunde, and by the surrender at that moment of the mark of Schleswig. The brave Saxons settled in this mark remained none the less Germans, and even advanced their nationality beyond the Schlei, further northward. This friendship made it possible to retain the imperial supremacy unimpaired in Poland and Bohemia, and in 1036 to bring to a triumphant conclusion certain complications with a people who had been useful as allies against Poland, the Slav Liutizes. Polish and Burgundian affairs gave rise to certain difficulties, with which was connected the revolt of Conrad's stepson, Ernest, the heir of the Suabian duchy, and Count Conrad, who in 1024 had been overreached in the royal election by the adroit management of Archbishop Aribo, who wished to secure the election to the elder Conrad. However, Conrad II surmounted all these difficulties (1030). In the constitutional and social development of the empire Conrad proved himself a practical and creative administrator. Both in Germany and in Italy he supported the vassals of the great feudal lords in their efforts to secure a hereditary title to their fiefs. By this action he united the interests of that class with those of the crown; and by this means also in Italy the allegiance to the empire, which was recognised by most, if not by all of the bishops, was laid upon broader foundations.

The success of this policy was most obvious in the powerful position which it gave to Conrad's heir, Henry III. He restored the balance between the conflicting powers of Bohemia and Poland, Bohemia in this case being the aggressor, and secured the obedience of both to the empire; in Hungary the monarchy recently established by Stephan was involved in the fierce confusion of a struggle with old Magyar conservatism; here the emperor was able to assert the feudal supremacy of the empire in 1044–1045, though it was a relationship which soon afterwards was very loosely interpreted (Vol. V, p. 380).

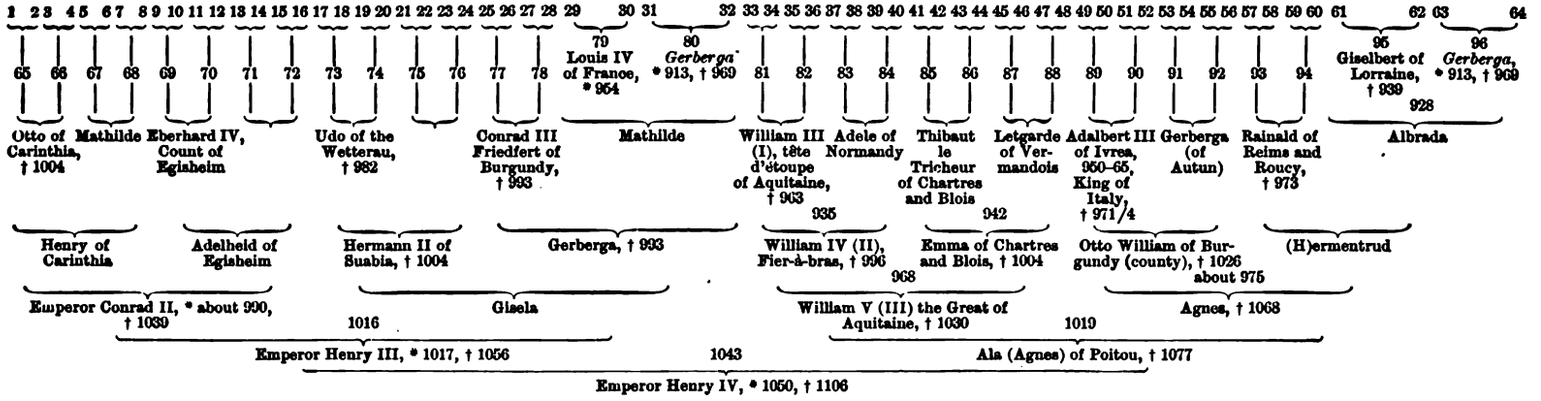
On the ecclesiastical side Henry's position was determined by an education in spiritual principles and practices which had given an ascetic turn to his charac-

ter; he was accustomed to lament the secular nature of his father's character and policy. After Gunhild's death he was confirmed in this point of view by his marriage with Agnes of Poitou (see the "Proposed Genealogy of the Emperor Henry IV," on the opposite page); she was a zealous pupil of the strict reforming movement which originated at Cluny. The struggle had begun against simony, that is to say, against the purchase of offices, or the return of ecclesiastical revenues to the patron, and against other secular influences within the Church, which were the consequence of its enormous temporal possessions. Henry considered this business the empire's special task, and placed himself entirely at the service of the high aims which had been pointed out to the Church and the papacy. He checked the tendency of the German episcopate to form an independent national church; and partly in the interests of the authority of the crown he repressed the simoniacal leanings of the bishops who had become temporal princes of wide power, by emphasising the ascetic theory of the worthlessness of earthly possessions and by supporting the monasteries founded upon the principles of the Cluniac reforms in which Henry II had already shown special interest.

Three Popes who were fighting simultaneously for precedence in Rome were deposed by Henry in 1046. His action aroused considerable surprise, but it was not a difficult task and was anything but a victory over the Church. He thus made room for a papacy conducted in opposition to simoniacal principles and with a higher conception of the importance of its office. He chose, as occupants of the Holy See, Germans upon whose pure zeal he could rely, men unbiassed by the nepotism of Roman competitors. Although in every individual case he exercised the free and independent right of the emperor to choose his own Popes, his object was rather to secure a proper occupant for the apostolic Church than to fortify the interests of the crown. After Swidger of Bamberg (d. 1047) and Poppo of Brixen (d. 1048), the Alsatian Bruno of Egisheim, Bishop of Toul, was appointed Pope as Leo IX. Henry then allowed his nominee to submit his election to the approval of the Romans, and thus to recover the right of confirmation or election for the "clergy and people of Rome." Leo then arranged that the papal election should be made by the college of cardinals (cf. below); he also secured the help of the Norman conquerors of southern Italy as the protectors of the papacy, and left to future Popes his scholar Hildebrand as their adviser and practical guide. In 1054 Leo was succeeded by another German Pope, Gebhard of Eichstätt, whose appointment was also confirmed by an election at Rome. Thereupon Roman interests proceeded to break away from all German influences, even from that which had most zealously striven to secure the elevation of the papacy through the agency of German Popes.

Henry's imperial supremacy was also expended in conflicts with the German princes. Until 1049 he had a severe struggle to wage with the capable Duke Godfrey of Upper Lorraine, who after the loss of his duchy had gained a new position, by his marriage with the widowed Countess Beatrice of Tuscany, the mother of the famous Countess Matilda. The wide possessions (in north Italy) of this family, the Italian home of which was the castle of Canossa, tended more than ever to alienate it from the imperial power, and to incline it to political co-operation with the papal struggles for independence, — a tendency fostered by the ecclesiastical leanings of the two countesses. After 1055, when Henry III was making a further stay in Italy, the existence of the empire was threatened by a great conspiracy of

Proposed Genealogy of the Emperor Henry IV



1 Werner Count in Speier and the Wormsgau
2 Daughter of King Conrad I
3 Emperor Otto I, † 973, son of 31 and 32
4 Edith of England, † 946
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17 Gerhard, Count in the Wetterau and Duke of Lorraine, † 910
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25 Rudolf I of Hochburg, † 911
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29 Charles IV of France, † 929
30 Ethgiva
31 Henry I of Germany, † 936
32 Mathilde of Saxony, † 968
33 Ranulfus II of Poitou, † 890
34 Ermengard (?)
35
36
37 Rognewald, Jarl of Möre
38
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45 Herbert I of Vermandois
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48
49 Adalbert II of Ivrea, † 924–5
50 Gisela of Friuli
51 Boso of Lower Burgundy (Arles)
52 Willa
53 Alberich I of Narbonne
54 Avelane (Tolosana?) of Mâcon
55 Manasses of Upper Burgundy (Dijon)
56 Irmingard

57
58
59
60
61 Reginar Long-neck, Count in Maasgau and Duke of Lorraine, † 915
62 Aldrada
63 See No. 31
64 See No. 32
65 Conrad the Red of Lorraine, † 955 } 947
66 Liutgard, † 963 }
67
68
69

70
71
72
73 Udo of the Wetterau, † 949
74
75
76
77 Rudolf II of Burgundy, † 937
78
79 See above
80 See above
81 Eble (Ebolus) Manzer of Poitou, † 935
82 Emiliane
83 Rollo of Normandy, † 932

84 Poppa of Bayeux
85
86
87 Herbert II of Vermandois (I of Troyes), † 943
88
89 Berengar II of Ivrea, † 966
90 Willa
91 Le(o)tald of Mâcon, † about 960
92 Irmengard of Upper Burgundy
93
94
95 See above
96 See above

Editor's Note. — This genealogical table has been constructed at the expense of some trouble, notwithstanding the considerable lacunæ in its earlier portions, in order to demonstrate two facts. The first is the general need for far more work in this direction before any attempt can be made to solve the extraordinarily difficult problems arising from such catchwords as "race" or "inheritance." For instance, certain characteristics of Bismarck are repeated in the vigorous action of the "strong" founder of Gandersheim, Michael Bütner († 1677), the great-great-grandfather of the wife of the professor of Helmsted, Gottfried Ludwig Mencke († 1762; cf. Kekule von Stradonitz in the "Grenzboten" of January 18, 1906). Similarly many of the whims of the Emperor Henry IV may be retraced without difficulty to French interfusion of blood, a fact only recently appreciated. In the second place and in particular we may observe the distance of the relationship, a distance extreme from a modern point of view, between the two wives of Henry III and Agnes of Poitou, though eleventh century ecclesiastical law declared them within the prohibited degrees: § 17, of the council decrees at Bourges in November, 1031, forbade marriage between relations up to the sixth degree! (cf. Walther Schultze in Bruno Gebhardt's "Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte," I, 1901, p 310). Both were, in the female line, great-great-grandchildren of one and the same Gerberga. As Henry III's parents were related in a degree scarce canonically permissible, we must here suppose a double loss of ancestral names; cf. Otto Lorenz, "Lehrbuch der gesamten wissenschaftlichen Genealogie" (Berlin, 1898), pp. 280 ff., and St. Kekule von Stradonitz, Ahnentafel-Atlas (Berlin, 1898–1904) passim.

the south German princes, who had traitorously entered into alliance with the Hungarians. An open breach was averted rather by the death of important participants, such as Wolf of Carinthia and Conrad of Bavaria, than by the measures of the emperor; it was, however, a bad omen for the reign of the six-year-old boy, whose succession the emperor had acknowledged in 1053 and whom he left to hold his crown in 1056.

(*b*) *Henry IV.*—Henry IV had many weak qualities, which, however, being entirely human, were insufficient to extinguish his manly characteristics and his capacity, and made him not unworthy of his later popularity; he is, to an extent rarely so obvious as in this case, a product of the conditions under which he grew. In women so entirely estranged from worldly desires as was the Empress Agnes, the feminine desire for support and friendship finds expression only in tenderer forms. The competing influences of ambitious bishops and energetic laymen, among whom the Burgundian Rudolf of Rheinfelden held a great initial advantage, ended in a victory for the clergy. The stern, harsh Suabian Anno, Archbishop of Köln, was by no means a man who could compete for the favour of a great lady with a Gunther of Bamberg or a Henry of Augsburg. In conjunction with some princes, he pushed the queen mother aside and secured forcible possession of that valuable hostage for power, the young king. The struggle for regency and supremacy was then continued between Anno and Adalbert, the brilliant Archbishop of Bremen; he was anxious to be the founder of a Low-German patriarchate and to become the temporal administrator of the empire. This he preferred to the papacy, which he might have attained at an earlier date. Between these two leaders, Anno and Adalbert, the factions of the remaining princes wavered as their inclinations varied. The reasonable nature of their policy gradually disappeared, as neither of the two archbishops hesitated to use the royal prerogative for their own purposes, and many a powerful layman was seduced by the idea that he could himself be a better king. As regards the young king himself, his character was destroyed by Anno's unsympathetic training, which made the boy mistrustful, reserved, and suspicious. The ill-advised flattery and epicureanism of the cheerful and self-satisfied Adalbert were equally pernicious, since they produced in Henry a precocity of the worst kind.

Such being the state of affairs, Rome proceeded to aggression at an early date. Hildebrand was the real author of the election decree, issued in 1059 by Nicholas II, which placed the election of the Pope in the hands of the cardinals and left only an unimportant right of appeal to the people of Rome; in other words, the decree deprived the great Roman families of that useful implement they had formerly enjoyed, an adaptable pontiff. For the crown was only reserved the show of responsibility; but the royal representatives, Agnes and her advisers, replied to this blow merely by an expression of discontent. Very different was the action of the Roman factions and the bishops of Upper Italy. But Hildebrand was ready for any attack. He secured the friendship of the Normans, to whom the papacy had granted investiture of their conquests, in virtue of the suzerainty conferred by the donation of Constantine (p. 77); he encouraged the democratic and reforming party of the "Pataria" in its opposition to the Lombard bishops, and entirely disregarded the ordinary forms of election if they seemed likely to delay the immediate appointment of the Pope. When the time came, he himself, in open

disregard of the decree, assumed the pontificate in 1073 as Gregory VII, without any formality whatever.

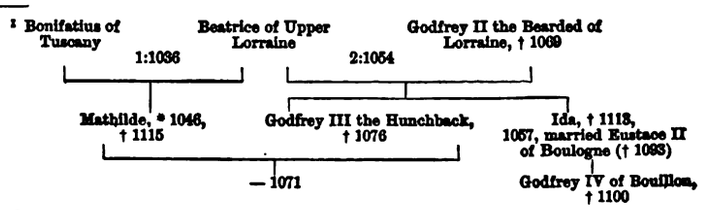
Meanwhile it had become clear that, together with the Normans and the Pataria, a third resource was at his disposal in Germany, namely, the princes and the laity. The king had now attained his majority and was proceeding to deal with the insubordination of his chief vassals; he took Bavaria from Otto of Northeim. Otto's Saxon friends and kinsmen revolted as a result of long-growing irritation with the Salian dynasty, which they could regard only as alien. Its imperial prerogatives, its demesnes and its Saxon palaces, seemed the outward signs of a foreign despotism. Fortunately for Henry, the narrow particularism of the Saxons blinded their eyes to the alliance that was awaiting them among the malcontents of southern Germany and in the Roman Curia. Their political wisdom had not increased since the time of their own wars with Charles the Great. On the other hand, the Suabian Duke Rudolf of Rheinfelden, and Welf, who had received through Rudolf's influence the Bavarian duchy forfeited by Otto of Northeim, and Berthold of Zähringen (the greatest secular lord in Suabia and duke elect of Carinthia, though he was unable to make head there against local revolts), — all sought the friendship of Gregory VII. After a severe struggle, with varying success, Henry IV finally conquered the humiliated Saxons in the autumn of 1075. His sole secure support was the citizen class, now rising to power and beginning in many quarters the struggle with the territorial lords, ecclesiastical and princely, in order to secure the autonomy of their own towns.

Hitherto Henry had based his opposition to the Curia upon no broad political principle. All his energies and resources were engrossed by the war in Germany; in view of this main object he considered that the task of explanations with the Pope might be deferred. To the Pope he sent a superfluous and extravagant expression of homage, without considering the political or constitutional dangers which this act might imply; in fact, to all complaints of Gregory he replied only in terms of the most extreme submission. Gregory accepted these overtures quietly; and at a moment when Henry's attention was entirely occupied by domestic troubles, in February, 1075, he declared his policy by prohibiting lay investitures, that is to say, by forbidding the king to make appointments to bishoprics and abbeys within the empire, or invest their occupants with lands and revenues. This papal policy implied that the class which might be regarded as the most valuable support of the monarchy was entirely emancipated from its allegiance, and could henceforward be used upon the side of the opposition. Only at this moment did Henry recognize the full extent of the danger which was entailed by an understanding of the papacy with the revolted south German princes.

After his victory over the Saxons he proceeded to secure his position against Hildebrand. Upon this question he was supported by the German bishops, who were by no means anxious to surrender their previous connection with the empire for incorporation in the close hierarchical system with its powerful and aggressive Pope. Thus a violent and perhaps premature counter-stroke was delivered by the imperial diet of January, 1076. Only one duke was present, the younger Godfrey of Lorraine; he was the son of the above-mentioned Godfrey (p. 92) whose unhappy marriage with Gregory's friend, Matilda of Tuscany, had driven him to the king's support. On the other hand, twenty-six ecclesiastical princes were present and were inspired by comparative unanimity. Gregory's papacy was

declared to be illegitimately acquired, and he himself deposed, while his friendship with Matilda[1] was also misrepresented. Gregory, relying upon the principles of the false decretals, replied by deposing the king, and releasing his subjects in the three realms from their fidelity and allegiance to Henry. Upon this occasion and in this situation the excommunication of the emperor, which had never before been attempted and had not therefore lost its power, produced full effect. The hostile secular princes carried the sentence of deposition to its logical conclusion, while several bishops recognised, though they had been present at the diet of Worms, the stronger position of Gregory, and deserted to him. The old secular spirit of the Saxon peasantry could not be induced to look beyond the special interests of Saxony alone, and was brought only with difficulty to take action upon the wider question. Concurrently with this determined action of the hierarchy, a parallel movement of Cluniac reform was proceeding throughout Germany. The central point of it was the Suabian monastery of Hirsau; clergy educated in this school and inspired with its spirit were gradually placed in the various bishoprics. The election of a new king, in place of the Salian monarch, who had been deposed by the Pope, was deferred, for the most part owing to the selfishness and ambition of the leading parties. Moreover Pope Gregory, though anxious to secure the subjection and humiliation of the actual monarch, who was at the point of ruin, was not desirous to set up a new king supported by some powerful faction, who might oblige him to recommence his work from the beginning. Against the strong opposition of the princes, he proceeded to discuss the question of Henry's absolution from the sentence of excommunication, and secured an armistice. In order to secure his control over details which were greatly complicated by the opposition of the princes, he set forth to visit Germany in person.

The king hastened to meet him on his way at Canossa, the castle of Gregory's fellow-traveller, Matilda.[2] Here Henry IV secured his release from excommunication, by a display of unwearied and extreme humility, and by a readiness to make atonement which Gregory in vain strove to break by the severest measures. In this way the Pope was able to separate the chief penitent from the hierarchical politicians, who were anxious to make themselves masters of the whole situation in Germany. But this was not all. Gregory merely absolved the king in his private capacity, and expressly retained his right to influence the situation in Germany. The vexation and impatience of the princes now came to the support of King Henry and justified his expectations that in this way he would most speedily emerge from his difficulties. They proceeded to a new election, and chose Rudolf of Suabia. With the convocation to election Gregory's plans came to an end, and no reason remained for his continuing the journey in Germany. The forces allied against Henry were broken, and the anxiety aroused by the election of an opposition king was not a matter for alarm.



[2] See the plate facing this page, "The Ruins of the Castle Canossa."

THE RUINS OF THE CASTLE OF CANOSSA

(Drawn by O. Schulz from a photograph by Sig. Cav. A. Cassarini of Bologna)

Gregory again joined the opposition to Henry for the reason that the king was growing too strong in Germany. He excommunicated Henry a second time, but the latter upon this occasion was less disturbed at the sentence. On October 15, 1080, Rudolf was mortally wounded at Grune, near Pegau (according to others, at Hohenmölsen). His death was due to the loss of that right hand with which he had once sworn fidelity to his king, though victory remained with him through the bravery of the Saxons, who remained faithful through all the increasing embarrassments of their favourite and leader, Otto of Northeim. The opposition thus became more confused and less effective, while the new opposition king, Count Hermann of Salm (1080–1088), proved of no importance. Henry was able to travel to Italy in 1084 and to receive the imperial crown at Rome in St. Peter's from the hand of the imperialist anti-Pope, Clement III; the true Pope was so closely besieged in the neighbouring Castle of St. Angelo that he welcomed the relief brought by the Normans at his summons, under Robert Guiscard. Gregory retired to Lower Italy, and died at Salerno on May 25, 1085, embittered by the thought that he had been defeated in a great and righteous cause. In Germany the Guelphs and Zähringers made peace with the emperor; the latter party for the second time renounced the ducal power in Suabia (which they had claimed after the extinction of the Rheinfeldner family), though they received certain compensation and retained the ducal title (1098). The duchy remained in the hands of the house of Hohenstauffen, to which it had been given by King Henry immediately after his journey to Canossa in 1079.

Meanwhile, in 1090, a new opponent to the emperor arose from the Zähringen family. This was Gebhard, formerly a monk of Hirsau and now Bishop of Constance, a man of unusual energy and tenacity. He was also the confidential adviser of Pope Urban II (1088–1099), upon whose accession the papal chair, despite the despondent words of Gregory upon his death-bed, reaped the fruits of that great statesman's labours and resumed his aims. At an earlier date the revolt of Conrad, the emperor's eldest son, and his opposition kingdom (1093–1101) led to no great result; the rising of the future heir, Henry, who had already been crowned (1099), began in 1104, as a result of disagreement and intrigue, and became important owing to the co-operation and conduct of Gebhard of Zähringen. He accompanied the young king to Saxony, where the bishop secured not merely full political agreement but also the accomplishment of Gregory's reforms. The result was a very confused campaign of father against son; eventually (1105) their quarrel was settled by the more reliable measures of treachery and violence. The younger man proposed a meeting with the hope of reconciliation, and took his father prisoner by a breach of faith. At an imperial diet, summoned to Mainz at Christmas, 1105, the papal legates, Cardinal Richard of Albano and Gebhard of Constance, who were intrusted with full powers, successfully intimidated the numerous princes who supported the emperor and were indignant at the son's action, by reiterating old personal charges and producing the former bull of excommunication. At the same moment the chief jailer of the emperor (who was kept in the castle of Bökelheim), the former Abbot of Hirsau, then Bishop of Speier, succeeded by some means in securing his abdication. The son and his advisers, however, did not venture to bring this act of abdication before the imperial diet, an intention which they had originally pretended. Henry IV was forced to abdicate on December 31 at Ingelheim, amid a gathering of his deadly enemies

and under threats of excommunication from the legates. Afterwards, relying upon the fidelity which he knew to exist in many quarters, he attempted to reverse this last of the many defeats he had suffered in his restless life, but died before the appeal to arms, at the early age of fifty-six, in Liège on August 7, 1106.

(*c*) *Henry V.* — Henry V was a ruler of ability in whom the deceitful and treacherous elements, so alien to his father's nature, reached their full development and were combined with stern determination. As soon as he became king, — that is to say, when he had secured the recognition of both parties, — he pushed aside his ecclesiastical teachers and guides, to whom he had been profuse in his promises of important concession. He invested newly appointed ecclesiastical princes, and calmly informed the Pope Paschal II that the custom was traditional and that lay investitures were absolutely essential to the crown. In 1110 he marched to Italy with two formidable armies, himself going over the St. Bernard, through Burgundy, while the Duke of Bohemia went over the Brenner Pass. Paschal, who was a hot-tempered doctrinaire, when confronted with this inevitable difficulty, suddenly discovered the most remarkable of all solutions, the actual accomplishment of which was an almost inconceivable achievement, and to this Henry V quietly agreed on February 4, 1111. It was arranged that the crown should resume all the imperial fiefs held by the ecclesiastical principalities, together with the remaining regalia, with the result that no form of property requiring lay investiture would remain to them. This was a measure of secularisation, analogous to that completed to the horror of the Church in the Roman Catholic portions of Germany in 1803, though without inflicting any damage upon the spiritual power and inward strength of the Church. Had any attempt been made to accomplish this enormous transference of property and power in the year 1111, it would have been an event remarkable in the history of the world; but the secular and ecclesiastical princes made a tremendous uproar at the immense loss with which they were threatened, — the secular princes in so far as they occupied ecclesiastical fiefs, while the dominant position which the crown would acquire was no less a cause of dissension. Henry made the Pope responsible for this indignation and threw him into confinement. On April 11 he forcibly abolished the prohibition of the investitures and secured his coronation as emperor two days afterwards. On the homeward journey he was clever enough to secure from the old Countess Mathilda a bequest of her property; since 1077 she had been in extremely bad repute, and to her woman's nature the great struggles of the time had never been entirely free from personal influences and motives.

No permanent victories are ever secured by such violent measures as Henry had used; the forces of the opposition remained unimpaired. An archbishop, Guido of Vienne, made himself leader of the ecclesiastical resistance in the Burgundian principality, while the secular opposition centred round Lothar of Suplinburg, who had succeeded the Billungs as Duke of Saxony. He was a capable administrator of the Low German duchy, and had successfully revived the policy of a political expansion to the Baltic and beyond the Elbe, — a policy the more successful as it coincided with the economic interests of his subjects, the rising spirit of nationality, and the energetic character of the laity. The general tension of the situation now withdrew his attention from his own constructive schemes to open opposition with the emperor. The emperor's best supports were his kinsmen the Hohenstauffen, whose influence had recently extended from Suabia into Franconia.

On February 11, 1115, the opposition defeated Henry V at the Welfesholz at Mansfeld; a series of concessions and attempts to secure peace culminated on September 23, 1122, with the Concordat of Worms, which was concluded with Calixtus II and with the secular and ecclesiastical princes. The episcopal elections throughout the empire were left to the cathedral chapters, in imitation of the Pope's election by the cardinals. The enfeoffment of the nominees with the regalia was to take place, though only in Germany, before their consecrations, which were thus far made dependent upon the consent of the crown; this enfeoffment, as distinct from investiture, was to be so carried out as to exclude the theory that it implied appointment to ecclesiastical office. Thus this important new constitutional law brought Burgundy and Italy a considerable step further away from the immediate power of the crown, as compared with Germany. Upon the whole the concordat may be regarded as providing a breathing space for the opponents.

E. The Emperor Lothar

Henry V, who was personally an unattractive character, died on May 23, 1125, too early to secure the restoration of order, or to reconcentrate and revive the powers of the crown; though in this direction he performed undeniable service he conceived plans which were never brought to fulfilment. In general tradition the last Salian emperor is but a gloomy shadow, laden with offences which the moral sense of the German nation could not condone and with a burden of guilt which no success could ever justify. The Hohenstauffen Frederick of Suabia would have received the crown, for which he came forward as a candidate in August, 1125, had he not been the private heir and nominee of Henry V. The Duke of Saxony was therefore preferred to the succession, notwithstanding his strong position and in spite of, or on account of his indifference. Thus the kingdom returned to the Saxons; and Lothar in consequence undertook a burden of responsibility and a policy analogous to those of Otto I. At the same time his consciousness that he was a servant of the Church proved even more inconvenient than before 1125, during his membership of the alliance. It was necessary for him to gain some support against the Hohenstauffen, who were continuing the struggle. They had elected the younger brother, Conrad, duke of a portion of Franconia, as opposition king, for the reason that Frederic of Suabia was suffering under a bodily infirmity. Lothar therefore won over the Guelphs by the marriage of his daughter and heiress, Gertrude, with Henry the Proud (1127), while the Zähringers were bought with the concession of the imperial governorship in Burgundy. In this quarter they had secured considerable wealth as heirs of the Rheinfeld family and also by a second inheritance of a county in north Burgundy which Lothar assured to them; they were unable, however, to turn to the best account the important position of governor, which they held at the same time. The old single-headed eagle of the empire which these dukes had added to their coats of arms, in virtue of their office, was transferred after their extinction to their heirs of Fürstenberg (1218), on whose shield it is still to be seen.

It was under the rule of Lothar (1225–1237) that the great families of the empire consolidated their power and became of importance owing to the extent and locality of their possessions. The nucleus of the old allodial estates of the Guelphs

was situated to the north of Lake Constance; in the meantime they had entered upon the inheritance of the Billungs in Saxony and were next in succession to the property of the family of Suplinburg, with which were closely connected the inheritances of Northeim and the Ludolfings. These changes transferred the centre of gravity of the Guelph power from Suabia and Bavaria, where they possessed the duchy, to lower Germany, where their possessions surpassed even those of the Ascanii. Their reputation, however, was equalled by the exploits of Albert the Bear; in the conquest of the territories on the east of the Elbe, the two families appeared as rivals, and the credit for the first impetus to those modern developments of the German people and empire which are visible at the present day must belong to the Ascanian family (cf. on this subject, special section below, "The German Colonisation of the East."

Lothar opposed the enterprise of the Hohenstauffen in Italy, where he received the imperial crown in the Lateran on June 4, 1133. He attempted to alienate the property of Matilda from her Salian heirs by acknowledging it as a possession of the Pope, who placed this interpretation upon previous promises of Matilda and received it from the Pope as a fief. He evaded, however, the form of the oath of allegiance, and did not acknowledge himself the Pope's "vassal" (*homo*), as the Curia maintained at a later period. A reconciliation was effected in Germany, under which the Hohenstauffen renounced their claim to the crown in October, 1134, and in September, 1135. A second journey to Rome in 1136–1137 emphasized by its splendour the unity of the empire and the freedom which the emperor had acquired. Pope Innocent II regarded the change thus betokened by the emperor's action and his expedition as highly inconvenient. The old imperial rights were enforced throughout the country, and the feudal supremacy over the Normans of lower Italy was reasserted. On his homeward journey Lothar died, on December 4, 1137, in the Alpine village of Breitenwang on the Lech. The empire was again at the height of its power; intellectually and materially a period of prosperity was beginning, to which a considerable impulse was given by the crusading movement (upon this subject see the special section below), and it was promoted with surprising rapidity by the laity, who were now awaking from their long torpor. Western Europe as a whole outstripped Byzantium after this decade, and no longer stood in need of Byzantine civilization, when it had learnt the method of drawing inspiration from the sources of classical civilization.

F. The Hohenstauffen

In view of the situation existing from 1137 to 1138, many have asserted that the Guelphs ought to have succeeded in securing the throne with the other inheritance of Lothar; in that case the German nation would have entered upon a period of straightforward north German rule instead of Suabian government, which eventually lost its vigour in Italy. Conjectures of this kind are invariably to be mistrusted. Otto I extended the imperial policy to Italy. Otto II and III forgot the claims of lower Germany in view of their desire to advance to the Mediterranean and Italy. Though Lothar had grown old in the politics of lower Germany, he had devoted the end of his life to warfare and organising work in

lower Italy. We shall find the Guelph Otto IV pursuing the policy of the Hohenstauffen as soon as he is emperor. It was, in any case, no mere imperial dream which induced the Hohenstauffen to attach such importance to the Italian possessions. It was, on the contrary, the imperative necessity of augmenting the resources of the crown, even more than the power of their own family, by means of Italian wealth.

(*a*) *Conrad III.* — The reason why Henry the Proud did not become king, after his step-father Lothar, is to be found in the apprehensions which the princes entertained of his growing power in Suabia, Bavaria, and Saxony, and still more in the disappointment which the Church had suffered through Lothar's action. The elevation of Conrad III was primarily due to the Church. Against a candidate and a wearer of the royal insignia who was so firmly established as Henry, all that could be done was to support the rival and his independent power; a third unimportant claimant would have been useless. We may, indeed, venture to say that the fact that the Guelphs did not then succeed to the crown preserved for them the fruits of those efforts which the son of Henry the Proud carried to a successful conclusion in the north.

King Conrad considered that it was indispensable to break up the power of the Guelphs, and to divide the offices which they were holding, among his Babenberger and Ascanian friends. Thus the struggle began which divided the empire, and especially the Suabian territory, between the Guelphs and Waiblingen. In May, 1142, the question was temporarily settled, — that is to say, deferred. Henry died on October 20, 1139, before attaining the age of thirty-two. His son of the same name (the Lion) was allowed to inherit the Saxon duchy; but the margrave, Albert the Bear, became immediately dependent upon the empire, and was given the imperial post of chamberlain. This high office and Albert's exploits laid the foundation of that position which Brandenburg afterwards enjoyed as an imperial electorate; the old duchy of Saxony could thus be represented by two votes among the ruling nobility of the imperial principalities, while to the other hereditary duchies of Germany not even a single vote was accorded.

Between 1147 and 1149 Conrad, much against his will, undertook his fruitless crusade to Damascus. At the same time a crusade against the Wends was undertaken by the princes of Lower Germany, and those who were somewhat hostile to the king, after a loyal agreement had been concluded between both parties. The results did not indeed correspond with the amount of energy displayed, though the position of the young Duke Henry in this district was thus confirmed from the first. The alliance between the Guelphs and Zähringers was renewed at the Lake of Schwerin in the course of this crusade; about 1147 Henry married the Zähringer Clementina (died 1162 or 1163).

(*b*) *Frederic I Barbarossa.* — The election of Frederic Barbarossa on March 4, 1152, as the successor of Conrad III, was an attempt to heal the opposition between the Waiblingens and the Guelphs. So great importance was attached to this object that no difficulty was made in passing over Frederic of Rotenburg, the surviving son of Conrad III. Frederic Barbarossa, the Suabian nephew of the deceased king, was a son of a Guelph mother, and occupied in some respects a

position midway between the two parties, though not entirely coincident with the position of Conrad III. The hopes of both parties had been placed upon him during the last crisis, immediately after the crusade. He had distinguished himself upon the crusade no less than in a rapid series of exploits at home; he was ready to become king, and his desires were accomplished without difficulty and with the help of various agreements. His choice is a sign of the recognition given to bravery and of the effort for unity during this period in which the spirit of chivalry was upon the increase. These influences made Frederic's position firm and powerful from the outset, though he succeeded a transition government which had been marked by great irresolution. Hence his foreign policy was able to make the ideal of imperial suzerainty effective. In the usual domestic struggle between Danish families for the succession in that kingdom, he was able to secure the success of one competitor, Sven, by accepting him as an imperial vassal. Between 1154 and 1155 he secured the imperial crown, after a rapid expedition with a few men, — an achievement for which Conrad had been too incompetent. In 1154 Bavaria was given back to Henry the Lion, the result being that Austria became the special duchy of the Babenbergers, with certain exceptional rights, affecting its obligations to the empire (secured by the "Privilegium Minus" of September 17, 1156). The result of this fifty-second election was thus to secure the equipoise of Guelph and Hohenstauffen, though for the moment under a reconciliation which guaranteed peace upon either side.

Since the time of Charles the Great, no king had been inspired with so keen a desire to secure peace and prosperity for his country as Frederic showed in his measures of organisation and legislation. He proved that his electors had been perfectly correct in their choice of him as successor to the throne. The constitution of the empire was almost entirely remodelled by his action; but the transformation was effected without difficulty. He did not, like Charles, attempt to secure the immediate administrative powers of the monarch against the feudal system, but remodelled that system by introducing a series of military gradations. The spirit of patriotism which was then passing over the nation, the sense of nationality among the Germans which was arising to consciousness throughout all classes, enabled him to make the episcopacy the mainstay of his throne; such men as Archbishop Rainald of Köln and Christian of Mainz proved themselves most reliable princes among the German nobility and became Frederic's best advisers and generals. On the other side he turned especially for support to the "ministeriales," both to those of the empire and of his own family, and to those of the German Church. In continuation of the policy begun by Conrad II, he helped the class of the more important "ministeriales" to become free vassals and to incorporate themselves with the lower nobility. The chivalrous spirit of the time which made these social modifications possible was marked by a high conception of the loyalty due to the position and person of the chief overlord. The secular princes might join this temporal hierarchy of feudal retainers as they pleased; loyalty was expressly demanded by Frederic only of individuals in close dependence upon him or of those whom he used to counterbalance the great dukes. The chivalrous and national spirit of the age rapidly brought these temporal princes to the emperor's side, often in consequence of loss and irritation, as is shown, for instance, by the history of Berthold IV of Zähringen. To the end of his reign Frederic continued his policy of dividing the old duchies and of reducing the posi-

tion of the imperial princes, with the result that only the spiritual lords, the diminished dukes, and the more important princes of the Wends were reckoned among the *principes*, with the exception of certain palatine counts and margraves, and the counts of Anhalt (these last as Ascanii). Hence this order was limited to those secular princes who were actually of supreme importance, while the remainder, the chief body of the counts, were reduced to the rank of free lords without sovereign jurisdiction. Thus, in addition to the old hereditary dukes, a generation of younger, more vigorous, and more loyal princes received a new accession of consequence; at the same time the preponderance of the spiritual lords in conjunction with the emperor was secured throughout the empire.

The new class of burghers remained undisturbed by the modifications and the new demands of this chivalrous emperor. Certain distinctions had been purposely created by legislation to separate the merchant and the knight, while the regulations of the public peace which provided against speculation in corn and other possibilities of the kind seemed to indicate some animus against the burgher class. On the other hand, other princely houses were, or became, careful to advance the prosperity of the burghers. Of these the Zähringers were the most important, while the Guelphs also did much by their creation of new cities from Munich to Lübeck; their economic resources were based more or less upon the revenues which they received in their capacity of landlords from the towns and from commerce. This new social organisation of the empire developed rapidly in every quarter. The terms "prince," "lord," "citizen," and "peasant" came into general use; the terms "free" and "unfree" had not entirely disappeared, but became antiquated, while their meaning was often inverted, though the conservatism of lower Saxony preserved them for the longest period.

Notwithstanding all these regulations, the crown still needed some secure source of revenue, as the private and public revenues of the empire had fallen too largely into the hands of the princes. Such a source could be found in Italy. Even in that country the royal revenues had largely been alienated from the crown. They had fallen into the hands of the towns, the individual prosperity of which had steadily increased their importance. In Italy national and feudal organisation had almost disappeared. The bishops and imperial officials of former times, together with their Valvassores, had seen their prerogatives undermined by the development of the town and had accommodated themselves to this development. The blow delivered by Frederic I against this state of affairs, shortly after his first expedition to Italy, was no doubt an act of oppression and implied a sudden overthrow of what had grown by degrees. The impoverished condition of the crown and of the empire in the midst of a general and growing prosperity was a bitter experience, while the impossibility of opening other sources of revenue increased the seriousness of the financial situation. The Crown, moreover, was theoretically justified in vindicating its former rights. To the famous imperial diet of Roncaglia (November, 1158) Frederic had summoned from Bologna a number of doctors learned in the civil law, which had lately been revived as a study in the Italian universities and was still the basis of common law in the towns. These experts advised the emperor to adopt the decisive course of declaring all the regalia (royal dues) payable to himself, and their actual recipients as dependent upon him and as obliged on their side to prove their rights individually. This assembly of civilians is also of importance in another direction. It marks the commencement of a

classical renaissance which was to permeate mediæval thought and civilization and modify the imperial theory (cf. Vol. VII, p. 149); it is also a proclamation of the revival of Roman law which was demanded by the imperial interests. The idea of using the antidue imperial law for the advantage of the mediæval crown had long before occurred to the acute Henry V; the diet of 1158 had merely put it into tangible shape.

The long war between the empire and the rich Lombard communes soon broke out and was prosecuted with appalling animosity. After 1170 the towns were forced into close alliance with the papacy, which was also intimidated by the spectacle of an empire of wide influence conducted upon secular principles by a band of spiritual princes. However, the bishops and the secular princes of Germany continued their fidelity to the emperor. On the one side stood German feudalism and chivalry and on the other the power of the Italian cities; these parties were in violent opposition and had no point whatever of common interest. However the most powerful of the German princes, Henry the Lion, refused his help to the emperor when it was urgently required. Shortly afterwards Frederic lost the battle of Legnano on May 29, 1176, though not for want of the duke's help; with a sudden change of plan, he attempted to secure an armistice and a settlement in Italy. It was most important for him to come to an arrangement with the Guelphs; and at the cost of some sacrifices he secured a reconciliation with Pope Alexander III in the Peace of Venice (in the summer of 1177). The royal revenues in the church states and the inheritance of Matilda were guaranteed to him after a lapse of fifteen years, and Alexander was relieved of the presence of Calixtus III, the imperialist anti-Pope. An armistice was also concluded with the Lombard communes; a peace with them was finally arranged at Constance on June 25, 1183. The emperor saved his territorial supremacy, his judicial rights, his influence upon the administration of independent communes, the fodrum (the payment for the expense of maintaining the emperor and his armies), and a yearly sum as compensation for his fiscal rights in the territory of those communes which would not or could not prove their rights in accordance with the principles formulated at the diet of Roncaglia. Within their own walls the towns were in undisputed possession of the revenues and the supreme power. Thus was removed all opposition on the emperor's side to the development of free and independent city states which was then taking place in Italy. At the same time the influence of the crown in Italy was now far greater than in 1152; and after the conclusion of peace the splendour of the empire as head and front of the knightly organisation which Barbarossa's vigour in these struggles and negotiations had maintained was further advanced. Among those violent adversaries the emperor himself secured a popularity and a distinction which the leading commune, Milan, soon strove to share as an honour of special importance.

The destruction of Henry the Lion falls between the peace of Venice and that of Constance. Since 1156 Germany had been practically divided into two empires, that of the west and south, extending towards Burgundy and Italy, and the Bavarian-Saxon Empire, with a Slavonic and northern policy. Henry the Lion had extended his conquests to Pomerania, and had founded Lübeck as a permanent Saxon harbour on the Baltic. This duke, with his independent vassals and his "domestic disturbances," acted as an independent king; more than once the abbots

and bishops within his territory, who were possessed of territories or dioceses, had joined the temporal lords of Saxony against Henry. The histories of the empire and of this ducal power run almost in parallel lines and a further line of demarcation was secured when Henry exchanged certain Zähringer estates in the Breisgau, which he had gained by marriage, for certain royal estates in the Harz district. Side by side with Goslar, and surpassing that royal town, Henry made his town of Brunswick a ducal residence of unparalleled splendour. Upon the occasion of a breathing space from his domestic work, he made independent expeditions eastward, like a great king (1172). We must also mention the fact that about 1174 Frederic obtained the reversion to the estates of Henry's uncle Welf VI, which consisted of the old Suabian Guelph lands to the north of Lake Constance. This must be added to the points of difference and division between the two great cousins, although it might eventually lead to the further consolidation of the two monarchies.

The crisis was initiated by the refusal of this uncrowned monarch in lower Germany to place his army at the disposal of the Hohenstauffen in the hour of danger; his help had been requested as a favour and not as a matter of feudal right. The Emperor Frederic regarded himself as paralysed in the freedom of his own policy by this growing Guelph kingdom in the other half of Germany. The refusal to render military assistance implied something more than a policy of mutual avoidance, and an understanding on the point was imperatively demanded. It must always remain a matter for our admiration when we consider the means by which Frederic, though simultaneously opposed by the towns, the Pope, and the Guelphs, extricated himself from these difficulties, came to an agreement with all three with no loss of supremacy, obliged his opponents to make peace and to grant concessions, and then advanced with determination upon the Guelphs. This was a daring resolution, but the best he could make, as in any other case his action would be perpetually thwarted from the side of Germany. Had Frederic made concessions to his adversary to secure the help which he desired for reclaiming the utmost of his rights beyond the Alps, we should have every reason for blaming an empire which neglected its domestic power to secure supremacy in the south, and thereby destroyed the unity of the nation. Frederic made his plans for the decisive struggle with the greatest caution, availed himself of the weapons of formal right, and used them to the utmost by dexterous policy. As soon as the whole position was transferred from the level of political force to the strict theory of constitutional and feudal law, the ground was cut from under the foundations of this second great state within a state, the existence of which had hardly been disputed. The emperor appeared not as an opponent but as a judge, and immediately sent the princes who had a grudge against Henry to the attack. The Guelph was thus handed over to the judgment of feudal and common law, was deprived of his ecclesiastical and imperial fiefs, of his rights of local justice, of his allodial domains, and was outlawed. In November, 1181, the struggle concluded with some diminution in the severity of the sentence; the annihilation of this family would have been an unparalleled proceeding, and the effects of such acts of extirpation are often disastrous to the triumphant party. The sentence of outlawry was removed, and Henry received his Saxon allodial territory once more. He was, however, obliged to go for a time into exile in order that the new arrange-

ments might be carried out without his personal interference, and for this purpose he chose England, where relations of his family were settled.[1]

The Saxon duchy was broken up; a number of its subjects were made immediately dependent upon the empire, while a ducal power over the west was given to the archbishopric of Köln and the remainder of the east was transferred to an Askanian line. In 1180, as a reward of service, the Count Palatine of Bavaria, Otto of Wittelsbach, was created a duke, which implied a restoration of early historical family connections.[2] The duchy was, however, further diminished by the fact that certain provinces were made independent or dependent upon the empire; these were Styria, Tyrol, and Istria.

The highest point of imperial power is marked, after the comparatively favourable peace of Constance in 1183, by the brilliant festival of Mainz, when Frederic's elder sons, Henry and Frederic, were knighted (Whitsuntide, 1184). Equally obvious on the occasion of this festival is the enthusiasm of the nation and of the contemporary court poets (Walther von der Vogelweide and others) for the splendour which surrounded this great emperor and leader.[3] The emperor's position was advanced even more by the general current of events in Europe than by his personal victories; and in the autumn of the same year William II of Sicily, the Norman ruler of lower Italy, though a sworn ally of the Guelphs since the crusade of Conrad III, offered to the Hohenstauffen prince Henry the hand of his

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[1] Henry II Plantagenet of England, † 1189, married Eleonore of Guienne († 1204)

Richard Lion-heart, † 1199 — John Lackland, † 1216 — Matilda, † 1189 — 2 — Henry the Lion, † 1195

1168

Henry, † 1227, married (1) Agnes of Suabia, † 1204, (2) Agnes of Lusatia
(1) Agnes, † 1267, married Otto the Noble of Bavaria, † 1253

Otto (IV), † 1218, married, in 1212, (1) Beatrice of Suabia, (2) Maria of Brabant

William of Lüneburg, † 1213, married Helene of Denmark
Otto, in 1235, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, † 1252
Guelphs

Gertrude (Richenza), † 1196, married (1) in 1166, Frederic of Suabia († 1167), (2) in 1177, Knut VI of Denmark († 1202, childless)

[2] Luitpold, Margrave of Bavaria, † 907
Arnulf the Bad, Duke of Bavaria, † 937

Eberhard, deposed 938 — Arnulf II, Count Palatine of Scheiern, † 954 (?) — Judith, married Henry, Duke of Bavaria, in 945

Otto II of Scheiern

Eckehart, (?) married Richardis of Orlamünde — Otto III

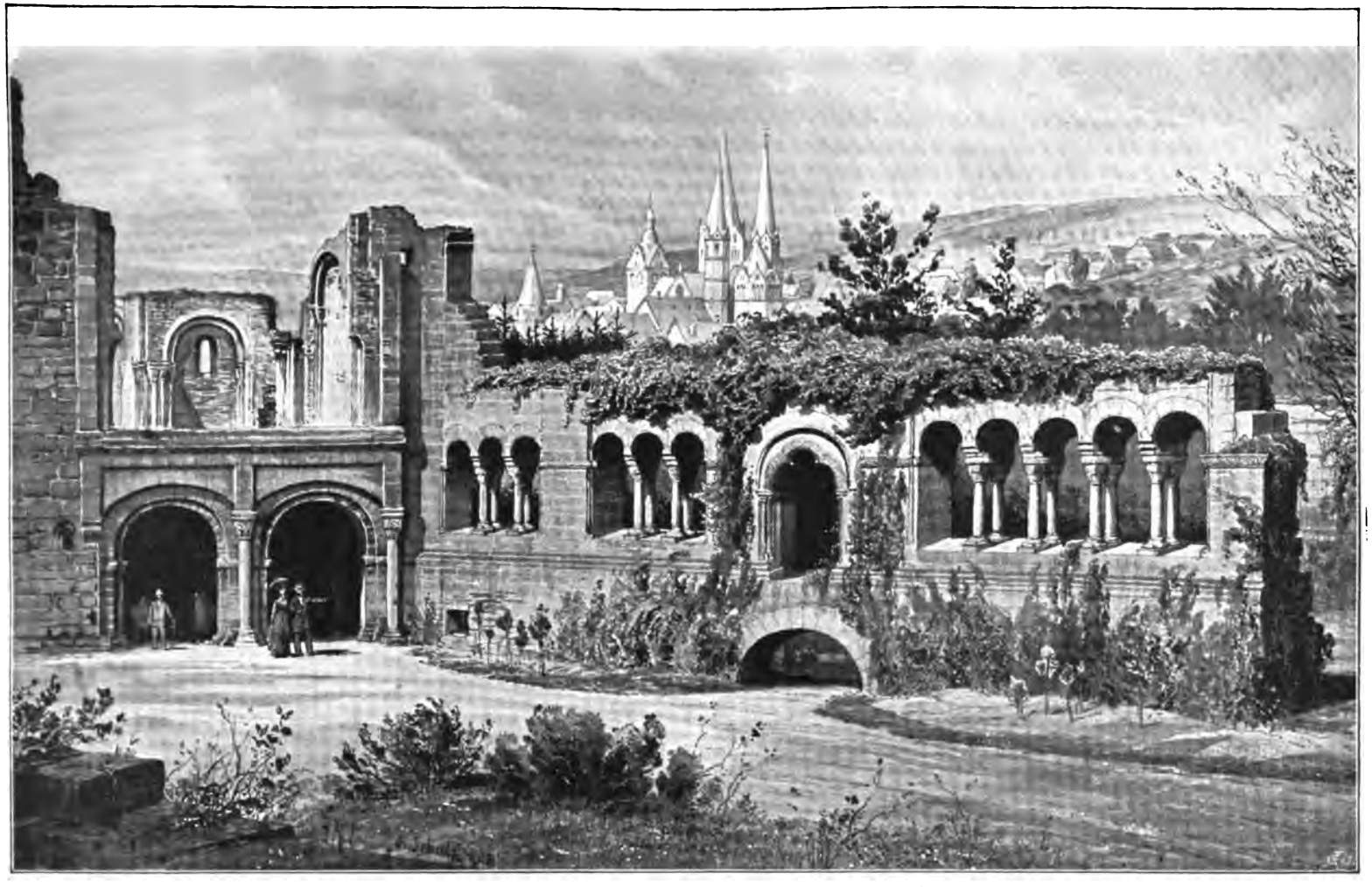
Otto IV (V), Count Palatine of Wittelsbach, † 1155, married Hellica of Lengefeld

Otto V (VI) of Wittelsbach, I of Bavaria (1180), † 1183, married Agnes of Loos († 1190)
Louis of Kehlheim, Count Palatine of the Rhine (1214), † 1231
Palatinate Bavarian House

Conrad, archbishop of Mayence and Salzburg, † 1200

Otto VI (VII) of Wittelsbach, † 1189
Otto VII (VIII) the Regicide, † 1209

[3] See the plate facing this page, "Remnants of the Imperial Palace of Frederic Barbarossa at Gelnhausen."



THE RUINS OF FREDERICK BARBAROSSA'S PALACE AT GELNHAUSEN

EXPLANATION OF THE ILLUSTRATION OVERLEAF

THERE is no certain record of the date at which the castle of Frederick I at Gelnhausen was founded. The style of architecture belongs to the last decades of the twelfth century. The imperial letter referring to the town of Gelnhausen founded by Frederick I in the neighbourhood of the castle belongs to the year 1170; the palace seems to have been complete in 1180 and 1186, in which years the Emperor Frederick transacted various imperial business at Gelnhausen. The façade is noteworthy for its double row of pillars. The effect of this picturesque ruin is increased by the bright red colour of the smoothed sandstone which is but little weather-worn, and also by the rich ornamentation which has retained much of its original sharpness.

Beside the arcade of the nearer façade nothing remains of the palace except the outside wall opposite to the arcade; this also served as the circuit wall of the stronghold and is of great thickness. In this wall are the remains of a fireplace in a fine state of preservation, which probably belonged to the imperial hall; its two sides are decorated with intricate trellis-work. The two cross walls and the interior walls of the palace have been entirely destroyed, so that the arrangement of the rooms on the first floor can only be conjectured. We can go no further than to say that the imperial hall with the fireplace lay upon the right. In the arcade of the nearer façade no traces can be found to show the possible use of glazing; hence it is highly probable that a wall running the length of the building behind these pointed windows formed a passage, as is the case in the palace of the Wartburg. There is no trace of any staircase leading to the second story of the palace. On the other hand, the remains of a small staircase exist leading to the chapel through the adjoining outer hall.

The main entrance to the castle lies upon the west, and leads through a vaulted outer hall with two aisles into the castle court; above the outer hall was a two-aisled chapel, of which only the walls remain. To the right of the entrance is the foundation of the wall and to the left the palace. Against the circuit walls were placed the offices and the houses of the garrison; these have been almost entirely destroyed. A branch of the Kinzig washes the eastern and southern walls, and forms the considerable island upon which the castle is built.

(After George Moller and Ernst Gladbach, "Denkmäler der deutschen Baukunst, Part III; Darmstadt, 1845.)

heiress, Constance, notwithstanding the vigorous opposition of the Pope. There was a strange and general movement of lay feeling throughout the world, which tended to compose the difference between political opponents, between the chivalrous and the trading, and which even under the cassock of the distinguished prelate appeared in open or secret opposition to the principles of secular or hierarchical self-renunciation. As we have already observed, Milan requested the honour that within its walls, as a counterpart to the festival of Mainz, should take place the imperial celebrations of January 27, 1186; it was a marriage destined to strengthen the hold of the Hohenstauffen upon Italy in an unparalleled degree and to bring Lombardy between two fires.

Henry was then thus crowned in Milan with the iron crown of the Lombards. It is remarkable that the emperor gave his successor the title of Cæsar which the classical Augusti bestowed upon their presumptive heirs; Augustus and his imperial power had, in point of time, preceded Peter, the apostle of Christ. In 1165 Frederic demanded the canonisation of Charles the Great from the then Pope Paschal III. This was a matter of political expediency, and the translation of the Frankish emperor's remains was carried out with due solemnity. Frederic now surpassed the energies of his model, and united the foundations of national German supremacy with the traditions of the universality and magnificence of the old classical empire.

The Curia despaired of the laity, but not of itself or its ideal of the predominance of the Church. It placed its hopes, in spite of all, upon the possibility of recovering the ecclesiastical, military, and political power which had belonged to the episcopate. Its opposition to the fiscal rights of the crown was a clever move in the interests of the ecclesiastical princes. According to these rights, when an episcopal chair fell vacant, the personal property of the deceased and the enjoyment of his revenues reverted to the crown, until a successor had been appointed; and this was a source of income which had recently assumed a value unforeseen by the simplicity and poverty of the past. The evil results of the overthrow of Henry the Lion, which had relieved the Low German ecclesiastical princes of a burden, were further announced in the self-seeking policy of Philip of Heinsberg, archbishop of Köln. He forthwith grasped at the proffered friendship of Rome, and abandoning his position as the high official and helper of the emperor, came forward as the representative of Rome and the hierarchical idea in Germany, and looked about him for political support. The tension was then relieved by the destruction of the kingdom of Jerusalem by Saladin (Vol. III, p. 362) and the crusade of the emperor; he was the supreme head of European chivalry, and in conjunction with France and England he drew his sword on behalf of the eastern policy of the Church, an action which tended to further consolidate the ecclesiastical position. With imperial conceptions which were greater than any previous German ruler had entertained, but which were almost forced upon his notice, he appeared in the Slav states to the north of the Balkans, and on the east Mediterranean (cf. Vol. V, p. 96); he held out a prospect to the Armenian Leo II of the grant of a royal fief by the empire (for further details of the Third Crusade, see below).

(c) *Henry VI, Philip, and Otto IV.* — Henry VI had accepted all these practical and ideal conceptions of universal wide supremacy; but both before and after his father's death on the river Salef (June 10, 1190) he was obliged to secure his

position in Germany and in Italy. The old duke Henry of Saxony had already appeared upon German soil in October, 1189, in a defiant and revengeful spirit, which was stimulated by the English king, Richard Cœur de Lion. This monarch in the winter of 1190–1191 entered into relations with the Norman revolt in south Italy against the husband of Constance, and opposed those claims of supremacy to which Henry was legally entitled by the death of William II (November 18, 1189). It proved possible, however, to secure a favourable change of position. The friendship of France was certain, and Philip of Köln, who was intimidated by the appearance of the Lion, became a temporary helper and intermediary. Afterwards, indeed, while Henry VI was on his road to Sicily, a menacing understanding was begun between the archbishops of Köln and Mainz and the other princes; but fortunately for Henry, the life and soul of the opposition at home and abroad, Richard Cœur de Lion, was taken prisoner in Austria on imperial soil, on December 21, 1192, by the Babenberger Duke Leopold, whom he had personally insulted before Acre. Leopold handed over his prisoner to the emperor, and the conspiracy was broken up. On February 4, 1194, the Emperor Henry, who had held that title since April 14, 1191, surrendered the pledge which he possessed in the person of the adventurous Plantagenet for a ransom of one hundred and fifty thousand marks and an acknowledgment of his feudal supremacy.[1] He was able to impose the Hohenstauffen suzerainty upon this Norman crown, with its wide possessions, — a well-deserved punishment for the defeated party. In the spring of the same year, 1194, Henry the Lion abandoned his hopeless attitude of defiance and became reconciled, after his son, of the same name (see the genealogical tree, p. 106), had received, as the son-in-law of the Hohenstauffen Count Palatine Conrad, the promise of the succession in this Rhenish principality, which was formed of Franconian lands and the official revenues of Lorraine. In 1194 Henry gained a complete victory and shattered the resistance of the Normans in southern Italy. On Christmas Day he received the crown at Palermo and secured his possession by the severity of his measures.

After these events there appears in German history the imperial idea of amalgamating in one whole the German, Italian, and Burgundian kingdoms with the independent Sicilian monarchy, which was not subject to election, provided that the house of Hohenstauffen should be secured against the uncertainties of an election, or, in other words, if the empire could be guaranteed to that family by right of hereditary succession. In return for this concession, Henry proposed to abandon the "Jus Spoliorum" in favour of the ecclesiastical princes, and to permit the secular princes to extend the rights of succession to include their female relations. These arrangements are only intelligible upon the supposition that Henry, instead of abandoning his independence in the Norman kingdom, proposed to subject the whole empire to a centralised administration of officials, for which purpose he had successfully employed the German order of knights in Italy. He must also have proposed to transform the German princely families into a class of high territorial nobles, — an attempt which the French crown afterwards carried out successfully. This tremendous innovation would have transferred the centre of gravity of the empire beyond question to the shores of the Mediterranean, and therefore the opposition beyond the Alps, in lower Germany and in the territory of Köln, with its relations with England and the North Sea, was especially keen.

[1] See the upper portion of the plate "The Emperor Henry VI" in the chapter upon Italy.

The plan was repeatedly discussed in December, 1195, but was finally abandoned at the end of 1196. There was one achievement visible to all the world, and standing as evidence of the universal and imperial, no less than the monarchial, tendency of this strong government; this was Henry's enterprise in the East,— one of the successful crusades, notwithstanding the fact that it was prematurely abandoned owing to the sudden death of the emperor (September 28, 1197). Since the emperor took no personal share in the undertaking, his Arch-Chancellor, Conrad of Wittelsbach, the Archbishop of Mainz, acted as his representative. This crown official led a number of high secular princes, and crowned Amalric King of Cyprus and Leo II King of Armenia, accepting both as vassals of the emperor.

The dangers of the electoral rights of the princes, which Henry had proposed to abolish, were never revealed with more appalling clearness than on the death of Henry VI, — one of the most decisive events, if not in German history, yet in that of the mediæval empire. The Hohenstauffen party could not secure the succession of Henry's son, Frederic, the child of Constance, who had been chosen in 1196 and was then but one year old; they were forced to appoint Philip of Suabia (March 8, 1198, at Mühlhausen in Thuringia), an election preferable under the circumstances though not unanimous, and were obliged to leave Italy to itself. The opposition were at first in favour of Berthold V of Zähringen ; when, however, he declined, they chose, on the 9th of June at Köln, Otto, the second son of the deceased Henry the Lion (see the genealogical tree on p. 106). In the last reign the empire had reached an unexampled pitch of splendour and had reduced even Byzantium to the position of a vassal state; now two rival kings had suddenly reappeared, who would be likely to fritter the power of the crown away, in order to increase their own following. Pope Innocent III, who held the balance between the two parties, claimed the right of arbitration, which Otto at least conceded to him in the hope of securing his support. Philip, however, who championed the rights of the secular power, gradually asserted his position, but only to be murdered in consequence of a private quarrel immediately after his success, on June 21, 1208.

(*d*) *Frederic II.* — Otto IV immediately proceeded to effect a reconciliation with the party of the Hohenstauffen and to reassert the royal and imperial rights wherever possible, and even in Italy. Upon this sudden change (1210) the Church again proceeded to play off the Hohenstauffen against the Guelphs, as it had done in 1138, the Guelph candidate being Frederick II, king and heir of the two Sicilies. The Hohenstauffen proved victorious, supported as they were by Otto's enemies and by the opposition of France to the Anglo-Guelph alliance on the lower Rhine. Frederic, who had been present since the midsummer of 1212, remained completely master of Germany after the Emperor Otto had been defeated by Philip Augustus at Bouvines on July 27, 1214. For more than three decades he was able to use this position to overcome all difficulties by the surrender of the German crown rights, while working to secure the expansion of the monarchy in Italy and its close connection with the fully centralised official power of the Norman kingdom; he also added the crown of Jerusalem to that of Sicily (March 18, 1229). As early as July 12, 1213, he had renounced in writing at Eger the crown rights resigned by the Concordat of Worms, and had also surrendered the "Jus Spoliorum," the property of Matilda and the possessions in the Church

states claimed by the Curia ("recuperations"). The importance of the document was increased by the addition of letters of consent from the princes, a further constitutional development. On March 22, 1209, Otto IV had made the same concessions in Speier to secure his election as emperor, but had afterwards cunningly explained that the consent of the princes had not been secured. For this reason more careful measures were taken for the future. In May, 1216, Frederic surrendered the regalian rights; in 1220 he was anxious to exchange positions with his son Henry, who had been originally intended for the kingdom of Sicily. Frederic now proposed to administer Sicily himself, while bringing his son as regent to Germany; for this purpose at Frankfort-on-Main, on April 26, he guaranteed the territorial rights of the ecclesiastical princes, limited the sphere of the royal jurisdiction, and renounced all fiscal claims upon towns, castles, and customs houses. The regency of his crowned son gradually developed to a kind of opposition kingdom, and in order to deprive Henry of his friends, Frederic threw the German towns entirely into the power of the princes by the Privilege of Worms of May 1, 1231, removing their powers of self-administration and of concluding alliances with one another; at the same time he recognised the territorial power of the secular princes. The empire thus became a loosely connected congeries of ruling princes under a royal or imperial head. In 1233 he also threw Germany open to the persecution of heretics by the Church, which proceeded to torment the alienated laity with inquisitions and martyrdoms. The Dominican inquisitor Master Conrad of Marburg and his satellites were given full power of jurisdiction until the indignation of the people and of the secular princes put an end to the persecution after a few years of terror. After the youthful policy of King Henry had clashed with that of his father in July, a certain return to the centralising policy was implied by the measures of August 15, 1235. These were a great ordinance for the public peace (by which the Teutonic right of prosecuting private war was considerably limited) and the foundation of a permanent high court of justice. At that time the allodial possessions of the Guelphs were made immediately dependent upon the duchy of Brunswick-Lüneberg.

While this period is almost void of imperial exploits or successes, German independence, as such, was beginning to develop. Otto IV in his necessity, and also Frederic to gain support against Otto, had surrendered Holstein and the German Baltic districts to the Danes in 1201 and at the end of 1214; the courageous blow delivered by Count Henry of Schwerin (May, 1223) and the bravery of the allied Low German estates in the brilliant fight of Bornhövede recovered these territories from their foreign ruler (Bornhövd, July 22, 1227). In the distant country of the Prussians the Teutonic order of knights, founded before Acre on March 5, 1198 (Vol. V, p. 492), began a series of conquests under the leadership of the great Hermann of Salza (1228), who was a faithful counsellor and a kind of German conscience to Frederic II. On the battlefield of Liegnitz the Mongols were repelled (April 9, 1241) by the bravery and heroic death of Duke Henry II of lower Silesia (Vol. II, p. 175). From Silesia to Prussia and Jutland industry and culture, accompanied by a full consciousness of German nationality, proved invariably triumphant, and transformed the native dynasties of the Slavs into German princely houses. Hungary, which had been severely ravaged by the Mongols, recovered her prosperity through the efforts of the new German colonists, who were summoned to the country (Vol. V, p. 398). It seemed that Bohemia

and even Poland would be peacefully overcome by the powerful growth of the German nationality (Vol. V, p. 252); the Bohemian court, like the Silesian, was already German (cf. below, p. 281).

Frederic proceeded to wage his wars against the Lombards in Italy. He relied upon his Sicilian troops rather than on German support. He asserted the rights of the empire, not through the German knights whom his father had employed, but through the support of great civic families on whom he counted to end the period of self-government. His successes threatened to become a danger to the states of the Church in 1241, but resistance in that quarter was encouraged by the determination and the statesmanship of Sinibald Fiesco of Genoa, Innocent IV (1242–1254). At a council of Lyons this Pope excommunicated the emperor (July 17, 1245) and deposed him from all his kingdoms. He then offered the Norman kingdom to some new vassal and secured the election of an opposition king even in Germany. On May 22, 1246, Heinrich Raspe, the Landgrave of Thuringia, was elected, and upon his death before Ulm in February, 1247, Count William of Holland was appointed in September. The transference of the imperial power to the princes is clearly expressed in the fact that their tool, the counter king, was not necessarily possessed of princely rank or power of his own. During the preparations called forth by the defeat of Vittoria on February 18, 1248 (a misfortune due to carelessness), Frederic II died, — where we do not know (December 13, 1250). He carried with him to his grave the empire of Charles the Great, Otto I, Barbarossa, and Henry VI. For the revival of that empire he had never made the smallest effort. He had little or no personal sympathy with the German nationality. He was a product of Italian and Saracen education, a poet in the Italian language, the independent monarch of a centralised government, the champion of a closely organised monarchy upon modern lines in his own hereditary kingdom; and in upper Italy he was "the first of the moderns," standing on the threshold of the future Italian renaissance. German feudalism and chivalry had no attractions for him; he was equally out of sympathy with the rich and joyous development of central European culture as exemplified in Germanic civilization, with the home of the Nibelungen, of Wolfram, of Walther, and of mediæval romanticism.

(*e*) *The Decline and Fall of the Hohenstauffen.* — Conrad IV, son of Frederic II, had been already crowned in 1237, and attempted to maintain his kingdom by securing his possessions in Sicily. There he died at Lavello on May 21, 1254. His half-brother, Manfred, in opposition to Conrad's son, Conradino, to whom he was opposed, as Philip of Suabia had been opposed to Frederick II in 1198, sought to preserve the Sicilian monarchy by making himself its representative (after 1258), but was defeated at Benevento on February 26, 1266, by Charles of Anjou, who was in allegiance with the Curia. Charles, the capable but ruthless brother of Louis IX of France, continued the traditions and the work of the Emperor Frederic II among that motley collection of peoples which form the Norman state.

In Germany a change of circumstance was marked by the continued rise of the citizen class. Privileges had been hastily granted to this class by Frederick II after 1242, when he began to feel the pressure of the princes, especially of the ecclesiastical party. The great town federation which began in 1254 with Mainz and Worms, and speedily reached Regensburg and Lübeck, included numerous

members and relatives of the princely class. King William was satisfied to remain the patron of the alliance and to increase his prestige by this position; it was indeed, rather fostered than diminished by the early decay and the growth of disunion within the federation. In January, 1256, William died in the course of a local Frisian quarrel, and a year afterwards a more restricted body of the princes, who had preserved this right against the rising power of the third estate and wished to turn it to pecuniary account, chose two masters who were able to pay for the distinction. Of these, Richard of Cornwall and Poitou was a man of straw; on the other hand, the bold Alfonzo X of Castile pursued the Italian and Mediterranean policy of the Spaniards, which materially influenced the Apennine peninsula in the course of following centuries, and seized the opportunity of basing his plans upon the inheritance of the Hohenstauffen (Vol. IV, p. 525).

Side by side with these mock governments proceeded the enterprise of Conradino. He had been educated by his uncle, Duke Lewis of Bavaria, and though not elected to the German crown, he was Duke of Suabia, with a hereditary claim to the crowns of Jerusalem and Sicily. He hoped to reconquer the latter state, and then possibly to change the course of events in Germany. The downfall of this courageous youth (October 29, 1268), conjoined with the permanent imprisonment of Enzio by the people of Bologna (May 26, 1249, to March 14, 1272), caused the extinction of the male line of the Hohenstauffen and the dissolution of the duchy of Suabia. The last Hohenstauffen were avenged upon the house of Anjou by the instrumentality of Manfred's son-in-law, Peter of Aragon, and the Sicilian vespers of March 30, 1282.

6. THE PERIOD OF ELECTORAL SUPREMACY

About the middle of the thirteenth century all continuous influence on the part of the crown had practically ceased. The idea of national unity and of common authority was again overshadowed by the old invincible Teutonic tendencies to separatism and to the formation of small independent federations. Thus, when these broken forces found themselves inadequate to secure their own purposes, help was sought in temporary alliances and in unstable connections. The primitive characteristics of Teutonic constitutional life — individualism on the one hand, completed or voluntarily extinguished by a process of federation upon the other — reasserted themselves in the face of the later or foreign conception of uniformity, though they reappeared in changed form and in different stages. There is no doubt that the manner in which the monarchy had been finally administered contributed largely to the triumph of these tendencies. We enter upon a period of alliances and peace unions, of town leagues and Hanses, of noble and chivalrous societies, of princely alliances and electoral diets. Among these movements appears a remnant of the royal power which is not absolutely extinguished, but is used now for this purpose and now for that. The kingdom has revived, but its means of subsistence are refused whenever it threatens to become a real force. With the exception of the leading civic offices, which continually call for a change of occupancy, all else had become hereditary. The restricted class of the high nobility, though not predominant, were able to retain within their limits the power

to confer the crown; and this they exercised in different directions, taking full care that the remnants of monarchical influence should never put forth new roots.

The German history of this period consists of territorial aims and events, of capacity and effort applied to local enterprises. It was not the imperial government, but the rivalry of individual forces in the most varied localities, that secured the great increase of material prosperity and culture with which a detailed history of the nation must deal, and the evidence of which is still to be seen in the north and south of Germany, in her Gothic churches and warehouses, her sumptuous palaces and lordly castles, or in the collections which illustrate the progress of artistic taste in manufacture and the development of civilization.

Meanwhile the crown was utterly impoverished as compared with those who should have been its subjects. In this position it was retained by the repeated elections of monarchs who possessed no means at all, or only so much as would prevent a more important personality from grasping the monarchy. Under such circumstances the various kings naturally attempted to find support for themselves and for their houses; in other words, they regarded their immediate object as the task of making themselves distinguished and prosperous princes, like their electors. On occasion they attempted to divert the wealth of the towns to their own coffers, but a more successful method was the seeking or the using of favourable opportunities to make themselves strong territorial lords (the age of the formation of dynastic power). But all attempts to exalt the conception of the monarchy proved fruitless. Moreover, their efforts were marked by a general individualism. Among other points we observe that the interests of an individual king were practically confined to the geographical boundaries of the district which he had inherited or might acquire. During the period of rivalry between the Saxons and Hohenstauffen this had not been the case to the same extent. The Sicilian Frederic II is an exception; he was no more a German than Alfonso of Castile. Upon the whole, however, rulers like Lothar of Saxony or Otto IV had raised the crown above the sphere of mere territorial politics and given it a more imperial significance.

After the interregnum it was the house of Capet which chiefly aimed at that imperial and universal position vacated by the fall of the Hohenstauffen. This family was established by Charles of Anjou in Provence in lower Italy, and in the Arelate province of the kingdom of Burgundy, which belonged historically to the Germans. It embraced Italy upon two sides, and afterwards, when established in Hungary, upon three (Vol. V, p. 383). It began to resume the policy of Frederic I and Frederic II in Lombardy. It then surrounded the papacy, whose power the French strove to use as an instrument of their imperial designs, in a mean spirit of aggrandisement which is wholly alien to that of the former German emperors, with their devotion to ecclesiastical ideals (cf. p. 213). Towards the close of the thirteenth century the Capets began to cast glances upon the shattered body of the German Empire, to consider the possibility of acquiring and incorporating it in their own world power. Nor after the elections of 1257 can we feel any surprise when we find enthusiastic Frenchmen proclaiming the advantage offered by this prospect to the peace of the world and to civilization in general.

A. From the End of the Interregnum to the Death of Albert I

The man who averted these comprehensive foreign ambitions and recalled the Germans to their own course of development was not one of themselves, but a foreigner, Pope Gregory X. The entire change of political circumstances had forced upon his notice the necessity for a German kingdom worthy of the name, which he could use as a counterpoise to the imperialism of the Capets. He therefore threatened the princes with a choice of his own making if they did not elect a king of their own after Richard's death (April 2, 1272).

Since Frederick I had proposed to limit the numbers of the princes and therefore of the electors, certain events which were taken as precedents, certain theoretical and literary formulæ, including the precedent of the cardinal bishops, had tended to produce an isolation of the electoral body and had secured a certain recognition for the theory that seven princes were the special electors to the empire. However the rise of the electoral college is by no means a simple process, and it was only the Golden Bull of 1356 which defined the existence of this new element in the constitution.

Among the princes who belonged to this corporation, the wish for a native king had been gaining ground since 1272. The most powerful of the lay princes in the empire was King Ottocar of Bohemia. After the extinction of the Babenbergers (1246; Vol. V, p. 244) Ottocar had emerged triumphant in 1251, notwithstanding the tortuous intrigues of the Emperor Frederic II and of other princes to secure this inheritance. He had ruled over Austria and Styria with Carinthia and Carniola since 1269. It was his earnest desire to open Bohemia and Moravia to German immigrants, to found towns and to introduce civilization of the German type, and so to raise the level of their civilization. In the east a great and uniform power was in process of formation under the Přemyslids. He also extended his influence to the northeast, where he was in close connection with the pioneers of German expansion; the young town of Königsberg in Prussia adopted his name in his honour and in memory of his co-operation with the Teutonic Order. Hence in every respect it was intelligible that he should not be the king the electors desired and that they attempted to exclude him from all influence upon their choice.

(*a*) *Rudolf I of Hapsburg.* — On September 28, 1273, they elected a man who was not a prince, but a Suabian count, Rudolf of Hapsburg, the candidate of Archbishop Werner of Mainz. Rudolf's hereditary lands lay in the Sundgau and Aargau; his family had inherited a considerable portion of the large territories of the Zähringers, who became extinct in 1218 (through the house of Kyburg and in conjunction with their property); this important Suabian and Burgundian territory had been further increased by the cleverness and foresight of Rudolf. Thus it was not an entirely unimportant personage who was brought forward from the southwest to confront the new Henry the Lion in the east. Moreover, from the outset Rudolf was resolved to assert his position as king. The relation between himself and Ottocar was analogous to that which had formerly existed between King Conrad I and Duke Otto the Illustrious of Saxony (p. 85); there are many points of similarity in their respective relations to the electoral princes. Conrad, how-

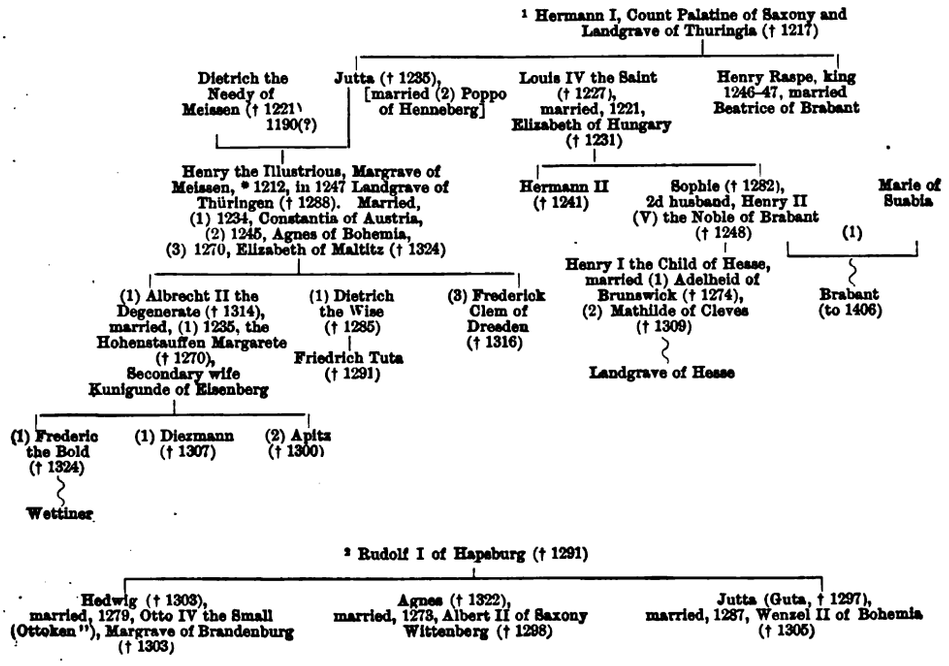
ever, had avoided the stronger territorial lord, who did not care to be king, as his candidature was not seriously considered, and had finally offered the empire to his son. Rudolf, on the other hand, formed the bold resolve of overthrowing Ottocar and securing his territorial power for himself. Here, again, we see points of resemblance with the destruction of the rival Guelph by Frederick I. Rudolf utilised the legal pretext of unfulfilled feudal obligations, and summoned the Bohemian in due form before his court. Ottocar, like Henry, had to deal with risings at home and with the opposition of the Bohemian superior clergy whom Rudolf again turned to his own account. He was also helped by the Bohemian particularist movement against the Germanising territorial lords and the opposition to the Hungarian king Ladislaus (Vol. V, p. 381). With their help Rudolf secured the upper hand in the fierce decisive struggle on the Marchfeld at Dürnkrut, in which Ottocar lost not only the battle, but also his life at the hand of his subjects (August 26, 1278). It was not the princes of the empire who helped Rudolf to this success; on the contrary, Ottocar found valuable allies among them wherever the king revealed his purpose. These purposes, however, were attained by calmness and dexterity. The Přemyslids were restricted to Bohemia and Moravia, to the satisfaction of other rulers; at the same time the policy of German immigration which had been fostered by the native rulers was now brought to an end; the process of Germanisation and immigration came to a standstill, and the policy of the succeeding Přemyslids was now turned from its former paths to Poland and Hungary, — that is, to paths which did not affect Germany. In Austria and Styria, which were at first governed by an imperial vicar, the house of Hapsburg quietly seized the territorial supremacy. Carinthia and Carniola were transferred to Rudolf's supporter, Duke Meinhard of Görz and Tyrol, whose daughter Elizabeth was married in 1276 to Rudolf's eldest son, Albert.

Austria being thus secured, Rudolf then attempted to lay his hands upon Hungary (Vol. V, p. 347). In the west, within the hereditary property of the Hapsburgs, he was anxious to restore the duchy of Suabia and the royal prerogative in Burgundy for the benefit of his house. These efforts, however, proved fruitless. The achievements which he had secured by bravery and care conferred too great a distinction upon his son, Albert of Austria, to secure the latter the favour of the electors. His third son, Rudolf, might have been a possible candidate, as the old view of the hereditary rights of a chosen and reigning family was not altogether dead, and as Rudolf was only to inherit the old Hapsburg possessions; he, however, died in 1290 before his father. Moreover Albrecht was rejected by the adoption of a new theory, to which the force of precedent was given; as Rudolf I had not been emperor, it was asserted that no king of the Romans or successor could be elected during his lifetime.

As regards the imperial rights in Italy, Rudolf had renounced lower Italy and Sicily and also the "recuperations" of the Patrimony (p. 108) in favour of the papacy, in 1275 and 1279, but had renewed the contracts of Otto IV and Frederic II, made during their time of alliance with the papacy, and had secured the recognition of his title by Gregory. In upper Italy, therefore, the possibility of restoration remained open to the German imperial power, and homage was there offered to Rudolf through his ambassadors.

(*b*) *Adolf of Nassau and Albert I.* — Upon the death of Rudolf I (July 15, 1291), an even less important personality than Rudolf had been in 1273 was elected on May 5, 1292; this was Count Adolf of Nassau, who had to buy his election by heavy sacrifices from the remnants of the imperial demesnes. The new king could see no other way of asserting his position than that which Rudolf had followed, — to secure control of some principalities. For this purpose he thought he might turn to account the violent family quarrels of the Wettins. This family, which belonged to Meissen, had secured Thuringia after the death of Henry Raspe (1247). The Hessian portion of the province had gone as a special landgraviate to an heiress of Brabant, belonging to the family of the landgraves of Thuringia, which had become extinct in the male line[1] (1263). Albert now interfered in the family quarrel of the Wettins by purchasing the lordship of Meissen and Thuringia, which were the property of the aggrieved party; this he was enabled to do by using the subsidies which England had been sending since 1294 in return for the promised co-operation of himself and the German chivalry against France. This proceeding was highly questionable, and was also an enterprise beyond his powers, as he was wanting in that calm, clear strength of calculation which had distinguished Rudolf I.

Meanwhile Adolf was opposed, not only by the Wettins, whom he was attempting to oppress, but also by Albert of Austria. Three of his six married sisters brought him into connection with the princes of Bohemia, Wittenberg in Saxony, and Brandenburg;[2] these relationships offered more or less tangible prospects to his relatives, calmed their opposition, and induced them to take sides against the king. The electors of Adolf had grown dissatisfied with their choice, and Albert



was therefore chosen king on June 23, 1298, at the instance of Wenzel II and Archbishop Gerhard of Mainz, while Adolf was simultaneously threatened with the sentence of deposition from the electoral body. The matter was decided by Adolf's overthrow at the battle of Göllheim, not far from the Donnersberg, on July 2.

It was naturally only to be expected that the powers which had created the opposition king should quarrel with him as soon as he was sole ruler. It proved impossible permanently to satisfy all his helpers, though Albert had hoped to secure this end by renouncing his duchies, which he placed in the hands of his sons as his vassals. In other directions he showed that the Hapsburg lust of territory was by no means appeased. He took upon himself the claims to Meissen, which Adolf had bought, and attempted also to appropriate Holland, Zeeland, and Frisia upon the death of the local ruler, John I, in 1299; here, however, he was obliged to retire in favour of the Hainaulter John II of Avesnes, who derived a hereditary right from the female line of succession.[1] Rudolf I had originally and unsuccessfully attempted to burden the towns with heavy direct taxation, to supply the royal privy purse, but had afterwards courted the friendship of these mercantile republics. This latter policy was continued by Adolf, and followed by Albert, who abolished in favour of the towns in 1298 all the territorial customs houses which had been illegally erected since 1245. In his relations with the lower nobility and the knightly classes, he followed in the steps of Adolf, whom he had overthrown. Thus the jealousy entertained by the electors towards the crown, which, with the help of the other orders, seemed likely to recover its position, became steadily accentuated, until the decision could no longer be postponed. As usual, the three Rhine archbishops of Trèves, Mainz, and Köln, together with the Wittelsbach Count Palatine, Rudolf the Stammerer, asserted the electoral power against the crown and the Hapsburgs. Brandenburg, Saxony, and Bohemia clung to that side which they considered most important for their territorial position; during the various elections their votes were simply placed at the disposal of one or another of the electoral archbishops. These four archbishops now met on October 14, 1300, at Heimbach near Bingen and deposed Albert, but in the following years he rapidly overthrew them one after another.

The king's relations with France and the Pope were dictated solely by the desire to avoid interference with his German policy. The papal biretta had lately been changed by Boniface VIII to the double tiara, denoting the supremacy of the world. This ambitious successor of Gregory and Innocent opposed the imperialism of France by advancing those pontifical claims which had already raised the papacy above the empire. The struggle between the supreme powers in church and state now lay between Rome and France, as a result of the change in the political situation (cf. below, p. 208). In reference to Germany, the papacy needed only to complete the acquisitions already made. For this purpose Albert after the end of 1302, steadily offered every opportunity. On April 30, 1303, he received the

[1] Florens IV, Count of Holland and Zealand († 1234)

William (II), King 1247–1256 — Adelheid, † 1284 — (1246) — John I of Avesnes († 1257)

Florens V, conquered Frisia († 1296)

John I († 1299), married, 1297, Elizabeth of England

John II of Avesnes († 1304), married Philipp(in)e of Luxemburg († 1311)

papal confirmation of his title, which, much to his disgust, had hitherto been withheld; he made no difficulty in declaring that both the electoral rights of the prince and the military power of the chosen king or emperor were subject to the supremacy of the Pope as overlord. These direct concessions were the greatest triumph which the hierarchical theory ever gained over a generally recognised German government. At the same time they implied very little in actual practice, and affected the independence claimed by the electors in greater measure than the power of the king. Immediately afterwards the French monarchy pronounced its theories upon the subject, and the papal sentence of excommunication was followed by the imprisonment of the Pope in his own territory (September 7, 1303). From the time of Boniface's successor Benedict XI, the papacy long continued to be a tool in the hands of the French monarchy, and was resident, not in Rome, but at Avignon.

Albert had secured (1306) the succession of his son, Rudolf, to Bohemia, upon the extinction of the Přemyslids. Rudolf, however, died on July 4, 1307, and the Bohemian crown fell, against the will of the German king, to Henry of Carinthia (Vol. V, p. 247). On March 31, 1307, his general Henry of Nortenberg was defeated at Lucka by the Wettins, Frederick and Diezmann. It must however be allowed that the position of Albert was solid and powerful. He might have been able to transform the electoral crown into a monarchy, had he not been murdered, on May 1, 1308, by his nephew John, son of the above-mentioned Rudolf, who had demanded his old Hapsburg inheritance, and interpreted the king's reluctance as an intention to withhold it entirely. As upon the death of Henry V, the premature death of this stern and ruthless man must be regarded as a severe loss to the cause of the German monarchy.

B. The Rise of the Luxemburgs

(*a*) *Henry VII.* — Upon the death of Albert the work of the practical Hapsburg politician, the strengthening of the monarchy, was handed over to the political idealism of his successor, Henry VII. This petty Count of Luxemburg (born between 1274 and 1276) was brought forward as a candidate by his brother Balduin, who was but twenty-two years of age, and had just been appointed Archbishop and Elector of Trier, and by the Archbishop of Mainz, Peter of Aspelt, who was of a Luxemburg family. Henry was successfully elected on November 27, 1308. The opposition candidate was Charles of Valois, brother of the French king, Philip IV. Thus the ambition of France, which was now determined to lay hands upon the German crown, was frustrated by this means; and the turbulence of the Rhineland princes was abated. Meanwhile, however, though Henry's land was entirely Frankish, early residence, education, and connections made him half a Frenchman.

A true product of Romance civilization, Henry now proceeded to revive the splendour of the Romano-German Empire to the full extent of its historical theory, as if there had existed no obstacles or overwhelming difficulties in Germany or Italy. He viewed the position with the eyes of a Capet rather than an electoral prince. His enterprise was favoured at the outset by many facts. Though he was half a foreigner and possessed but little territory, he had no great or united opposition against him in Germany. Neither Pope Clement V, who was dependent upon France, nor the French king were disinclined to leave him unfettered within certain limits; it was possible that he might be useful for their purposes, and he might

BATTLE AND COURT OF JUSTICE DURING HENRY VII's MARCH UPON ROME

First Picture: King Henry crushes the revolt of the Milanese under Guido della Torre on February 12, 1311.

Bellum [above the line in another hand, probably that of Archbishop Baldwin: melant] ibi Gwido de Turri evasit.	Battle [in Milan] in which Guido della Torre escaped.

Count Werner of Homberg (two black eagles above one another on a yellow ground), one of the boldest warriors of the German army and a terror to the enemy in the battlefield; also a minnesinger, with a mighty blow cleaves the helmet and the head of a Guelf leader (two crossed silver lily sceptres on a red ground). In the background on the right fights the bold leader of the German order of knights, the Franconian commander Conrad of Gundolfingen (a black cross on a silver field) against an Italian (blue with silver stars). Close by Duke Leopold of Austria (red with silver fesse), the flower of the German chivalry, is attacking a Torre (red). On the left are advancing Friedrich of Burtschied, of the old and still flourishing dynastic family of Lützelburg (three red vine leaves or hearts on silver), the fair and knightly Count Walram of Lützelburg (in the morion), the king's brother; then Henry's brother-in-law, Count Amadeus of Savoy (a silver cross on a red ground), and the Lützelburg vassal knight Godfrey of the Bongart with the chevron (silver chevrons on a red ground) of the duchy of Limburg. The knightly combatants are in full military dress. Shields, coats of arms, and horse trappings bear the same heraldic devices. Beneath the coats of arms appear the armour, greaves, and plates upon the legs and steel harness upon the breasts. Leathern gauntlets protect the hands. The saddles of different coloured leather are peaked in front and behind. With the exception of the Lützelburg knight all the warriors wear helmets with closed vizors. The swords of the knight of Bongart and of the blue Italian are connected with the breast harness by a thin chain.

Second Picture: King Henry sits in judgment upon the revolted Milanese and the fugitive della Torre.

Rex sedet in iudicio, turres destruxit in Melant.	The King sits in judgment and destroyed the towers [a play of words upon "the della Torre"] in Milan.

The King, with the lily sceptre in his hand and the crown upon his head, sits upon a golden chair covered with brocade, the arms of which are ornamented with dogs' heads. His garment is of gold brocade, and the cloak, the clasp of which he is fingering, is red and lined with squirrel skin. Bishops in red fur-trimmed gowns, princes and lords in festal dress and armour, stand on either side. In the foreground on the left are kneeling or sitting the inhabitants of Milan in bright and motley garments and swearing allegiance; on the right the council offers the keys of the town to the King. The sentence upon Guido della Torre and the guilty members of his family, who had fled to Cremona, condemned them to loss of life and property. Guido's uncle, the Bishop Cassone, was obliged to go into banishment for some time.

(After G. Irmer, Die Romfahrt Kaiser Heinrichs VII in Bildercyklus des "Codex Balduini Trevirensis," published by the directors of the royal Prussian State Archives, Berlin, 1881. The pictures here reproduced are the only coloured examples in this valuable codex which belongs to the beginning of the fourteenth century.)

London: Wm Heinemann. Printed by the Bibliographisches Institut, Leipzig. *New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.*

BATTLE AND COURT OF JUSTICE DURING HENRY VII.'S MARCH UPON ROME: A PAGE FROM THE CODEX BALDUINEUS.
(After G. Irmer, Die Romfahrt Kaiser Heinrich's VII.)

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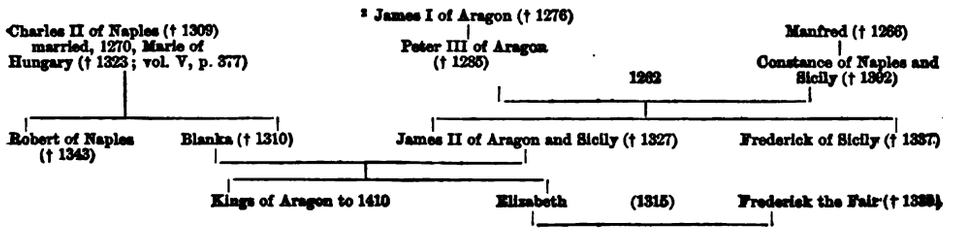
also be able to organise for the Pope that great final crusade upon which the Curia, untaught by two centuries of experience, continued to rely for the fulfilment of its old hopes of universalism. If successful, he might break the bonds in which France had confined the papacy. Italy found that after her liberation from Hohenstauffen despotism, far from securing peace, she had been involved in the local feuds of the Guelphs and Ghibellines; these animosities had increased so rapidly that a mediator from beyond the Alps would be welcome not only to the Ghibellines, as the realisation of hopes which were either far-reaching (Dante Alighieri) or selfish. Every German who could see beyond his own immediate convenience was at once attracted by this return to the traditions of the Hohenstauffen, which still survived among the nation, though these feelings were now manifested rather as a form of enthusiasm than as an effective determination. In Bohemia, where Peter of Aspelt possessed long-standing connections, the Carinthian had not been able to establish himself, and in the summer of 1310 the crown of the Přemyslids was offered to Henry's son John (born in 1296) together with the king's daughter Elizabeth (Vol. V, p. 247); the offer was accepted, and a compromise with the house of Hapsburg was then facilitated.

Such were the prospects with which the Luxemburger crossed the Mont Cenis, and appeared in Lombardy at the end of October, 1310, accompanied by three thousand troops. There, however, the same theory pf imperial supremacy which gave its character to the whole enterprise and provided it with both moral and intellectual strength, eventually hampered and destroyed a success which had at first seemed easy. Henry refused to accept the support of the group which stood ready to help him. He would not purchase their homage at the price of his help. He wished to be not a partisan king, but an all-powerful mediator, the one and only emperor of peace. He thus seized the opportunities which he found here and there, chiefly among the Ghibellines, to attract even his most distant opponents and to secure their adherence, as opportunity offered, by friendly overtures and concessions. In this way the general body were thrown into confusion. He was soon obliged to abandon festivals and tournaments for siege operations and punitive courts.[1] The king was also obliged, whether he would or not, to avail himself of the partisan help offered in the country. The calculating Angevins of Naples had never found it so easy to secure the allegiance of their inheritance in most important towns in upper Italy and Rome. Henry's coronation as King of Lombardy (January 6, 1311) was easily and rapidly secured. His imperial coronation by three cardinals in the Lateran on June 29, 1312, was a less brilliant affair, as he could not secure entrance into St. Peter's. Meanwhile he had now recognised Naples as his most formidable opponent, and had begun a war in alliance with the Aragonese king, Frederic of Sicily.[2] At this point Pope Clement V interpreted

[1] See the plate facing this page, "Battle and Judgment during the Roman Campaign of Henry VII."



his action, not as securing his position in upper Italy, but as an attempt to revive the policy of Manfred and Conradino, and as an open breach of the guarantees which Henry had given. Possibly Clement was correct in thinking that this emperor would have become a second Frederic II in the event of success, and would have eventually left Germany unsecured. King Philip of France was naturally no less excited than the Pope. The Pope and the emperor fought by means of legal experts and publicists, discussing the correctness of their respective theories. The imperial theory which Henry was bound to define by the exigencies of his position undoubtedly shook the justice of French and papal imperialism and its recent achievements. A powerful fleet started from Italy and began the appeal to arms, with much promise of success. The emperor himself, who had formed an armed camp in opposition to Florence (which was ruled by the Guelphs and Angevins, and constituted the central point of hostilities in upper Italy), started southward from the faithful town of Pisa. While this state of tension was continuing, he succumbed to an illness on August 24, 1313, midway between his friends and foes, after triumphs and disappointments.

(*b*) *Frederic (III) the Fair and Lewis IV of Bavaria.* — In Germany the Austrian party and that of Luxemburg and Mainz now made their preparations for the elections. These parties were too comprehensive to leave room for the existence of a third. As the youth of John made a Bohemian candidature impossible, for this and other reasons the Bohemian party supported the candidature of the Wittelsbach against the Hapsburg. Before the gates of the election town of Frankfort in Sachsenhausen, on October 10, 1314, Frederic III the Fair, of Austria, son of Albert I, was elected by the exiled Henry of Carinthia, representing the Bohemian court, and by Saxony, Wittenberg, and Köln; but on the following day, on the right bank of the Rhine, Lewis IV of upper Bavaria was elected by Mainz, Trier, Brandenburg, Saxony-Lauenburg, and by John of Bohemia. The Hapsburg side was joined against Lewis by his brother Rudolf (the Stammerer) of the Palatinate, with whom he had quarrelled.

Lewis was forthwith opposed by the resistance which had thwarted the Suabian ambitions of the Hapsburgs since the middle of the thirteenth century, — a resistance offered by the federal communities of the Forest Cantons. This opposition became a local war in which Leopold, Frederic's brother and best champion, suffered the heavy defeat of Morgarten at the hands of the Swiss and the peasants of Uri, on November 15, 1315. Modern Switzerland rightly considers this federal alliance, the earliest attested by documents, between Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden (August 1, 1291) as the initial date, or, better, the jubilee date of its origin. It must be remembered that neither upon this nor upon other occasions of the kind was there any proposal to break away from the empire. On the contrary, the question at issue was the maintenance of that immediate dependence upon the empire which, in the case of Uri, was indisputable; in other words, it was resistance or revolt against the Hapsburg supremacy. In this struggle the Forest Cantons saw the confirmation of Henry VII's promises of June 3, 1309, which Lewis of Bavaria now considered as equally important to himself (March 29, 1316).

His war against Frederic, which became a struggle of skirmishes and attempts to secure allies, was considerably advanced, on September 28, 1322, by the battle

of Mühldorf, in which Frederic was beaten and taken prisoner before Leopold's arrival with fresh forces. It was not a decisive battle, as neither party was overthrown. Frederic himself, who was released from the fortress of Trausnitz to secure the retirement of Leopold, returned home without accomplishing anything. After a personal interview Lewis granted him the rights of co-regeney by the treaty of Munich (September 5, 1325). The situation was not clear until Leopold's death, on February 28, 1326; thenceforward Frederic remained in peace, as the master of his hereditary territory, with the title of King of the Romans, which was very little more than personal. He died on January 13, 1330.

With the battle of Mühldorf begins the supremacy of Lewis in Germany, although he entirely lost the Luxemburg and Bohemian friendship by his composition with Hapsburg. He had already greatly offended John. After the extinction of the Ascanians in Brandenburg (July, 1320) he had invested the Bohemians with the fiefs of Bautzen, Löbau, and Kamenz, but in the spring of 1323 he had placed his own son Lewis in possession of that electorate. For Brandenburg itself the Wittelsbach government was an interim with no particular influence upon the prosperity of the country or the people, but rather tending to impoverishment and internal disruption.

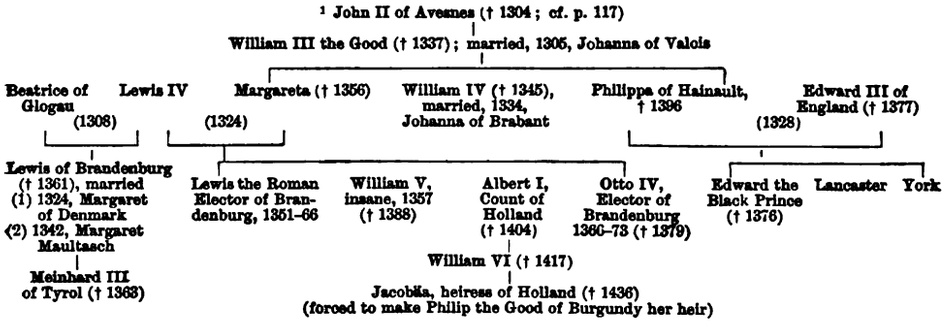
The more Lewis strengthened his position, the stronger became the opposition of Pope John XXII in Avignon. The object at stake was to secure the same submission to the papacy of the Wittelsbach, which had been gained from Frederic's father, King Albert I, though John did not feel himself bound to the Hapsburgs. On October 8, 1323, this Pope proceeded to complain that though Lewis did not possess the papal recognition, he had yet assumed the kingdom of Italy, and invited him to answer personally for his conduct at Avignon on July 11, 1324. The king and his legal advisers were supported in the struggle thus forced upon them by a valuable body of helpers, the Minorites. The special development of the Franciscan Order and their vigorous teaching of apostolic poverty had proved so distasteful to the financial policy of the Curia, which drew its wealth from the west, that the papacy persecuted them for heresy (decretal of November 22, 1323). The order proceeded to offer a bold and clever literary defence, criticising the foundations of the papal position and claims. It now made the cause of Lewis its own; and as it was widely spread and popular in the towns, it easily persuaded the people to feel no apprehension of excommunication or papal interdict.

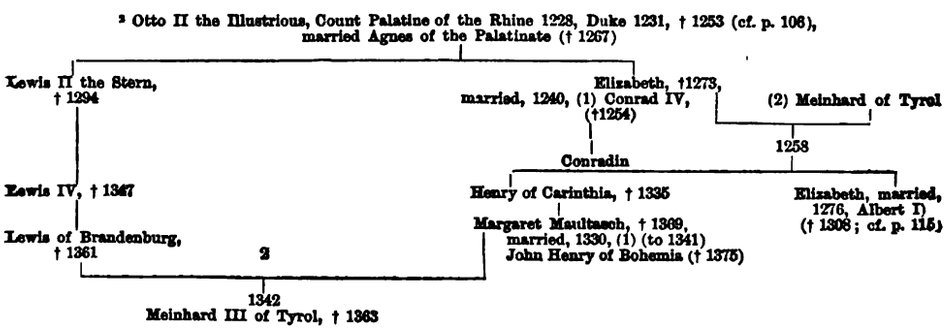
Lewis, who had no cause for fear respecting the attitude of Germany, appeared in Italy and advanced to Rome. He was anointed by a bishop who was not a cardinal, — a strange innovation, — and crowned by the Capitano of the city of Rome, a Colonna (January 17). He then pronounced the deposition of the Pope as a heretic (April, 1328). No other important consequences resulted from this Roman journey (which ended disastrously in December, 1329), apart from the new impulse given to Roman animosity by imperial claims and demands.

The action of John (died 1334) and of his successor, Benedict XII, in Germany, eventually led to the famous electoral conference of Rhens on July 16, 1338. At this meeting the electors laid down the principle that their choice conferred the title and power of king upon the successful candidate, as well as a claim to the empire; that empire and kingdom were therefore independent of the papal power, and were rather derived immediately from the grace of God. These resolutions were accepted by a diet which met at Frankfort in August of the same year.

It was then proposed to make war on France in alliance with England, since the king of France was the protector of the papacy. King Edward III[1] appeared at Coblenz on August 31 and seated himself on the steps of the throne, upon which the emperor appeared in full imperial splendour. Thus a further impulse was given to a wider conception of German imperial power, and the papal claims to control the German crown were eventually shared in common by every order in the empire. Lewis might have had an opportunity of refounding the power of the crown at this moment had not the efforts of the crown been rather directed to territorial acquisition. Its subsequent attitude was that of feeble conciliation towards France (1342) and the Curia (1343), followed by illegal infringement upon their privileges.

John of Bohemia had married his son, John Henry, to Margaret Maultasch, the daughter and heiress of Henry of Carinthia and Tyrol; she was older than her husband and therefore preferred the emperor's eldest son, Lewis of Brandenburg. The Pope, however, who was an enemy of the Wittelsbachs, would not do them the favour of dissolving the earlier marriage or of providing the dispensation necessitated by the near relationship of the contracting parties;[2] these acts were therefore performed by the emperor himself, who thus simply superseded the rights undoubtedly belonging to the spiritual authorities. It could not then be foreseen that through Margaret, who survived her son and second husband, the province of Tyrol would eventually come, not to the Wittelsbachs, but to the Hapsburgs. Lewis placed the latter house in possession of Carinthia (1335–1336) in order that the Luxemburgs should not gain this province in addition to Margaret Maultasch; when he had secured the daughter-in-law, however, he desired to attempt to gain





the reversion to Carinthia, as well as that to Tyrol; but these fruitless efforts only secured a closer friendship between Luxemburg and Hapsburg. The further extension of territory at which the Hapsburgs had long been aiming was secured by the Emperor Lewis, upon the death, in 1345, of William, Count of Hainault, the ruler of Holland and Zeeland. Lewis had married the sister of Count William, by name Margaret, as a second wife, and to her as his heiress he transferred the government of the vacant imperial fiefs, which were then held in trust for her son William.

(*c*) *Charles IV (to the date of the Golden Bull).* — The Wittelsbach territory thus extended from Hainault and Brandenburg to Tyrol, and the succession of a son of Lewis to the empire was therefore inconceivable; attempts to turn the electors in his favour proved hopeless. The new Pope, Clement, resumed the struggle from Avignon, after 1346, with considerable vigour. Charles of Moravia and Bohemia had been ruling in place of his father, who had gone blind in 1340; he was the Pope's personal friend, and to do him a favour Prague had been made an archbishopric in 1344, and the metropolitan influence of Mainz thus withdrawn from Bohemia and Moravia. On April 13, 1346, Clement solemnly cursed the Bavarian. Charles came to Avignon in person, renounced the electoral decrees of Rhens, admitted all papal demands for supremacy, promised that the emperor should spend no further time in Rome than the single day of coronation, and that the Pope should decide all complications with France, etc. Besides his great-uncle Balduin of Trier the electoral votes of Mainz, Köln, and Saxony-Wittenberg were secured for Charles, while the votes of the Palatinate and Brandenburg were refused, as these electors were under an interdict; thus Charles was proclaimed king on July 11, 1346, at Rhens.

Charles IV was the antithesis to his grandfather, Henry. Henry's chivalrous spirit had reappeared in John as adventurousness, boldness, and bravery, while in the third generation it now came forth as cool and calculating capacity. In Bohemia Charles had reformed the finances and restored the prestige of the monarchy; he was above all things an administrator and a financial expert, and as such he left behind him important results in the history of the German constitution. He came forward as an opposition king, whom few considered seriously, and whom the nobility and the towns entirely disowned; his first action was to take part in the battle of Crecy on the side of France on August 26, 1346, together with his blind father, who was tied to his horse and who there met his death. The death of the emperor Lewis on October 11, 1347, called Charles to the duties of king. Sole ruler he certainly was not, as the Wittelsbach party was not inclined to abdicate. Their natural head, Lewis of Brandenburg, had been thrown into chains in 1348 by the "false Waldemar," who was supported not only by the opponents of Lewis and the house of Anhalt, but also by the general confidence of the country, who welcomed his rule after the unfortunate government of Lewis. Hence the old champions of Lewis of Bavaria, or the opponents of Charles of Bohemia, appointed another king with four electoral votes, Günther of Schwarzburg (January 30, 1349). The cunning Charles seduced the supporters of this king one after another, won over the Hapsburgs, the Palatinate, and even Lewis of Brandenburg, by overthrowing in 1350 this pretender, whose personality has ever remained somewhat mysterious. Günther's small kingdom had already come to an end in the previous year by his renunciation on May 26, and his death on June 14.

Charles, abandoning his previous royal policy, now favoured the Hapsburgs, no longer supported the Swiss cantons, and attempted to check the expansion of this confederacy in Suabia, though without effectual result. The federation of "the old eight cantons," included, beside the Forest Cantons, Lucerne, Zurich, Glarus, Zug, and Bern, which were Suabian or former Burgundian districts either belonging to the Hapsburgs or immediately dependent upon the empire. After a vain attempt to besiege Zurich (1354; cf. Vol. VII, p. 163) he crossed the Alps and proceeded through the peninsula to Rome like a huckster of privileges and titles; in this old capital of the western world, which was then governed for Innocent VI, the Pope in Avignon, by the Cardinal Ægidius Albornoz, he remained as emperor only for the one day on which, as Charles IV, he received the imperial crown (April 5, 1355). Meanwhile at that moment an important imperial decree was to be issued which, while destroying papal influence upon the election of the German kings, and solving many of the problems connected with the rights of the electors, also placed the domestic peace of the empire upon a new basis. This decree is, in general, to be regarded as a central and dominant point in German constitutional history; it was the famous Golden Bull (cf. Vol. VII, p. 179).

III

THE KELTS

By PROFESSOR DR. EDUARD HEYCK

1. THEIR DISTRIBUTION

THE position of the Kelts within the Indo-Germanic races has been already discussed (p. 20). Linguistic differences, so far as these can be discovered from documentary sources, divide the race into two main groups of Brythonic and Gaelic; the question as to how far dialectical differences within a group speaking the same language may be regarded as constituting racial or "tribal" division, in other words the process of tribe formation, has been discussed in the same passage.

The most important members of the Brythonic group are the Welsh of Wales, into the mountains of which country the Keltic population of Britain withdrew before the inexorable advance of the conquering Anglo-Saxons. Their language, known as Cymric, is spoken at the present day and cherished or stimulated by poetry, national festivals, and so forth. Belonging also to the Brythonic group and closely allied to the Welsh, is the language of Cornwall or Cornish, which disappeared about the year 1800. The Bretons of French Brittany are also Cornish. They crossed the channel in the fifth century when retiring before the Anglo-Saxons. Their Keltic dialect, which has been independently developed from the original Cornish, is still in current use.

In addition to this Brythonic group, we have to consider the Gaels, whose dialects were spoken, and are still used to a limited extent, in Ireland, Scotland, and the adjacent islands.

These two subordinate groups include the Kelts of the British Islands and Keltic immigrants from those districts. As regards the language of the upper Italian and Gaulish Kelts, one school inclines rather to class it with the Brythonic idiom than with the Gaelic as far as can be seen from the scanty records remaining to criticism, while another (Joh. Gust. Cuno) has argued a nearer relationship between these "true" Gauls and the Gaelic group. As regards the other Keltic peoples, whose linguistic memorials are confined at most to inscriptions and ancient place-names in Cis- and Transalpine Gaul, we are reduced to conjectures founded upon historical and geographical relations.

The word "Kelt," which has been adopted and popularised by science to express the entire group, is, in contrast to the word "Teuton" (German), a national designation, bestowed by the people themselves. Hence the Kelts possessed clearer ideas of their ethnographical connection, a fact recognised if not by all the Kelts,

yet by a very large proportion of their totality; so that, in contradistinction to that of the Teutons, Keltic nationalism was by no means confined to the political outlook of petty states. In fact the Druids represented a civilization which facilitated the possibility of such ideas, and turned them to good account. The word "Kelt" contains the same root as the Latin *celsus*, that is to say the "lofty," a meaning which coincides with the fact of national pride or with the national self-consciousness that struck the notice of foreign authors at an early date. "Galli," on the other hand, derived from a native root *gal*, is said to mean "warlike" and here again the interpretation is supported by the bravery, and the warlike and military spirit, which were characteristic of the Kelts. The Greeks, who adopted the word "Kelt" at an early date, and first from Spain, also used the form Γαλάται, Galatians, which is in close correspondence with the Latin Galli. Here we may have an instance of the Keltic tendency to lengthen names by the addition of a syllable consisting of one vowel and the letter "t" (compare Helvii and Helvetii); thus, they gave to Cæsar the title Usipetes instead of that of Usipii which is elsewhere the general name of this Teutonic people. Hence problems arise, the solution of which may lie more nearly within the mutual relations of the names Κέλται and Κέλτοι, Γαλάται and Galli, than in the two above-mentioned derivations. It must also be said that wherever the Romans came in contact with the Kelts otherwise than through the medium of the Greeks they immediately called them Galli; on the other hand, wherever Greek influence had already been operative upon the Kelts, or upon the Roman knowledge of them (as in Spain and about Massilia) they accepted the word Κελται. That the terms "Kelt" and "Galatian" were native and national designations is proved not only by their etymological derivation from Keltic roots, but also by the occurrence of personal names with the initial syllable Celt. In the case of the name "German" such a use is not found, for the reason that that prefix was not Teutonic or ever a national appellation among the Teutons, in spite of their readiness to accept foreign civilization (cf. p. 33).

Among the general characteristics of the Kelts were their stately carriage, their light complexions, their amiability, bravery, love of war, and liveliness, and intellect of somewhat unpractical nature and inclined to pride, superficiality, and self-laudation; at the same time they had a sense of humour and love of oratory and grandiloquence; but also a strain of poetry and the true spirit of chivalry. To translate the saying of Cato that the Gauls cultivated above all other things *rem militarem et argute loqui*, modern scholars have repeatedly used the words *gloire* and *esprit*; and a century later Cato's saying was enlarged and more closely examined by Cæsar. When the German Batavi stimulated their revolt with the imperialist dreams of vainglorious Gauls and Belgians (Vol. IV, p. 432), proposals to join the rebels were a daily occurrence in the councils of the Gauls, and in these the lack of ideas was concealed by the use of dialectic and emotional appeals of a very modern character. It was no mere chance that after the second century A. D. Gaul became the headquarters of the Roman school of rhetoric; to the extensive influence of this teaching is to be ascribed primarily the bombastic features of mediæval style, and in a secondary degree, the modern exaggerations of ecclesiastical rhetoric. The practice of duelling, with its various developments, is also Keltic. How far the Teutons might have been influenced by this institution at an early date is now a difficult problem to solve. With their love of society, the Kelts possessed the three main alcoholic liquors which have appeared in the course of civilization; beer (the

Latin or Roman name of which, cervesia or cervisia, was certainly borrowed from the Kelts), wine, and finally brandy. The influence of these beverages is only too obvious in Keltic history. The modern Frenchman has long since conquered the inclination to alcoholic excess which characterised the beginnings of his nationality; on the other hand, the resistance of the Keltic Irish to the influence of alcohol has been noted by many writers. Gaul was the special country of the wine trade as long as it still depended upon Massilian and Italian importation; a slave was often given as the price of a jug of wine. Hence the culture of the vine was adopted in the country at an early date and spread outwards from Massilia, and the wooden cask was invented in Gaul.

It is to be supposed that in primeval times the advance of the Kelts proceeded through the centre of the continent entirely by land, without touching either the Mediterranean or the Baltic. The problem of the populations whom they encountered do not concern us here. The Greeks regarded the Kelts as the earliest of the other civilized peoples they knew; hence they must have already occupied a large portion of southern Germany and perhaps also of central Germany and of France; they had even advanced into Spain, so that Herodotus and later writers considered this a Keltic country.

A. The Kelts and the Iberians

The supposition that the Kelts, starting from France, reached Spain by sea, as there is no geographical connection between their settlements, is possible, but not necessary. We cannot be surprised that the attention of the Greeks was first drawn to the Spanish Kelts as a special nationality. The Greeks were in commercial relations with Spain, and the overland routes of trade and commerce were far less popular in early times than those of the sea. Moreover the Phocæan settlement of Massilia opened important communications with the Kelts of Gaul. This trade, like that with the Iberians, was chiefly concerned with the products of mining and the transmission of tin from Britain. The earliest tin trade was in the hands of the Phœnicians and was carried on from Iberia; the Massiliots were in charge of the importation from Britain to Gaul, whence the commodity was transferred to the great trade routes.

The Keltic population was thickest in the northeast interior, whence it pushed forward to the west coast along the river valleys running in that direction; with this exception, Spain was inhabited by the non Indo-Germanic Iberians. One theory assumes that the population consisted of pure Iberian, pure Keltic, and mixed "Keltiberian" races (p. 151). Another theory regards the Greek expression κελτίβηρες as a vague term of convenience and as a combination due to the ingenuity of geographers, while as a matter of fact the Keltic and Iberian elements avoided all fusion. Iberians, of whom scanty remnants survive under the name of Basques, were in any case settled north of the Pyrenees, and formerly held sway as far as the Garonne. Remarkable also is the fact that the earliest known line of demarcation between the langue d'oc and southern French coincided with the boundary dividing the Keltic settlements from that part of Gaul which they had not occupied.

B. The Kelts of the British Isles

Though as far as we know the Kelts never sailed the Baltic, they settled long stretches of the shores of the North Sea and crossed it or the English Channel to the greater or smaller islands of Great Britain. When this migration took place and how long it lasted are questions as yet unanswered; our knowledge of the former population of the islands is equally indefinite. The Cruithnigh of Scotland, as they were known in Gaelic, that is to say, the Picts or the "painted ones" of Roman tradition, have been recently regarded as non-Kelts and non-Indo-Germans. They or other related tribes may thus have inhabited not only Scotland, but also Britain before the Kelts. Modern England was occupied or conquered, by the Kelts of the Brythonic group. The Belgæ existed as a nation about Portsmouth, Southampton and on the Isle of Wight; the Atrebates, Brigantes, Menapii, and Parisii were to be found on either side of the English Channel; the name, Britain, existed moreover and has been localized among the Belgæ; hence we may conclude that a close connection existed between these neighbours, the Belgæ and the Britons, who were divided only by the English Channel. It is possible also that emigration to Britain was increased by the Teutonic invasion of Belgic territory (p. 33). Apart, however, from the vagueness of our chronological information, the difficulty of these problems is increased by the possibility that Keltic emigrants may have made their way to Britain by sea from the same part of northwest Germany, from which the Keltic Belgæ advanced west and southwest beyond the Rhine, and from which, at a later date Anglo-Frisian Teutons reached Britain. It must also be remembered that the name "Britain" may be nothing more than a local name extended to include the whole, and used as a general appellation for those emigrants and their relatives. The name originally belonged to a nationality settled in historical times and still remaining on the Somme below Amiens. As we have said, the Brythonic immigration to England must be distinguished from the Gaelic migrations to Ireland and thence to Scotland. The continental separation of Gauls and Belgæ, as subordinate groups of the Kelts in Gaul, is even represented upon the islands, and these two nationalities have their separate spheres of interest and expansion within the British Islands.

The Brythons of Britain were conquered by the Romans in 43 A.D. after Cæsar had made two previous voyages of exploration. The Roman power was not extended over West Scotland, Caledonia or Britannia Barbara, as the Romans named the country, the latter being a somewhat vague appellation. These northern parts of Scotland were left in the hands of the Picts. Ireland was also left unoccupied and was certainly in the hands of the Gaelic, or Goidelic, nationality. The obviously native name "Ierne," appears at an early date in Greek authors and is connected with Erin; Romans used the name "Ibernia" and the Anglo-Saxons at a later date the names "Ireland" and "Irish." The Scots, who were nothing more than Irish-Gaelic offshoots, left Ireland in the fourth century, shared in the attacks of the Picts upon Roman Britain, which was then fortified by two parallel frontier lines, and established themselves in Caledonia, in the northwest. They popularised the name "Scotland" for Caledonia, especially after the ninth century, when the Picts were incorporated in the Scotch kingdom (p. 142). The earlier connection between these names is seen in the fact that the early middle ages generally speak of the

Irish monks, who were working on the continent, as Scots (Iro-Scots). Conversely the Teutons of the Scottish lowlands called the Keltic Highlanders (the old emigrants from Ireland) Irishries. The name Alban or Albion for which reliable evidence is found in the sixth century is of Keltic origin and is used in its earliest meaning for Scotland and to include the whole of Caledonia and the British Isles.

C. The Gauls in Upper Italy

About 600 B.C. the Kelts advanced beyond the Alps into the fair and fruitful lands of upper Italy, which they were never able to turn to full economic account, thus narrowing the boundaries of the Etruscan, Ligurian, Illyrian, and afterwards of the Umbrian inhabitants (Vol. IV, pp. 302, 304, 309). These wandering bodies are broken fragments of the Keltic peoples, which are known to us by the same names in different districts of Gaul, South Germany, or Bohemia, though we do not mean to say that at the time of their migration every one of these tribes was in possession of the settlements where their names are known to us. The occupation of Italy by the Gauls was not carried out as the result of one conquest, but was completed in the course of centuries. The first settlements were made at the foot of the Alps and new arrivals then established themselves on the frontiers of their kinsmen. Hence the latest arrivals, the Senones, are found furthest south, where the Apennines reach the coast about Rimini and Sinigaglia (Sena Gallica). To the north of them, about Ravenna and on the lower branches of the Po and generally upon the right of this river valley, were settled the Lingones; between the Po and the Apennines were the Boii with their capital of Bologna, about Verona were the Cenomani, and about Milan the Insubres, the first arrivals. Even at the present day local names show Keltic traces, and Renus (Reno) or Bologna are here to be found, just as north of the Alps we find the Rhine, Bonn, or Boulogne sur Mer.

The Gauls in Italy were never entirely at rest, nor did they leave their neighbours in complete peace; even when new arrivals did not add to the disturbance, the warfare of the Gauls with one another or with their neighbours continued incessantly. Moreover, the war-bands which were peculiar to them and to the Teutons (p. 42) made considerable and desperate raids into the surrounding country reaching as far as Apulia. One of these raids, an event of no great importance in itself, was conducted by a band of the Senones, who defeated the Romans on the Allia, under a certain nameless "Brennus" (which means "leader"), in 390 B.C.; they occupied the city, besieged the Capitol and were bought off with the money for which they had apparently come. Polybius gives a description of the war-bands of the north Italian Gauls which exactly resembled those to be found among the Gauls beyond the Alps. According to his report the Gauls in Italy were agriculturists; and in this fruitful land agriculture became comparatively more important than in Gaul at a later date or in Britain and Ireland at an even more recent period. At the same time the cattle-breeding of these Cisalpine Gauls continued unchecked. Their wealth largely consisted in cattle, and large tracts of modern Lombardy, then covered with forest, were used for swine feeding.

With the Transalpine Gauls those of Italy had little or no geographical connection, so far as we can see from our scanty knowledge of their ethnographical affinity; none the less the feeling of relationship remained alive. Violently as

these neighbours quarrelled among themselves, and although they failed to combine in any unity under the pressure of Ligurians, Etruscans, Veneti, Umbrians, and afterwards Romans, yet when the Romans proceeded to attack them (p. 149) they met with support from beyond the Alps.

D. The Galatians in Asia Minor

Bands of Kelts entered the Balkan peninsula in search of land, as they had entered Italy. About 280 B. C. such a band appeared under another Brennus in Macedonia and Sicily, but were defeated in 279 at Delphi by the Ætolians, Phocians, and Locrians, whereupon they retreated northwards. In Thrace the Keltic settlement maintained its ground for some time. Such bands also entered the service of King Nicomedes of Bithynia in 277, as mercenary troops, when he was struggling with his brother for the supremacy; upon the conclusion of the war they became a general plague to Asia Minor, and were finally settled in Greater Phrygia, where they soon became assimilated to the Greek nationality, though retaining the name of Galatians, which is known to us from the New Testament. They were composed of elements from the Trocmi, Tolistoboii, and Tectosages (cf. Vol. IV, pp. 137, 63).

E. The Gauls in Modern France

In Transalpine Gaul, — that is, in Gaul beyond the Alps as seen from Italy, — the population before the primitive migrations of the Kelts was scattered in isolated settlements; it comprised, besides other elements, the two groups of the Iberians, who were in the southwest, and of the Ligurians who occupied the Rhone districts. The convenient valleys and passes of the Alps never prevented similar nationalities from settling in Gaul; such were the Ligurians, Rhætians, Etruscans, Gauls, and Teutons. The more recent Keltic inhabitants of Roman Gaul at a later period were divided into Gauls, in the narrower significance of the term, and into Belgæ; these were divided from one another by the Seine and Marne. Romance philology has shown that these Keltic divisions correspond to the more modern and purely geographical districts of the Norman and Picard dialects. In later prehistoric times foreign nationalities from beyond the Rhine entered the district of the Belgæ and provided a Teutonic element which strengthened and revived this nationality and tended to separate it from the Gauls proper; these immigrants, however, learned to speak Keltic more or less rapidly, even as the conquering leader, Ariovistus, spoke the tongue of the southern Gauls.

The number of the Gaulish clans has been calculated at three or four hundred; out of these the Romans afterwards made forty-six administrative districts grouped around the towns. The fortified character of Gallic settlements is reflected in the numerous Latinised local names ending in *-dunum* and *-briga*; the former is phonetically identical with *zaun* or "fence," which among the Teutons long denoted a low enclosure, while *brigh* is a height or hill connected with the word *berg* and also with the secondary form *burg*, the meaning of which was modified among the Teutons, though it was originally identical with that of *berg* (cf. pp. 25 and 28). This Gaulish ending *-briga* was so distinctive of towns that it was eventually applied to settlements which were not situated upon a height.

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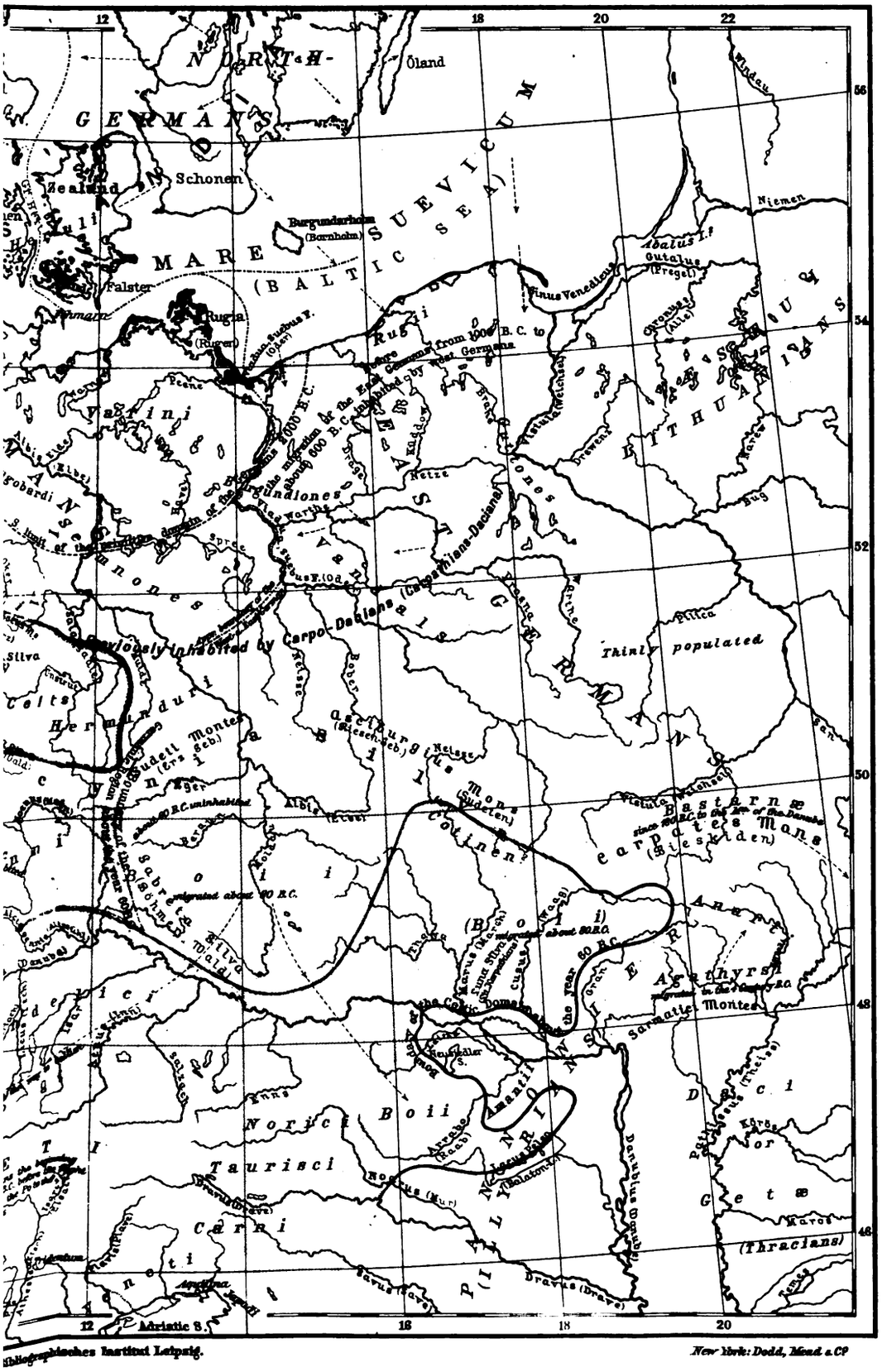


Bibliographisches Institut Leipzig.

New York: Dodd, Mead & Co

F. The Kelts of the Eastern Continent

Apart from the political division of the Roman province of Gaul into Cisalpine and Transalpine, no ethnographical divergency seems to have separated the Kelts of upper Italy and Gaul from those of southern Germany, of the northern frontier of the Alps, and of the Keltic lands further eastward which extended to Hungary. The organisation of the provinces of Rhætia, Noricum, and Pannonia under Augustus included the majority of these peoples, though omitting some few Keltic tribes settled to the north of the Danube.

Transalpine Gaul, the greater part of which was inhabited by many Keltic tribes, was regarded by the Romans as the main centre of the race; this indeed it was, by reason of its isolation and in view of the comparative antiquity of its Keltic population; hence we can readily understand that later Roman authors instinctively regarded the other Kelts as emigrants from Gaul; they found also in Gaul the names of tribes which occurred among the emigrants in the north of Italy. The eastern Kelts, for the most part at least, formed, however, the rear guard of that general prehistoric movement of the groups from east to west. In the later Roman Rhætia the Kelts had driven the previous Rhætian population into the Alps and occupied primarily the outlying districts; in Noricum, which is so called from its capital, Noreia, and not after any special people, they formed the main element of the population. Further eastward they advanced more sporadically, settling among other races which preceded or followed them. The chief race in western and southern Germany, until the advance of the Teutons, were the Helvetii, who spread northward to the lower Main; east of them were the Boii, who were also in Bohemia ("Boiohæmum"); while to the south of the upper Danube were settled the Vindelici, and in the eastern Alps the Taurisci inhabited the province of Noricum. In Hungary we hear of the Kotini and Teurisci, a later form of the Taurisci and of others. The question remains undecided as to the original locality of the great nation of the Volcæ, with whom the Teutons seem to have first come in contact, as their name under the form of "Welsh" became a general designation for the Kelts (p. 33); their earliest settlements were probably in Silesia and Galicia.

During a period which is unfortunately too little known to us, but will certainly be illuminated by the unwritten records of the past, the Kelts obviously occupied a great portion of central and north Germany, though without fully developing its economic resources (see the map facing this page, "The Distribution of the Teutons and Kelts in Central Europe, between 500 and 50 B. C."). The whole course of the Rhine, even on its right bank, gives evidence, in its place-names, and in the names of its tributaries, of early Keltic inhabitants. They must, however, at an early period have been settled considerably further to the east, according to evidence which is philologically entirely reliable, though we need not agree with the remoteness of the dates which are proposed. All such attempts at chronological conjecture, even when based upon philological evidence, which is far more tangible than that of archæology, must be accepted with caution, as they are dependent upon relations and conditions of extreme vagueness and complexity. In any case Keltic river names are found to extend from the Rhine district beyond the Weser up and to the Thuringian forest; they were accepted by the advancing

Teutons, and modified by them to suit themselves. Even beyond these limits Keltic names are found as far as the Wipper, in the highlands of the Finns, and to the south of the lower Unstrut; even the names of the Elbe and the Oder are regarded as Keltic, though the fact is not yet proved of their lower courses. Central and eastern Lower Germany are void of all tangible Keltic evidence, as the Teutons were in occupation of it before the Kelts began their advance. The later relations of these two groups of people have been discussed above (pp. 33 f.).

2. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE KELTS, THE ITALIANS, AND THE TEUTONS

THE political incapacity of the Kelts, their inability to evolve a durable or capable constitutional organisation, has often been pointed out, and has a special interest for the historian. They provide us with a picture of primitive and therefore backward development continuing to a comparatively late period. We can gain a clear and detailed insight into the original constitutional forms of the Kelts and into the constitution of their clans in a pure and unadulterated form, nor can we feel surprise when we learn that these constitutional germs are wholly akin to those of the ancient Italians and still more to those of the early Teutons. The fact is that all constitutional formation proceeds from the family and from unions of families, and this is true throughout the Indo-Germanic races, notwithstanding the vigour of their later developments. The Keltic groups, however, were and are — a fact especially demonstrable upon linguistic evidence — more nearly related to the Italic and Teutonic groups among the Indo-Germanic races (see the table on p. 362 of Vol. II). They were able to continue neighbourly relations with these two nationalities; this circumstance favoured the continuance of the parallel development of those common elements subsisting in primitive times. The essential nature of these facts will become more apparent if we examine the details ascertained by the exhaustive method of the various comparative sciences.

The language of primeval man is a natural phenomenon, a physiological and psychological problem, the origin of which is beyond our concern. In any case, when language had once arisen it was governed by no general laws of development apart from those imposed by the organs of speech, the throat, the tongue, the palate, and the lips; it was handed over to individual peoples to use as they pleased. It is not necessary that the most primeval exclamation or onomatopœic word should be the same throughout the human race; if such a coincidence existed, it was due to a coincidence of imitated sounds and not to necessity or to mutual agreement. On the other hand, men living in local or personal association used the sounds at their command in such a way as to arouse mutual attention and to increase the possibility of communication. The individual thus did not create a language of his own, but shared this work in combination with those about him. These neighbours then came into contact with others who were working in the same direction and under the same impulses. Hence there arose a certain loose uniformity, a similarity apparent throughout a number of communities; there was never a uniform common language, but there was a totality of gentle transitions, within which mutual understanding was never made impossible by too violent change. The communities A

and B have a language practically identical; the same is true of C and D and E and G; A can understand D with no great difficulty, D can understand G; intercourse between A and G, if this should happen in the course of expansion, will show that their languages are different. If A and Z come into contact, understanding is difficult; they are foreigners to one another. It would, however, be a difficult problem to say where the line can be drawn upon the path between A and Z. Thus the primitive unit is the dialect, the numbers of which are infinite, and never the language.

This community of language continues unchecked as long as the communications of neighbours remain undisturbed. When communications cease, understanding becomes difficult. Island people and tribes entirely isolated in mountain valleys have languages peculiar to themselves. Examples in modern times are the different Melanesian or Caucasian peoples, with their independent linguistic histories. The more completely they are isolated from those linguistic influences which are continually urged upon them from without, the more easily do they unify their vocabulary and their grammar by a process of inward agreement, and they end by speaking the same language; in short, replace the transitional dialect by an independent tongue.

This tendency to homogeneity exercises considerable influence even upon peoples apparently in movement over wide expanses of territory. Deserts and mountain ranges also act as lines of division, though only within their own localities. Other and often difficult obstacles to unity are provided by the migrations of the peoples themselves. A number of primitive people who are brought into connection by the course of events, and have no single or uniform language, but can understand one another through the medium of related dialects, are brought through migration on the part of themselves or surrounding tribes, or by both these causes, to dwell among other neighbours whose speech displays no affinity with their own. The result is that the group becomes conscious of its alien character and of its isolation as regards exchange of ideas, and is correspondingly influenced. It is not the case that all attempts at mutual understanding are abandoned; on the contrary, an interchange of loan words and foreign words continues between the two languages. But attempts to secure the complete connection of related neighbours lead to no result. The sense of difference, of alienation, of mutual separation, retains its essential force; the several groups regard themselves as unities and gain a clearer sense of their own origin by force of contrast. The tendency to homogeneity is often confined to each one of those isolated languages. These, however, do not on their own account advance rapidly to perfection; their vocabulary, their phonetic and grammatical systems, retain the characteristics of minor coexisting dialects. At the same time there arises the consciousness of a stronger sense of cohesion, a nearer mutual relationship, in contrast to the foreign element upon the frontiers, and a certain outward uniformity characterising the several dialects; a tendency also to stimulate that uniformity. This unifying conservatism, which teaches the members of a group to pursue common objects and to join in the acquisition of knowledge, is not merely confined to its effects upon language; it influences also material existence, the forms of domestic life, the growth of ideas, the philosophy and poetry of the nation. Complete unity, however, may not be attained for a long period. The rise of a sense of nationality, overpowering the particularist tendency by force of contrast with neighbouring foreign tribes, follows the same process in higher stages of civilization.

The Indo-Germanic tribes are to be regarded as a group of this nature, with certain common features which were not possessed in equal measure by the neighbours with whom chance eventually brought them into contact. It is obvious that we cannot fix any definite date or epoch which marks the outset of this development. These groups were gradually formed and may have changed their situation during the process of formation. Their unsettled life continued, through long generations they reached no island or mountain chain capable of affording them rest; otherwise dialectical differences would have disappeared and a uniform language would have taken their place. As things were they have never spoken the "Indo-Germanic" language. The starting-point of linguistic development was a number of closely related dialects from which the Indo-Germanic languages were afterwards formed.

This formation was a long process, and in the course of it the process we have sketched was repeated over and over again. The general group increased in numbers and continually subdivided, while the linguistic connection was subdivided in consequence. Language thus became neither powerful nor important, though the district over which it was spread increased considerably. If at an earlier age the Western "Indo-Germanic" tribes may have been able to understand the Eastern, in later periods this was no longer the case, and the identity of origin is obvious only to the modern philologist. A chain of connection remained, throughout the expansion, linking Aryans or Indo-Iranians, Armenians, and Illyrians to Greeks, Romans, Kelts, Teutons, and Lithuanian Slavs, at which point the circle is completed. But the individual Indo-Germanic member only understood his near neighbours. The process of subdivision occasionally made isolated members conscious of its effects; examples are the intercourse of the early Kelts on their south frontier with the ancestors of the Italians, and on their north frontier with those of the Teutons. In these cases the recognition and the continuation of the old community of language, domestic and public life, civil and constitutional law, proceeded unbroken.

This connection, however, grew steadily weaker under the influence of expansion, and the isolating and subdividing effect of migrations, forests, mountains, and seas. A process of group formation began which tended to undermine a unity that was in any case weakened. The predecessors of those groups, known to us as Italians, Kelts, and Teutons, broke away from their former neighbourly relations with other groups and concentrated their attention upon themselves. It is naturally an unconscious process, and no technical name has been invented for it. It was repeated within the neighbouring associations of the Greeks, Italians, and Kelts, or of the Kelts, Teutons, and Slavo-Lithuanians. Fragments or survivals of the old common elements alone remained; loan ideas were borrowed afresh, and upon the whole artificial formations overshadowed those fundamental elements peculiar to their group, — Italic, Keltic, or Teutonic. Once again complete uniformity within the group was not secured. There was never a Keltic or a Teutonic original language any more than there was an Indo-Germanic, although the philologist may, for his own convenience, deduce primitive Keltic or primitive Teutonic forms. Thus we have a number of separate Indo-Germanic groups; and of these the Italians, the Kelts, and the Teutons are found side by side upon the circumference of the circle of expansion. Their civilization is influenced as before by this proximity. A more essential point is the fact that the individual group

has attained full consciousness of its difference from its neighbours, especially in the department of language. It becomes a uniform whole, if not intentionally or entirely so. Meanwhile expansion continues, and though the unifying process is not suspended, it is modified by a principle of simultaneous lines of differentiation. Thus it is only in exceptional cases that individual groups and their members become fully conscious of the geographical and spatial extent over which their affinities extend. The more advanced Kelts, who had a learned professional class in the Druids, possessed the idea of a Pan-Keltic nationality, at any rate during Cæsar's time (cf. below, p. 145). The Teutons had only isolated recollections of neighbouring enemies and foreign tribes, while the lower classes have no notion of a Pan-Germanic nationality even at the present day.

At a later date linguistic development comes under the influence of political arrangements, and especially of federation and state formation. In this way numerous dialects are brought together into immediate groups; for instance, to take an obvious Teutonic example of this principle, federation and emigration produce a group of Alamannic or of Frankish dialects. These dialects remain in their full difference as the original property of special peoples; that is to say, no general Alamannic or Frankish language is formed. But tribal dialects tend to become assimilated through the permanent association of such tribes as the Alamanni or Franks (cf. above, p. 50). It is the same process that we have previously noted in the formation of the great families of languages, and is stimulated by contrast with non-Alamannic or non-Frankish neighbours who have not entered into the federation. Uniformity of language is only eventually secured by that final formation, the state. The slow process of unification and amalgamation of dialects is here so ponderous and slow that the state anticipates it with the formation of a written language. This written or literary language may be half foreign or entirely foreign, as was Latin in the German Empire of the Ottos, or Danish in Norway, or, again, it may be formed within the country under the strong influence of special districts, individuals, or institutions, thus forming a combination from various sources; instances are the so-called New High German or Flemish, the substratum of which was at first spoken only by a minority. Where no written language exists, political influence exercises a compelling and a unifying force upon dialectical movements, as is proved by ethnology, or by modern instances to those who can look for them. Such evidence may be found, for instance, upon the frontier line which now divides into two separate kingdoms the old related Bavarians and German Austrians, or on the line of the Erzgebirge, where dialectical division seems to be resuming its force. To put the matter in another way, the less vigorous is constitutional organisation among a group of peoples, the more widely differentiated is the number of its dialects.

3. THE ORIGINAL CHARACTER OF KELTIC CONSTITUTIONAL FORMS

On this subject we have to remember that as the Kelts were linguistically related to the Italians on the one side and to the Teutons on the other, so also their old forms of life and constitutional development display similarities with the institutions of both these nationalities. We here have no concern with borrowed

or transferred forms. One nationality may take over from another a vast number of innovations to increase the convenience of daily life,—implements, clothing, plants, staple foods, beverages, and so forth, and borrow the names of these. Thus the Kelts borrowed largely from the Italians and the Romans, the Teutons from the Kelts, and afterwards directly from the Romans, the Slavo-Lithuanians from the Teutons, while the Teutons borrowed but little from the Slavo-Lithuanians, or the Kelts from the Teutons, or the Romans from the Kelts, for it is ever the new civilization that is ready to borrow from the old. It also happens that the names, though not the forms, of later constitutional creations may be borrowed. Thus the word "rīgs" passed from the Kelts to the Teutons, who in turn gave the words "king" (kuningas) and "karol" to the Slavo-Lithuanians, under the forms "knees" and "kroll" (cf. Vol. V, p. 438). The civilization that borrows in these cases usually modifies and gives a foreign aspect to the accepted institution. The case, however, of a new civilization disregarding in one day its native conceptions of law and constitutional right, and taking over those of its neighbour, is absolutely unparalleled. There exists, indeed, no personality, no authority, that would be capable of ordering so comprehensive a change. The constitutional system of any one people is as ancient and as original as its own history, and can be retraced to its earliest beginnings. It at any rate goes back to the primeval relationship of the people in question with the ancestors of other peoples.

It is with this latter case that we have undoubtedly to deal; Keltic and Teutonic institutions can both be retraced to an Indo-Germanic origin. But the earliest forms of them are peculiar to either people, and a separate course of development is followed in each case. These beginnings and their future development are the more interesting to us when they happen to coincide in the two cases until their paths diverge under special influences. The fact must be again emphasised that constitutional, like linguistic history, is but one feature of a general civilization, and that its development cannot be understood unless the connections and ideas of relationship already mentioned are kept in view. Moreover the possibility is by no means excluded that communities of neighbours thus early founded may be joined by more recent associations of the kind. These new additions, however, can exercise only a superficial stimulative and accelerating influence, and certainly none that would alter the fundamental features of the whole.

A detailed comparison of Italian, Keltic, and Teutonic constitutional developments with their differentiations is outside the limits of this section. We can merely refer to the fact that among the Italians the tribal constitution was absorbed at an early date in the political predominance of the city; and that among the Kelts urban settlements became important at an equally early period, at any rate in northern Italy, Gaul, and southern Britain. At the same time the tribal federations do not lose their territorial character under the influence of the towns, but remain the predominant political factor, while finally the Teutons, even in historical times, had no town settlement, and town life therefore exercised no influence whatever upon their early political development. Apart from this, in our description of Keltic constitutional life we shall refer to Teutonic institutions only as occasion arises.

A. The Clans

Our knowledge of Keltic institutions is founded upon evidence from upper Italy, Gaul, Britain, Ireland, and Scotland; concerning the Kelts in modern Germany and Austro-Hungary, we have no information in this respect. It is a surprising fact that Cæsar's description of the conditions prevailing in Gaul shows these to have been less primitive than those under which the Gaels of the Scotch Highlands lived until the middle of the eighteenth century; the clan constitution of these last has been lately (1898) described by Alexander Conrady. No doubt the political forms of the Kelts were subject to continual modifications and divergencies in earlier or later times, but the main features stand out distinctly. Much is to be explained by the fact that, though the Kelts were acquainted with agriculture, many of them pursued it carelessly, or neglected it entirely; agriculture is an achievement which belongs to the whole area of the west Indo-Germanic nations, unless the modern theory be correct that it was developed by the Indo-Germans before the time of their first separation (cf. p. 219, above). In any case cattle-breeding was to them their main occupation, and was clearly given a preference to which it never attained among the Teutonic tribes.

Among the Kelts the political unity is entirely comprehended under the word "clan" or family. The word "clan" is exactly that which we require; it is often carelessly used to denote a congeries of peoples connected by federation; we shall use it in its original and proper sense of political co-operation dictated by common origin. The political unit among the Kelts is thus an extended family, to speak in Teutonic terms; that is, a number of *gentes* which have grown in isolation and apart from external influence to a considerable extent, and have not as among the Teutons been absorbed into some larger federation which then continues to develop as a whole. The Gaelic word "clan" means philogically the community existing between the descendants of a particular individual, a community which is properly based upon his name alone. Clan Aulay is thus the tribal family of one Aulay, and individual members are denoted by the prefix Mac, as MacAulay. Mac is connected with the Germanic *Magus*, a boy, as also are *Maget, Magd, Mädchen* (maiden or girl). The mode of designation thus varies from the Teutonic, where the patronymic ending -ingen or -ungen serves to denote a tribe and its members, such as the Amalungen, Agilolfingen, Kundringen, Baldingen, Wieblingen. When these names among the Teuton denoted the families of simple peasants with no historical reputation, they are known to us only from the localities which were called after them (cf. above, p. 38). Personal distinction is then given to the various members of the Aulay clan by some additional title, which is derived from their personal appearance. In this way Germanic nicknames and family names after the thirteenth century were afterwards given, such as the Squinting (among the Ostro-Goths), the Lame, the Black, the Short, the Long.

Members of individual clans were also to be recognised by a special form of dress. Among the later Gaelic tribes, the brightly coloured check squares of the Scottish plaid or tartan served this purpose. The Keltic preference for brightly coloured clothing is evidenced also among the continental Kelts. We can hardly venture to speak of a Keltic dress as such; it is probable that their dress suffered numerous changes and was perhaps influenced by the general advance of civiliza-

tion, though we find many cases of resistance. The Gaels until the most recent times have declined to wear trousers, a remarkable exception, in view of their climate, to the predominance of protective clothing throughout the North. The Gauls in northern Italy adopted the Roman dress without trousers, or some imitation of it; hence the name Gallia Togata in antithesis to Gallia Bracata on the north or west of the Alps, where the Gauls, at any rate the southern Gauls, wore the "braca." "Braca" and "camicia" are among the few words which the Kelts can be said with certainty to have given to the Latins. It was formerly supposed that the Teutonic "Bruch" (knee breeches such as the Bavarian mountaineers wear) was a Keltic loan word adopted by the Teutons, but it is philologically more probable that the Gallo-Latin "braca" was borrowed from the Teutons.[1] The first borrowing might therefore provide evidence of Teutonic influence upon the dress of the continental Kelts.

Monogamy was by no means universal within recent times among the Highland Scotch, and the woman was regarded as inferior to the man both in the family and in the clan. In Gaul the torture of slaves and women was allowed, but not of the free man. The ordeal by water and by fire and the funeral-pile were customs borrowed from the Kelts by the Franks.

(*a*) *The Irish Clans.* — The clan contained numerous subordinate divisions. When the Romans were masters of Britain, Gaelic Ireland contained one hundred and eighty-four clans. To these belonged, upon the whole, for the numbers varied from time to time, some five hundred families. The subdivisions of the clans thus embraced upon the average some sixteen families. These subdivisions were communistic household organisations, chiefly occupied in cattle-breeding. Their members lived in one large house, at one fireside, and under one roof. These houses, which were distinguished by their wooden pillars, contained one large common room and two lower side rooms with pantries, cattle-stalls, sleeping-places, etc. The Teutonic buildings showed the same arrangement. We should be inclined to regard these Keltic dwellings as too small to contain so large a number of individuals or to be kept in decent order. According to Dion Cassius, the Caledonians lived naked in their miserable dwellings (as Fridtjof Nansen reports of the Esquimaux dwellings in Greenland, which were hot and crammed with human beings), and gained their living from cattle-breeding, hunting, and wild fruits. A certain leadership over their company was exercised by the head of a house, or the patriarch. About the year 600 the Irish began the practice of agriculture with greater vigour, and since then their household communities have broken up into individual families living in villages. We cannot here discuss the problem if and how the old family houses upon the continent, supposed to be Keltic, are connected with the peasant dwellings of the Westphalian Rhine, which certainly stand upon prehistoric Keltic soil.

(*b*) *The Scotch Clans.* — Among the Gaelic Highland-Scotch of Caledonia, the related subdivisions of the clan are known as "houses," even in recent times; this term reminds us of the Irish dwelling-house, though at the time of our information, the institution had disappeared among the Scotch Gaels. The Scottish vil-

[1] The same remark applies to *Kamîtjo, or "Hemd" according to the first and universal Teutonic vowel shifting, a word which entered Keltic before the shifting took place.

lages usually included twelve or sixteen and more rarely twenty or more families, who lived in somewhat miserable dwellings. Cattle, horses, and to a less degree sheep rearing were until recent times the main occupation; the village herdsman guarded the cattle on the common or upon fallow land. During the summer the cattle were driven to the high pastures and dairy lands, which were also common and the use of which was regulated by the community. Agriculture was carried on among the Highland Scotch only so far as to provide corn for their immediate needs, and in later times for the distillation of whiskey.

B. A Community of Land

Among the Highland Scots, arable land was held in common and there is no reason for assuming that the Irish proved an exception to this rule. Among the Scots three forms of procedure can be recognised, which may be enumerated in their order of succession: the communistic ownership of the land and division of the harvest; common ploughing of the undivided land, and its partition before seed time, and partition of the undisturbed land before agricultural operations had begun. The portion of the land destined to agriculture in a particular year was divided into different allotments to be planted with one or another crop; in the second and third of the above-mentioned cases, individual families received their allotments from this land. The annual share of the families was thus scattered about the common property which constantly proved inadequate to their needs. Here we find a coincidence with the Teutonic institutions related by Tacitus; it is difficult to decide how far the Teutons may have learnt from their neighbours the Kelts, or how far they had advanced independently, on either side, towards individual agriculture from tribal communism. The general redistribution of land took place among the Highland Scots as a rule annually, though a more complicated procedure existed; for instance, every year only a third of the land reverted to the community, so that a complete redistribution was not effected until three years had passed. Among the Teutons a similar length of time elapsed before the annual redistribution was succeeded by a period of private ownership, after which the position of the individual shares of every tribe represented the results of the final distribution. Among the Gaelic Scots a distribution was performed by an assembly of the community, and lots were cast to decide questions of choice as among the Teutons. Other village affairs were also settled by an assembly of the heads of families under the guidance of a chosen village head, who corresponds to the Irish house-father.

A sentence of Dion Cassius also provides evidence of Brythonic communism. Other authorities enable us to conclude that the Brythons in the south were chiefly occupied with agriculture, in which case a series of transitions no doubt took place, as in the case of the Gaels and Teutons. Their houses were similar to those of the Gauls. Agriculture disappeared proportionately with distance from the south and the English Channel, and its place was taken by cattle-breeding and extensive pasture-lands.

C. Constitutional Institutions and Forms

The individual clans were governed by chieftains, which is practically the meaning of the Gaelic title Ceann. The chieftain was chosen from some traditionally privileged family in the clan, and was elected. As in the case of the German monarchy a king of the Romans might stand beside the emperor; it came to pass that the successor was chosen during the lifetime of the chieftain and was usually his eldest son. This successor was known as Toisech, Prince or "First" (Fürst). The physically defective were excluded, as among the Teutons; it was, however, a recommendation for the first-born, as also among the Teutons, to have proved his capacity by some bold raid at the head of his adherents.

The affairs of the clan were settled by an assembly, which at the time of our Highland records, was formed not of all the fathers of families in the clan, but of the village headmen under the guidance of the chieftain; it was the same more convenient limitation of the assembly for practical purposes by the appointment of a committee with which we meet in the political and judicial bodies of the Teutons. The clan meeting of these village leaders could depose the chieftain if occasion arose.

We may also observe the expansion of the chieftain's powers and the manner of his aggrandisement. The chieftains placed over the several villages within their territory "Maors," who collected the taxes. Even as the Centenarius superseded the Thunginus of the German hundred, so also the Maor absorbed the judicial power and superseded the elected headman of the village in the conduct of the business of the community.

The leading kindreds or families of the individual Teutonic peoples strengthened their position by exacting dues and responsibility for public purposes, by maintaining meeting-places and sanctuaries, by the exercise of wide hospitality, and by granting their protection; so also the Gaelic chieftain was responsible for a show of dignity and for the care of the society over which he ruled. He supported old men, and one of a pair of twins was brought up at his cost. He paid the clan officials, the bard, who enlivened social entertainments and was the epic poet and genealogist of the clan, the piper, whose absence from assemblies or military musters was inconceivable, and the physician. As among the Teutons, the expense was recompensed not merely by a leading position and leading power, but also by gifts rendered in kind, which naturally developed into regular taxation. The chieftains also administered the untilled land of the clan, and when private ownership began the ownerless land formed the nucleus of the royal property of the German king. The chieftain, in virtue of his office, inhabited the "dun" (cf. the statement on p. 130 and also the constant termination -dunum in Keltic, German, and Gallic towns and place-names), that is to say, the clan fortress, which only by exception formed the central point of the clan, and never among the Kelts sheltered a community exercising paramount political influence. The chieftain also possessed, as has been stated in the case of the Toisech, a retinue which, as under the German kingdom, increased with the rising importance of the official class.

The Teutonic custom of outlawing members and depriving them of membership corresponds with the exclusion of individuals from the clan by a resolution of the

clan. Such outlaws naturally turned to robbery or found a refuge with some foreign clan as a kind of adherents. Only in rare cases were they accepted as members, and admitted to full privileges. Prisoners were in nearly the same condition. Similarly, clans which could not maintain their independence bound themselves to pay taxes and to render military service to another, and thus became dependent upon a stronger clan under the supervision of its chief. Cases of this kind are met with both among the Gaels and on the continent, and became highly important among the Gauls. There is only a general resemblance to the "laets" and "lites" of the Germans.

Thus the chieftain was originally rather a superior official and leader of the clan than its ruler. If the clan regarded him as the incarnation of itself, the chief had gained this personal position rather by birth than by personal aggrandisement (cf. above, p. 42, the *auctoritas suadendi* which Tacitus attributes to the Teutonic *principes*).

To the new constitutional forms which arise upon the basis of early Gaelic institutions, we can but briefly refer. Relations of the chieftain and the families of chieftains within the clan families, which eventually lost sight of their genealogical connection as they expanded, became a noble class from which the chieftain appointed the maor; they provided the official classes and the chieftain's retinue. Members of this clan nobility were then provided with special property from the untilled land. They were thus enabled either to endow a retinue of their own or to help adherents, who had been expelled from other clans, and other outlaws of the kind in return for service or for payment of taxation. In these modifications of the old Gaelic institutions we have a parallel to the rise of the Gallic federations of vassals and dependents.

The members of a clan always went armed. Till recent times the Highland Scots retained their long sword, short dagger, and leather-covered round shield studded with brass nails, and regarded the rifle, when it was first introduced, as a merely practical innovation. When the clans went to war, the Toisech held the command under the chieftain, and the levies of individual villages were led by the maors. As among the Teutons, the army was thus organised by kindreds or, which is the same thing in an early stage of society, the tribal village was the military unit. Each clan regarded the members of other clans as foreigners. No supreme court of justice was formed among them by mutual co-operation, whereas among the Teutons such associations led to a development of the tribal state from the hundred. The only corresponding institution was the feud or blood vengeance existing between respective clans, which the Germans limited, though they were not able to abolish it, by their system of hundreds.

D. Tendencies towards Higher Unity

In course of time the clans were unable to avoid that impulse to federation which played so important a part among the Teutons, though it ran a different course of development. Mutual dissension and the opposition of non-Keltic neighbours and invaders were bound to give an impulse to unity. The federations thus produced were secured both by voluntary co-operation for purposes of defence and also by the influence of some compelling supremacy.

(*a*) *The Irish.* — The one hundred and eighty-four clans of the Irish above mentioned were at any rate, according to the evidence of the Romans, with their love for system, united into five larger federations or tribes. When such federations become permanent, a theory of long-standing relationship and of common origin is easily evolved by the childlike thought of primitive peoples, who make blood relationship the guiding principle of life. The *conubium* is, in the case of the majority, a result of previous federation; the rising nobility is obliged to pass beyond the narrow limits of its own social rank (for these questions the Teutons provide very tangible evidence). The later persistence of this *conubium* in no way prejudiced the involuntary conception of early tribal relationship; such tribal formation can be paralleled, among Teutonic peoples, by the examples of the Franks and Bavarians or Anglo-Saxons, who were formed by the amalgamation of different nationalities. The bard, or his less-developed counterpart among the Teutons, then elaborates the legend of the desired relationship, such, for instance, as was contained in the lay of Tuisto, Mannus, and his sons. The old Keltic word *Túath*, for such "tribal" connections, corresponds closely with the Teutonic (after one sound shifting), *Thiuda*, which after the second shifting becomes *diot, deot, diet.* We have the Teutonic word anterior to any shifting, in the Saltus Teutoburgensis, provided that the Romans or the Kelts, who gave them the information, received and wrote the word with phonetic accuracy; the form thus shows T before it had become Th. In the words *Teutá, Thiuda,* and *Diot* is found the meaning of our modern *deuten,* that is mutual intelligibility within a narrow circle (p. 32). As the word long existed independently in the two Indo-Germanic groups and also among the Italians and the Slavo-Lithuanians, it is at the same time an indication among the Kelts of the fact that a *Túath* of united clans was regarded as an association of peoples speaking the same language, and this although its extent was far greater than that of the old Teutonic tribe or *Thiuda* assembly. Only the employment of the words *Túath* and *Thiuda* in the above sense among the different nations (there being no question of mutual imitation) presupposed the existence among these people of the consciousness of a common civilization, embracing family and clan, before the word came to express political community among them.

As every clan had its chief, so the Irish clan federations had a common overlord, who appears with the title of Rí, Ríg (connected with *regere* and *rex,* a word that the Teutons have borrowed from the Kelts; p. 135). The five Irish clan federations were reunited in a higher federation, which thus embraced the whole island, and held its assemblies at Temair (the modern Tara), the point where their five local divisions meet. In reference to this higher unity the five were also known as *coiced,* that is to say, fifth parts.

(*b*) *The Highland Scots.* — Among the Highland Scots we find no such organisation, almost inviting criticism. Among them, however, federations appear known as *Túath* or *Cinel* under a *Rig.* As among the federations of the Alamanni, Franks, etc., we find cases in general wars of individual clans joining now one and now another party, the federal unity having grown weak in the meantime. The supreme command of the federation in the hands of a single clan chieftain most easily led to the predominance of himself and his clan. In Scotland a loosely connected monarchical kingdom was formed in the sixth century; and the union of the Scots and Picts under Kenneth MacAlpine in the

year 844 laid the foundation of the general kingdom of Scotland, though individual clans, who received little consideration from a government thus recognised as supreme, might easily fall back into their primitive political state.

It was not until after the revolt of 1745 that these earlier institutions of the Highland Scotch were remodelled by the English with great thoroughness, for the reason that they were little understood; for instance, the clan chieftains were regarded as landlords, and their clan brethren as tenants, on account of the rent or taxation they paid. None the less, even within modern times remnants of the old clan organisation may be observed; that is to say, of an institution which the Indo-Germans most nearly related to the Kelts had outgrown at the very outset of their historical existence.

E. The Constitutional Position in Gaul

The conditions in Gaul are, in their main features, very similar to those Gaelic institutions which have survived until recently, and therefore represent the features of a general Keltic national constitution. In Gaul, however, more complex development had been attained at a much earlier period. There were full means of communication, — roads, bridges, river and coast line navigation, trade and manufactures; metal-working was an especially flourishing industry. Under the influence of this early modification of the old communistic and pastoral simplicity, by the introduction of an advanced and complex civilization, the social and political institutions of the country underwent a considerable transformation.

We find in Gaul the clan, though it is not known to the Romans under this name, provided with a chieftain, council of elders, and assembly of free men bearing arms, whose decisions are final. The towns with their wattled walls and wooden houses were of importance both for military and other purposes, but had not absorbed the political influence of the clan assemblies. The nobility were of the same origin as among the Gaels, and were derived from the members of the restricted chieftain class. The nobles actually became a territorial plutocracy, and monopolised the economic life of the nation. Like the Gallic or Teutonic members of a chieftain or princely class, the Gallic nobles also had war bands, and often made an extended use of them. Among the Teutons, with whom these developments were completed at a much earlier date, the rule of the one prince gradually overcame the nobility of the leading kindred, the *Stirps Regia* as Tacitus calls it, and secured the monopoly of the war band; the Gallic aristocracy, on the other hand, was able to crush the individual chieftains. Hence in Gaul rivalry and jealousy were unending and material was always ready to feed the flame. Public and political life in Gaul was marked by hostility, intrigue, partisanship, by attempts to secure a following or to form a group, which exercised a disruptive and disintegrating influence even upon individual villages and families.

The triumphs of the nobility over the chiefs made the system of war bands in Gaul a distinguishing mark of the aristocracy as a whole, and of all who could enter their class. The Latinised Gallic term *vassus* (this is the old Cornish *was* and the old Welsh or Cymric *guass*) means *puer, servus*, or youthful servant. Under the feudal system that was evolved in Merovingian and Carolingian Gaul this Gallic system of vassalage and the Teutonic system of retinues were eventually amalgamated, and a third new form was produced by this fusion.

Under the preponderance of the Gallic aristocracy the chieftain class became extinct in many quarters, and its place was taken by the clan official, who was a purely judicial and administrative officer, the *vergobretus* (literally a worker of justice), who was re-elected every year.

Though the Gauls were horse-breeders and first learnt sheep-breeding from England, yet in time of war they were nothing more than infantry; the Romans were confronted by infantry in their earliest Keltic wars. The use of mounted troops, both among the Gauls and the Germans, is connected with the rise and importance of the war bands, and with the use of these war-companions for making raids. Under the influence of the nobility and their retinues the Gallic military system became modified in this direction. At a later date the requirements of Charles Martell, who was in want of cavalry to oppose the attacks of the Saracens, gave a further powerful impulse to the development of the French vassal system (cf. above, p. 75). Among the Gallicised Teutons in Belgium infantry remained the most important arm of the host, together with the old Keltic war chariots, the use of which was known among the British.

The subordination of one clan under the protectorate of another, which we have observed among the Gaels, was fully developed among the Gauls; it played an important part in their development and in the attempts to secure supremacy which were made by the stronger clans. In Gaul, also, we find the obligation of military service and taxation imposed as a return for the protection afforded. Federations with federal assemblies of war leaders, and also the competition of these last for the first place, bound the majority of the Gallic clans into larger groups. These, however, were never so firmly or permanently consolidated as in Ireland. Preponderance was based upon momentary power, and clans occupying a leading position at one moment are found in opposition at another; the best known instance is the succession of the Arverni, Ædui, and Sequani. Before these political confusions and complex rivalries could be reduced to a settled system, or a native despot could compel general unity, as Chlodwig afterwards did among the Franks and their neighbours, the violent despotism of Ariovistus began; it was followed by the conquest of Cæsar, which put an end to the ferment of native constitutional development, though the partisan tendency was not abolished. It was not merely the spirit of faction, but also the system of plutocratic landlords and of vassality, which destroyed the equality of many who were socially independent, and facilitated the task of the conquering Romans; the later development of a system of *latifundia* among the Frankish nobility could hardly have attained its predominance had it not been for these preceding conditions.

F. The Druids

If in the face of these divergencies the Gauls had a sense of national or ethnographical relationship which they extended to include the other Kelts, and if there were any general assembly representing the whole of the Gallic nation, the initial formation of such an institution must be largely ascribed to the Druids. They are also found among the Gaels, though they reached their full importance only in Gaul. They were not a caste, but a privileged professional class, who combined the three callings of poet, teacher, and priest. The subdivision of political power,

and the general partisan spirit which pervaded Gaul, allowed this determined class to attain an influence of which scarcely a trace can be recognised among the Gaels.

The Druids were exempt from all burdens of taxation or personal service. Apart from their professional occupations, they were the guardians and the transmitters of the "science" perpetuated by oral tradition; that is to say, of the historical legends, the physical, medical, astronomical, and astrological knowledge of the nation, of law, of poetry, and of all superstition that might be turned to account. They exercised a spiritual and moral power of supervision and punishment, the weapon of which was excommunication, and this was developed into a judicial force, both criminal and civil, which could successfully rival the secular jurisdiction. The Druids had reached a point of organisation which was entirely unknown in the secular politics of Gaul. They were a uniform and coherent body with identical objects, under a hierarchical government, which made them a national society, far above the limits of clan or federation. This hierarchy culminated in the office of supreme arch-Druid, who was chosen for life. Their order maintained relations with Britain, and attempted to found a Pan-Keltic union based on religion and culture. It cannot be denied that their privileges exercised an influence, in the way of tradition or precedent, upon the Merovingian exemptions and immunities of the Church (p. 76). Comparisons have often been drawn between their organisation and that of the hierarchical Papacy, the supremacy of which was founded in Frankish Gaul by the important theoretical work of many, including the collection of decretals of the pseudo-Isidorus Mercator (pp. 174 and 230).

IV

THE FORMATION OF THE ROMANCE PEOPLES

By THE LATE PROFESSOR DR. KARL PAULI
Revised by Dr. Hans F. Helmolt

PURE races are to be found only upon outlying islands enclosed by marshes or primeval forests, upon isolated coasts, or upon high mountain ranges; that is to say, in all places the remoteness or the unfertility of which has repelled the invasions of foreign emigrants. Thus some of the Malay tribes upon the isolated islands of the Pacific, the primeval inhabitants of the Australian continent, the Esquimaux on the inhospitable shores of Greenland, and certain tribes of the mountain gorges of the Himalayas may have preserved their national purity unmixed for centuries. Wherever races come down to the plains, and wherever rivers flowing along open valleys serve as lines of communication, wherever accessible passes lead across mountain ranges, there interconnection and racial fusion begin. These communications may be carried out in a friendly or a hostile spirit, but the result is the same, — the formation of mixed peoples.

The process resulting in this conclusion cannot always be followed in every detail, and for this reason the formation of the Romance peoples is of particular importance because it has been concluded in the full light of history.

1. THE GROUP OF ROMANCE PEOPLES

By the Romance nations, which with the Teutonic and Slav nations form a group of three great nationalities in modern Europe, we understand all those nations speaking at the present day a language derived from Latin. The present distribution of the Romance languages is as follows. In the Iberian peninsula there are four, — Galician in the Spanish provinces of Galicia, the extreme northwest corner of the peninsula; Portuguese, the limits of which coincide with the political limits of Portugal; Spanish or Castilian, which is spoken almost throughout Spain; and Catalonian, which is spoken in the provinces of Valencia and Catalonia, upon the Balearic and Pityuse Islands. France has three languages, — Provençal in the south, which embraces Provence proper and a district bounded by a line running from Lyons to Bordeaux, extending northwards in a semicircular form; Franco-Provençal in the Jura, on the central Rhine and Isère, that is to say, in Franche-Comté, in Dauphiné, Savoy, and French Switzerland; French proper in the rest of the country and in French-speaking Belgium, Luxemburg, and Germany. Italy has one language; Italian is also spoken in the surrounding islands, including Corsica, in

the canton of Tessin, and in south Graubünden. We meet with the Romance language or Rhæto-Romance in Graubünden, in the valley of the upper Rhine and in the Engadine, in two separate districts within Tyrol about Cles, and on the Avisio and also in Friuli. Roumanian or Daco-Romance (cf. Vol. V, p. 353) includes the kingdom of Roumania, the largest part of Transylvania, and Bessarabia, which is now Russian. The Macedonian Roumanians in Mount Pindus also speak Roumanian, as do the few half-Slavonic Istro-Roumanians (Vol. V, p. 354).

Finally, we have to mention the mixed language of the Albanians, which is half Romance, as the Romanising process was not completed in their case (cf. Vol. V, p. 223). Much of their vocabulary is of Latin origin, while Latin forms have invaded their actual grammar and system of flexions. Many words, however, in the main elements of their grammatical system belong to the language of the Thracian tribe. As the French element has not been able to deprive English of its Teutonic character, so also in Albanian the Latin element has not been sufficiently strong to secure the development of a Romance language, as in the case of those above enumerated.

Such is the complete list of the Romance-speaking peoples. The inhabitants of other Roman provinces, parts of Britain and Germany, Pannonia (Hungary). Macedonia, Thracia, Mœsia, Greece, Asia Minor, and Africa did not become Romans, partly because Greek remained their civilized language, partly because the process of Romanisation was too little advanced at the time of the great migrations, and partly because Mohammedanism shattered Roman civilization with its triumphant progress; this latter fact is especially true of Africa.

The divergencies existing between the Romance languages are due to two reasons. Any one of the above-mentioned parts of the Roman Empire was inhabited by different nationalities when the Romans appeared, and as German has a different sound in the mouth of a Russian, an Englishman, or a Frenchman, whatever the fluency of the speaker, so also Latin was modified in the mouth of an Iberian, a Gaul, an Illyrian, or a Dacian. But this "difference of material" is not the sole reason of the divergency between Romance languages; difference of time must also be considered. The expansion of the Roman supremacy over Italy and the above-mentioned provinces was a process embracing several centuries. Latin, like every other language, naturally altered considerably in course of time; the Latin, for instance, which was brought to Gaul upon the Romanisation of that province, was materially different from that spoken about 240 B. C., when Sicily was Romanised. The importance of this distinction, which is often neglected, can be shown by the Sardinian, in which the modern C is sounded like K, after the manner of early Latin, whereas in all the remaining Romance languages C before the pure vowels E and I is pronounced soft, as it was in late Latin.

2. THE PROCESS OF ROMANISATION CONSIDERED WITH REFERENCE TO THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD

THE foundation of Rome itself seems, according to all our evidence, to mark the fusion of a considerable number of peoples. Though within the city, which lay upon Latin soil, the Latin language was predominant, yet the foreign tribes of the Sabines and Etruscans were close at hand, while the river upon which

Rome was founded is a navigable stream, passing through the territory of all three tribes. Mixture was, then, almost inevitable, and is clearly reflected in the Roman legends. We have the story that Romulus opened his new town as a place of refuge to all the surrounding tribes; we have the story of the rape of the Sabines, of the amalgamation of the kingdom of Titus Tatius with that of Romulus, and the legend of Cæles Vibenna (Vol. IV, p. 317), who with his Etruscan mercenaries seized the Cælian hill at Rome and settled there; these can only be regarded as so many traditions of this racial fusion. There is, moreover, no doubt whatever that the three old tribes of the Ramnes, Tities, and Luceres represent the Romans, Sabines, and Etruscans. The form of address, Populus Romanus (et) Quirites, refers to at least two elements, — the Romans and the Sabines. The third is certainly evidenced by the existence of the Vicus Tuscus between the Forum and the Palatine, the oldest quarter of Rome, and in the Velabrum, a place-name of pure Etruscan origin. Such philological evidence is further supported by Roman mythology, in which we meet at the earliest date with a motley company of Latin, Sabine, and Etruscan divinities (cf. on this point Vol. IV, p. 313).

It is very probable that this formation of the Roman city state by the amalgamation of three different races cannot have remained without influence upon the formation of the Roman national character. The Romans were unsurpassed in the art of amalgamating subjugated peoples with their state, and their method usually ran as follows. When a district had been brought under military occupation, and incorporated with the Roman state, colonies were sent out and roads were made, a network of which connected the new state with the capital. These colonies were either citizen colonies, that is to say, military outposts, placed at dangerous points to secure the subjugation of disobedient tribes or were colonies of the Latin right, the object of which was principally social (Latins in early times were in the position only of federal allies (*fœderati*), and did not possess the Roman franchise, though they had independent rights of administration). Upon the basis of this legal position, Roman colonies were planted in the subject districts, especially in the capitals and at the junctions of the roads. Those centres of Roman occupation included a comparatively numerous Italian population, which was in constant communication with the subject race. Wherever customs houses or post houses exist upon the great military roads, there similar Roman settlements naturally arise. In all these colonies Latin is spoken, and is the only language recognised for official purposes; the old vernaculars are thus more and more driven back. This process ends in the destruction, not only of the language, but also of the old national life of the subjugated district; the village or local organisation is replaced by the Roman municipal system, or the district is included within a Roman colony as an administrative centre. Then comes the introduction of Roman civil law, of citizen rights, of Roman measures, weights, and coinage, which puts an end to the last remnants of national individualism.

The method of Romanisation was not only calculated to attain this purpose, but was highly creditable in a certain degree; unfortunately, however, it was not seldom introduced by cruelties, from which the Romans by no means recoiled when the interest of the state seemed to demand them. Samnium was thus entirely depopulated, the Etruscans were driven from their hearths and homes by Sulla, and the Gauls of Gallia Cispadana were practically exterminated. In Gaul itself Cæsar sold whole nationalities into slavery, and his example was followed by

Augustus among the Salassi and in Pannonia. Another and constant feature was the deportation of nationalities as a whole, which was carried out in the case of the Rhætians, the Scordisci, and the Dacians. Removed from their natural environment, they were easily Romanised under the influences above mentioned. This process is completed twice over in Roman history, in concentric circles, so to speak, and the chronological point of division lies about the end of the first Punic war.

A. The Romanisation of Italy (until 267 B. C.)

The process of Romanisation naturally began with Italy. Here, in addition to the Latins, who originally occupied a very small extent of territory, were a motley abundance of peoples; in the north were the Ligurians, the Gauls, and the Illyrian Veneti, all three Indo-Germanic peoples; in central Italy were the alien Etruscans and certain Italic peoples immediately related to the Latins, Umbrians, and Oscans, together with a considerable number of smaller tribes; in southern Italy was a group of Illyrian peoples, while Greeks occupied the towns on the west coast. Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica were occupied by Iberians, Ligurians, Punic and Greek peoples.

Concerning the early working of those forces which Romanised Latium, we have but legendary reports. Not until the Romans came into conflict with the Samnites does the process come before us in the light of history; the next events of importance are the final dissolution of the Latin league (337 B. C.) and the subjugation of the Volsci and Aurunci. To secure this new territory, Roman or Latin colonies were sent to Antium, Cales (Calvi Risorta), Fregellæ, Minturnæ, Sinuessa, and other towns in this territory. Etruscans, Umbrians, Marsi, Pæligni, and Hernici, who had taken arms against Rome in the second Samnite war (326–304), were obliged, one after another, to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome; and other districts, like Campania, were incorporated with the Roman state. Colonies were sent to Luceria in Apulia, to Sora among the Volsci, to Carsioli and Alba among the Æqui, to Narnia and Spoletium in Umbria, while a network of roads was constructed through the new provinces. War against the confederated Etruscans and Gauls ended in their defeat for the second time, and the almost complete extermination of the Senones (283–282 B. C.). Immediately connected with this struggle is the decisive conflict in southern Italy against the Lucani, Tarentum, and Pyrrhos of Epirus, and also against the Samnites. These were all definitely subjugated in 272 and their territory was added to the Roman state. In the year 267 B. C. the Salentini in the southeast corner of the peninsula were forced to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome, and thus the whole of Italy was united under Roman rule. This rule was permanently secured by the foundation of new colonies; Sena Gallica was planted in the former district of the Senones, as was Ariminum in Umbria; Hadria (Atri) in Picenum; Castrum novum and Firmum, Beneventum and Æsernia in Samnium; Pæstum in Lucania; Brundusium in Calabria (for these see the map "Rome and Ancient Italy," facing page 338, Vol. IV).

The Romanisation of individual districts now proceeded unchecked, though it was a longer or shorter process, in proportion to the powers of resistance displayed by individual tribes. The southern portion of the Sabine territory was naturally the first to be absorbed, as the inhabitants of Cures, the Quirites, had already joined

the Roman constitution. Then follows the amalgamation of southern Etruria, with the exception of the Falisci, that of the Hernici and Æqui in east Latium, and the northern Sabines. At the outset of the Punic wars all these tribes spoke only Latin dialects. Their example was followed by the Sabellian tribes, in the Abruzzi, the Marsi, Marrucini, etc., together with the Ferentini and Picenteni. The Gallic Senones were Romanised about the same time. After the federal war the Volscian, Faliscan, and Umbrian languages began to disappear. During the civil wars of Sulla the Oscan and Etruscan languages are destroyed, and from thenceforward the language of Rome is predominant throughout Italy. It is, however, probable that so motley an assemblage of peoples as were to be found within ancient Italy could not have failed to leave their traces in the development of the modern vernacular. Thus at the present day we distinguish a number of very different dialects, the original divergencies of which are doubtless due, in the first instance, to the difference between the original populations; such are the dialects of Friuli, Venice, Lombardy, Piedmont, the language of the Emilia, Tuscan, Umbro-Roman, Sardinian, Corsican, Neapolitan (subdivided into the dialects of Campania, the Abruzzi, and Apulia), and Calabro-Sicilian.

B. The Process of Romanisation beyond the Boundaries of Italy (241 B.C. to 107 A.D.)

With the formation of a uniform Roman language in Italy the first of the above-mentioned circles of Romanisation is completed. A similar course of development was pursued within the second circle, which includes the districts coming under the the supremacy and the influence of the Romans after the Punic wars. In 241 Sicily became a province, as did Sardinia and Corsica in 238; in 215 the Veneti voluntarily joined Rome. The province of Spain was acquired in 197, Cisalpine Gaul in 191, Illyricum between 160 and 150, Africa in 146, southern Gaul in 120, northern Gaul in 50, Rhætia in 15 B.C., the Cottian Alps in 66 A.D., and Dacia in 107 A.D.

A large number of Greek colonies existed in Sicily about 240 B.C., — Messana, Syracuse, Gela, Akragas (Agrigentum), etc.; by the side of these existed such Carthaginian colonies as Lilybæum and Panormus. Eryx and Segesta were still inhabited by a native population. Greek influence and the Greek language were predominant, and it was with these forces that Latin fought its chief struggle, as in the Greek towns of Magna Græcia. Such a civilized and international language as Greek could offer a far greater resistance to Latin than was possible, for instance, for the mountain dialect of the Marsi. Consequently Sicily was not thoroughly Romanised until the second century; even then isolated Greek-speaking colonies were to be found there.

We have no information regarding the Romanisation of Sardinia, which was chiefly Carthaginian at the moment when it was acquired; equally little is known of the Etruscan Corsica. The original inhabitants were partly Iberian and partly Ligurian in race. The Veneti and their Illyrian compatriots who were subjugated by the Romans in 177 B.C. seem to have adopted Roman civilization with a good will, as they sought and found in Rome a support against the Gauls. Generally speaking the same remark is true of the Ligurian district in the west of upper

Italy, when it had been once subdued after a hard struggle. As the main route for the Roman armies marching to Gaul and Spain lay through this district, the rapidity of its Romanisation need cause no surprise.

When the Spanish peninsula passed from the Carthaginians to the Romans, the following races were found in occupation. The original race was the Iberian, which was divided into a number of small tribes with special names, — the Ilergetes, Jaccetani, Carpetani, etc., who had once occupied the whole peninsula. Then had come a Keltic immigration into the northwest; the remnants of this race had coalesced with the Iberians, to form the mixed people of the Keltiberians (cf. p. 127). There were, moreover, on the coast Phœnician towns such as Gadîr (Cadiz) and Punic colonies such as Carthago Nova (Carthagena). The Iberians obstinately resisted the process of Romanisation, but were eventually forced to accept the more powerful civilization, which they then rapidly and thoroughly assimilated. The process was assisted by the influence of the large number of Roman soldiers who were kept as a garrison in the country; between 196 and 169 B. C. these troops amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand. Many of them remained as colonists in the country. Roman merchants and craftsmen migrated in large numbers to the Spanish peninsula, which was famous for its mineral wealth. Even Sertorius, who headed a native revolt against Rome, was careful to found schools in which Greek and Roman learning was taught. In the first century of the Christian era Roman civilization had advanced so far that in Corduba, the main centre of Roman culture, Spaniards, such as the family of Seneca, were able to influence Roman literature.

The Gauls were from an early period *rerum novarum studiosi*, and easily accommodated themselves to the process of Romanisation, which was facilitated by the close relationship existing between the two languages. As early as the downfall of the Republic, Cisalpine Gaul had been so entirely Romanised as not to be distinguishable from the rest of Italy. In Mediolanum and Cremona there were flourishing Roman schools; from Gallia Cisalpina came Catullus and Vergil, Livius and the two Plinys, who rank among the most famous literary personalities of imperial Rome. The Romanisation of this province was naturally followed by that of the Transalpine tribes and of the Kelts living in the Alps. The Transalpine district was not, however, immediately subjugated to Rome. In 154 B. C. Rome interfered in the affairs of the country in favour of her old ally, Massilia; and in 125 B. C. again defended Massilia against the Salluvii and Vocontii, with which the powerful Gallic tribes of the Allobroges and Arverni were allied. When the Romans had twice been successful, the land of these tribes was incorporated with the Roman state, as the Provincia Narbonensis. The work thus begun was continued in the year 58 B. C. by C. Julius Cæsar, who conquered Gaul to the Rhine and to the ocean, after a series of obstinate conflicts (Vol. IV, p. 383). The newly won territories were immediately subjected to Romanisation. The Roman system of administration was introduced in Narbo, Tolosa, Forum Julii, Burdigala; and other flourishing towns were either occupied by Roman colonies or were made centres of Roman life. Magnificent buildings were erected. Distinguished people were won over by the bestowal of Roman civic rights. Schools were founded in Massilia, Lugudunum, and elsewhere. Roman influence was so powerful in every direction that in the first century A. D. the country was entirely Roman. In Transalpine Gaul we also meet with a number of writers who are dis-

tinguished in Roman literary history. Beyond the limits of Italy proper no part of the Roman Empire gives so thoroughly Roman an impression as Gaul.

None the less two distinct Romance languages were formed upon its soil,—Provençal and French proper. The reason for the difference is to be found in the divisions of the original population; the Provençal district contained the mixed population of Ligurians, Iberians, and Gauls, while in the French districts the population was purely Gallic. Differences of time were not without their influence, as the Provençal districts were acquainted with Latin at an earlier date than the French.

Together with these two Gallo-Romance languages there exists a third, the language prevailing in Switzerland and some adjoining parts of France. Here the original population was entirely different, and the Gallic Helvetii formed its main element, though we can also trace an infusion consisting of Illyrian Veneti, who gave to Lake Constance its old name of Lacus Venetus. The acquisition of this district began with Cæsar's victory over the Helvetii at Bibracte (58 B. C.), and with the occupation of the Rhine valley by Servius Sulpicius Galba in the next year. To protect these new districts Cæsar founded a colony of knights in the town of Noviodunum, the modern Nyon, which he called Julia Equestris, and which became the main centre of the Romanising process. Other posts farther to the north were Aventicum (Avenches) and Augusta Rauracorum (Augst, near Basle). There were, however, many other places which reinforced the influence of the three above mentioned. In the south of this district the Romanising process was thoroughly carried out, but in the north the Gallic popular language continued to exist side by side with the Latin official language, and at the present day the southern portions speak French, the northern, German; while Latin was victorious over the barbarous idiom of the Burgundians, in the north the Gallic-speaking Alamanni easily retained their supremacy.

After the conquest of Gaul proper and the Helvetii by Cæsar, the Romans turned their attention to the territories within the Alps, in order to secure their connection with Gaul and their Danube provinces. The process was initiated by struggles with the Salassi and Taurisci. In the year 42 B. C. Gallia Transpadana was constitutionally united with Italy, and the question became more important, as it was necessary to protect the district against the Alpine tribes. Hence the Romans proceeded to advance with characteristic determination. In 25 B. C. the Salassi were finally subjugated, and the town of Augusta Prætoria (Aosta) was founded in their territory. Then follows the conquest of the Trumpilini near Brixia, and of the Camunni near Bergamo in 16 B. C.; these were Rhætian peoples at the sources of the Rhine and Etsch; the Norici in modern Austria suffered the same fate. Finally in the year 15 B. C. the valley of the Eisack was conquered by Drusus, who overcame a bold resistance, while his brother Tiberius simultaneously attacked and defeated the tribes in Vindelicia, the modern south Bavaria. The Alpine territories had thus been won over to Rome. It was now possible to proceed with the organisation of the new province of Rhætia, as it was called, which included east Switzerland and almost the whole of Tyrol, with southern Bavaria. The towns Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg) and Curia (Chur) were founded, and the process of Romanisation then proceeded upon its usual course.[1] Traces of this

[1] On this subject should be read the brilliant essay of Friedrich Ratzel, "Die Alpen inmitten der geschichtlichen Bewegungen" (Zeitschrift des Deutschen und Österreichischen Alpenvereins, XXVII, 1896).

Romanising process remain for us in the Rumanche and Furlan group, the dialects of which are Churwelsh or Rumonsh (Ramanche) in Graübenden, Ladinish in Tyrol, and Furlan in Friuli.

The last province incorporated with the Roman Empire was Dacia. The Dacians were a Thracian tribe inhabiting the mountains of Transylvania, a country exceedingly difficult for military operations. So early as the age of Cæsar they had formed a great national state under Boirebista, but had not on that account been inaccessible to Græco-Roman civilization. After considerable provocation had been offered to the Romans, Augustus took up the idea which Cæsar had cherished, of a vigorous punitive expedition, and defeated a Dacian army which had made an incursion into Roman territory. However, the final subjugation was not completed until Trajan, after the emperor Domitian had in 89 concluded a peace with King Decebalus (Vol. IV, p. 435), somewhat dishonourable to the Romans, by the terms of which Decebalus became a Roman client in return for a yearly tribute. By the peace of Trajan of 102 (Vol. IV, p. 437) Dacia became a Roman protectorate. Decebalus, however, was said not to have kept the peace, and the Romans therefore resolved to destroy the independence of Dacia. At Turnseverin Trajan built a strong stone bridge for the crossing of the Danube. The Dacians were defeated, notwithstanding their utmost bravery, and Decebalus fell upon his own sword. Dacia thus became a Roman province in 107 B. C., and was first incorporated with the province of Illyricum. From that time begins the work of Romanising (cf. Vol. V, p. 353 f.), which was continued to the north of the Danube, and to-day is obvious chiefly among the people of the Roumanians who still inhabit their old districts. But the southern Roumanians, who appeared in the twelfth century in Macedonia, Thessalia, Epirus, and the western parts of Greece in larger numbers, remnants of whom survive in the modern Valachs of the Pindus, migrated to this district at a later date from the north.

The Romans had thus succeeded in Romanising a number of the most different nationalities, that is to say, in transforming Italians, Etruscans, Ligurians, Gauls, Rhætians, Illyrians, Iberians, and Thracians into nationalities which in language, institutions, and customs were Roman. The difference in the national characters of these conquered peoples has survived to the present day; to take a very obvious example, the modern Frenchmen correspond almost precisely to the picture of the Gauls drawn for us by Cæsar. The strength and depth of Roman influence upon all these nationalities is best seen by the fact that all the peoples and tribes, especially those of Teutonic and Slav origin, which came into contact with the Romans in later centuries, were simply absorbed by them, so that the Romance peoples have remained exactly what the Romans made them.

V

FRANCE FROM THE RISE OF THE MEROVINGIANS TO THE DECLINE OF THE TRUE CAPETS

By DR. RICHARD MAHRENHOLTZ

1. THE UNITED EMPIRE OF THE FRANKS

TOWARDS the end of the fifth century A. D. the map of modern France displays a confusion of states and nationalities comparable to that of the old German Empire at the outset of the nineteenth century. In the southeast, in the Jura Mountains, in the Rhine valley, to the coast of the Mediterranean, were settled the Burgund(ion)es, famous in the Nibelungenlied, who had done yeoman service in the Roman wars, had been presented with territories as a reward, and had adopted foreign customs to a greater extent than any other Teutonic tribe. On their southwest frontier, extending to the Loire, was the district of the Visigoths, who ruled in Spain, the former conquerors of the Roman Empire (p. 51). Modern Alsace and both banks of the upper Rhine as far as Mainz were in the possession of the Alamanni. Upon their boundaries, in the heart of modern France, were the last remnants of the conquests of Julius Cæsar, which were ruled from Soissons by the Roman governor, Syagrius, who was independent both of Byzantium and of Odovacar in Italy (p. 59). The northwest corner was occupied by the peoples of the Armoric federation, and by Breton settlements advancing to the Atlantic Ocean.

The Salian Franks, who were to give a common name and a firm constitutional organisation to this disconnected horde of nationalities, were first settled in the far north, in different districts between the Maas, Sambre, and Somme. Their immediate neighbours were the Ribuarian Franks, the inhabitants of the lower bank of the Rhine, with the capital town of Köln. The mouths of the Rhine were in the possession of the Frisians, who had occupied the old possessions of the Franks when these latter retired southwards.

A. CHLODWIG

CHLODWIG was one of the Salian petty kings, a son of Childeric, the friend of Rome. He was a calculating and ruthless character, inclined to despotism, deceit, and treachery. He came to the throne in 481 at the age of fifteen, and ruled for thirty years. From his capital Tournai he conquered Roman Gaul in 486, extended his supremacy to the Loire and made Soissons his capital. In alliance with his Ribuarian cousin Sigibert of Köln he conquered the monarchical state of the Alamanni in 496; these people evacuated their positions on the left bank of the

Rhine, and also those on the right bank from the lower Neckar to the lower Main, in favour of Frankish colonists (p. 60).

Chlodwig, like the whole of his tribe, was a believer in the old Teutonic heathenism, but was not on that account an enemy of the Christian Romans. The cleverness of Frankish policy had left the subject Romans in possession of their territory, their rights, and their personal freedom. The Arian, Burgundian, and Visigoth "provincials" regarded Childeric, the predecessor of Chlodwig, as their special protector; Chlodwig himself had married the Catholic daughter of the Burgundian chieftain Chilperic (Hilperik), and had his two sons baptised after the Roman custom, while many distinguished Franks became Christians before the moment of his own conversion. Chlodwig was baptised in 496, ostensibly in fulfilment of a vow, after the God of the Christians had given him victory over the Alamanni; but the way for his conversion had been gradually prepared, no less than in the case of Constantine the Great, and his determination was due to that political cunning which the Frankish princes conjoined with a remarkable and superstitious belief in the omnipotence of the Lord of Hosts. Three thousand Franks were baptised with their victorious leader, and a brilliant baptismal festival was organised by the bishop Remigius of Rheims as the best means of inspiring religious enthusiasm among the Franks, whose primitive character was especially amenable to impressions of this nature. The streets of Rheims were carpeted with bright coverings, the churches decorated with brilliant white hangings, and the fonts splendidly adorned, while the whole of the sacred edifice was filled with the scent of incense and the light of candles. The numerous congregation imagined that they had entered the splendours of Paradise. Such is the description given by Gregory of Tours, the historian of the Franks (540–594), of the impression made by this important event.

The unifying power of the Catholic faith was soon manifested upon the constitutional side. Within the Burgundian kingdom dissension prevailed between the Catholic Godegisel and the Arian Gundobad. Chlodwig came forward as the protector of the former, but secured no permanent success for the moment, notwithstanding the victory of Dijon (500). However, the cunning intriguer succeeded in inducing Gundobad, after his triumph over his rival, to join in an attack on the Arian kingdom of the Visigoths, which was only saved from entire overthrow by the interference of Theodoric the Great, the Ostrogoth ruler of Italy (p. 63). As Gundobad, upon the advice of his Catholic bishops, had broken away from his Arian heresy, the war was regarded as a crusade, and its sanctity was increased by the miracles of saints. Chlodwig, however, by his victory over the Visigoths (507) secured the country as far as the Garonne, and transferred his residence to Paris, which then became the centre of the steadily extending Frankish kingdom.

In order to secure his rule, it only remained for Chlodwig to exterminate his kinsmen, the other local Frankish kings, in which attempt he succeeded by means of treachery, murder, and cunning. It would, however, be a mistake to allow the darker elements in Chlodwig's character to overshadow his high political talents. He clearly perceived that the constitutional unity of his empire could only be based upon uniformity of religious faith, and therefore summoned the council of Orléans in 511, where, in conjunction with thirty-two bishops, he concerted means for suppressing heathenism and Arianism. He became absolute ruler in war and peace, in state and church; even the episcopal elections made by the clergy and their

flocks, and the decisions of councils, were subject to his confirmation. He died in the prime of life, and was buried at Paris (November 27, 511) in the church of the Apostles, which he had built.

Roman and Frankish elements had been dexterously commingled in the state founded by Chlodwig. Latin remained the ecclesiastical language, while a new popular language was being formed from vulgar Latin and the Frankish dialect. His system of taxation was borrowed from the Romans. The military and judicial organisation, however, remained Teutonic. On the other hand, the occupants of the chief offices at court and in the government were Romans; and judicial procedure retained a Roman character, notwithstanding the introduction of the Salic laws, which rested upon the basis of old established custom. Chlodwig himself had adopted the insignia of a Roman consul and afterwards assumed the Roman dress. Franks were, however, regarded as the privileged class, and the "wergild" payable upon the murder of a Frank was twice the amount demanded for that of a Roman.

A well-organised bureaucracy existed in Chlodwig's state. The chief official in the palatium was the *major domus;* subordinate to him were the *comes palatii*, or chief justice, and the *referendarius*, or chancellor. In the court, according to Germanic custom, lived the *convivæ regis*, the king's favoured circle, from which was formed the *consistorium regis*, or the king's council. Of Teutonic origin were also the counts, administrators, and judges of the several districts, and the dukes, who were placed over them primarily for military purposes. The beginnings of the feudal system (cf. below, p. 165) also belong to the time of Chlodwig.

B. The Merovingians

The weak element in the Frankish dynasties was the practice of dividing the inheritance on or before the death of the ruler. As afterwards in the German Empire, this led to disruption, to party conflicts, to the misgovernment of weaklings and their favourites. Frankish rulers regarded themselves primarily as the territorial owners of the body politic; as they divided the royal and personal property among their descendants, so also did they bequeath private claims affecting the constitution (cf. Vol. V, p. 457). Thus Chlodwig's inheritance was soon divided into five parts,—Austrasia with Metz, Neustria with Soissons, and Burgundy with Orléans, as their capital towns, Aquitania in the old Visigoth territory, and finally Brittany, which had remained independent. Only upon two occasions, under Chlothar I in 558 and under Chlothar II in 613, were the three first-mentioned portions even ostensibly united under one ruler.

For the moment, however, Chlodwig's family remained faithful to its old military and imperial spirit. In the year 534 his son Theodoric destroyed the Burgundian kingdom; three years previously the Franks and the Saxons had divided the kingdom of Thuringia, of which only the district between the Thuringian Forest and the Unstrut retained an independent duke under Frankish supremacy. In 536 Provence and the remnant of the Alamanni were ceded by the Ostrogoths; the Bavarian dukes became vassal subjects, and Aquitania passed for the most part (534) under the power of the Frankish Childebert. The opposition between the two empires of Austrasia and Neustria led to a period of confusion and turmoil ending in the overthrow of the dynasty. History and poetry have made famous the bitter feud between the queens Brunhilda and Fredegunda during the second half

of the sixth century, while they were governing Austrasia and Neustria for their feeble husbands and sons.

With the death of Dagobert (638) the supremacy passed into the hands of the *Major domus*, who was no longer appointed by the king, but by the nobility. The family of Pippin now became predominant, united the Frankish empire after many struggles and defeats, and thus took the place of the degenerate Merovingians as the Carolingian dynasty.

The home of this new dynasty was Metz, while its ancestor was the bishop Arnulf, a married man, notwithstanding his ecclesiastical position. Pippin of Landen appears in Austrasia as *Major domus*, commander-in-chief, and acting as prime minister. A premature attempt to put an end to this phantom monarchy by placing his son Grimoald upon the throne led to a popular rising which cost both men their lives (656). His cousin Pippin II, a more cautious character, confined his efforts to securing a union of the divided districts of the Frankish empire. For the moment he was defeated by the capable *Major domus* of Neustria, Ebroin. This statesman crushed the haughty nobility and the clergy who were aiming at independence under the leadership of Leodegar, the bishop of Autun. However, the murder of his opponent and the treachery of the Neustrian nobles enabled Pippin to secure the mastery of that kingdom after the victory of Tertri (687). He also ruled Burgundy, through his son Drogo, the duke of Champagne, while he conferred upon his other son, Grimoald, the title of *Major domus* for Neustria. Pippin was a wealthy landowner, with property in different parts of the Frankish empire, and his successes were due as much to his territorial influence as to his political cleverness or his military importance.

After his death a number of family dissensions broke out. His son, Charles Martel, was imprisoned by his stepmother, who wished to rule as regent for her grandson. However, he escaped, and secured the supreme power in Austrasia and afterwards in Neustria, as a result of his victory at Vincy (in the neighbourhood of Cambrai; March 21, 717). For four years he was able to reign without reference to the power of the titular king (p. 73). He was practically a sovereign power, ruling over the ecclesiastical and the secular nobility, and appropriating church property without scruple when he was pressed for money (p. 76). Private interests, however, distracted his attention from the wider and remoter questions of European policy. He declined to listen to the Pope's request for military protection against the Lombards, who had gained possession of upper and central Italy, while he also declined the proffered title of consul of Rome. When the Arabs advanced from Spain upon the province of Aquitaine, situated to the southwest of the Loire, and loosely connected by ties of vassalage with the Frankish Empire, he left the task of defence to his rival Eudo, and it was not until the defeat of that general threatened his own interests that he crushed the enemy in the famous battle of Poitiers (732). To this victory he is said to have owed his name of Martel, since he crushed the Arabs as by the blow of a sledge hammer. It is, however, more probable that the title was derived from his mode of dealing with the refractory petty tyrants among the self-seeking nobility, and was not applied to the battle with the Saracens until a later date, under the influence of ecclesiastical legend. No policy was more opposed to the inclinations of Charles than engagement in a life and death struggle with the hereditary enemies of the Church; he was satisfied with securing the French frontier against them.

As in ecclesiastical, so in political affairs, he displayed the same restricted range of vision. His struggles with the Frisians, Saxons, Bavarians, and Alamanni, of whom only the first named were entirely subdued, were conducted only to secure his frontiers and to gain the payment of tribute. When he extended his patronage to the missions of the Anglo-Saxon Winfried (Boniface) in the German territories, his idea was that the missionaries should be nothing more than pioneers of the Frankish supremacy. This policy was entirely frustrated after his death when the apostle of Germany was appointed archbishop of Mainz by the Pope in 748, and thus became the ecclesiastical lord of Worms, Speier, Utrecht, and other newly founded bishoprics. This power Boniface used to place these new Christian foundations under the supremacy of the Pope and the Roman Church. Charles did not stay to consider that these measures and the episcopal hierarchy organised by Boniface were the only means of protecting the missions in Germany against the onslaughts of the old Teutonic heathenism; in his opinion Boniface and his missionary work were but a means to serve the ends of Frankish dynastic interests.

A wider and more imperial range was given to his policy after his death (October 22, 741) by his son Pippin, nicknamed The Short, who then became *Major domus* of the Frankish Empire. He induced his brother and co-regent, Karlmann, to enter a monastery (745), and thus freed himself from the burden of a jealousy which was devoted solely to fostering ecclesiastical interests. The only thing wanting to confirm the power of his predecessors within the Frankish empire had been the title of king, which was something more than a trifle in the eyes of the people; Pippin determined to secure this title with the help of the ecclesiastical power.

The representatives of Christ, in their little "Patrimonium" on the shores of the Tiber, with Rome as its capital, continually felt the pressure exerted by the Lombards, who from 568 had expelled the Byzantines from Italy after their Ostrogoth triumphs, though the Lombard want of a navy obliged them to leave the Byzantines in possession of Venice, the three islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, and the southern point of Italy. Hence so early as the time of Charles Martel the Curia had conceived the plan of using the warlike Franks to crush the Lombards, who had grown enfeebled in the milder climate of Italy and by their contact with the moral degeneration of Roman culture. Upon the receipt of a secret missive from Stephen IV, Pippin invited the Pope to visit the Frankish empire, and promised him a safe conduct through the Lombard territory. The two men met at Ponthion on the Marne (January 6, 745). Pippin was subsequently anointed as king at St. Denis (July 25), notwithstanding the representations of his brother Karlmann. Pippin's two sons were anointed with himself. Thus the dignity which he had seized became a hereditary monarchy resting upon divine right, and the allegiance of the Franks to Pippin and his descendants became imperative. So early as 751 the nominal monarch Childeric III had been illegally deposed in the diet at Soissons and sent into a monastery.

The newly crowned monarch received the title of Patricius of the Romans, that is to say, protector of the Romans and of the Pope, and thus occupied a position which had hitherto been held by the east Roman emperor residing in Byzantium. In return Pippin conducted two triumphant campaigns against the Lombard king, Aistulf, whom he forced to surrender the territory taken from the

Pope. To the Pope was given, besides the exarchate of Ravenna and the Pentapolis, the whole of the coast line from the south of the Po to Ancona, without reference to the claims which Byzantium could lay to these last-named possessions. The Donation of Pippin is the beginning of the later increase in the secular power of the Popes; their position largely distracted the interests of the occupants of this highest spiritual dignity from their ecclesiastical calling and involved them in secular partisanship and policies; at the same time it gave them some independence in their dealings with the great European powers, the petty princes of Italy, and the incorrigible insurbordinations of the Roman populace. The Lombard kingdom remained for the moment independent; Aistulf, however, paid tribute, and the appointment of his successor Desiderius was subject to Frankish approval. Desiderius naturally joined Byzantium, the rights of which had been infringed equally with his own by the Franks; the independent lords of Beneventum and Spoleto turned for support to the Frankish Empire. It is obvious that in this state of affairs the Frankish ruler did not become dependent on the Pope, who required his protection against the Lombards, the Byzantines, the inhabitants of Rome, and the petty princes of Italy. It is clear that the Pope was rather depending upon the Franks, and this relationship served to increase the halo of religious sanctity surrounding the kingship which the Frankish ruler had assumed.

Once in possession of this predominant position, which extended far beyond the limits of the Frankish empire proper, Pippin had no difficulty in humiliating and subjugating refractory neighbours. Thus Aquitaine, over which many struggles had been fought, came permanently into his possession in 768; eleven years previously Duke Tassilo of Bavaria had taken the oath of allegiance. Only the free Saxons — who inhabited the right bank of the Rhine to the lower Elbe, divided into four groups of West- and East-Phalians, Angrians and North Albingians — were able to maintain their old faith and possessions, though obliged to make certain payments of tribute. The unity of this extended empire was expressed in the partition which Pippin carried out before his death (September 24, 768). His two sons, Charles and Karlmann, received districts containing a mixed population of Teutonic and Romance elements under conditions presupposing the common government of the whole.

2. CHARLES THE GREAT

A. The Western Empire

These careful beginnings of the comprehensive empire which Pippin had secured were steadily extended by his son Charles; the coping-stone of the whole fabric was the imperial dignity and the succession to the position of the Cæsars in ancient Rome, united with a right of protectorate over the whole of Christianity. The first step was the overthrow of all Teutonic peoples, who still retained their independence of the Frankish Empire.

(*a*) *Saxon Wars and the other Conquests of Charles.* — His most dangerous enemies were the heathen Saxons, and the task of conquering this nationality was the more difficult for the reason that it was necessary to subjugate one tribal

district after another, and that every failure inspired a revolt which ran through every canton of the three tribes, as far as the frontier of the Eider in Nordalbingia. Hence the final subjugation and conversion to Christianity of this last bulwark of the old Teutonic freedom was a process extending over some thirty years (772 to 804). As early as 777, at the diet of Paderborn, after two unsuccessful battles, the Saxon chiefs had offered their submission, undertaking to forfeit their freedom and possessions if they disavowed the Christian faith or broke away from their fidelity to Charles, his sons, and the Franks. The most bitter enemy of the Franks was Widukind, who had been appointed duke by the general assembly at Marklo on the Weser; he escaped the obligation of this agreement, and of baptism, by a flight into the Danish land across the Eider. While Charles was fighting in Spain against the Arab Ommeiads (778) the revolt broke out afresh. Under the leadership of Widukind the rebels advanced to the Rhine, supported by the Danes and Frisians, devastating Thuringia and Hesse and destroying the Christian colonies. In 780 they were reconquered as far as the Elbe, and their land was divided into counties according to the Frankish method, native magnates being appointed counts. At the memorable assembly of Lippspring in 782, Christianity was imposed upon them by strict legislation. Forcible entry into Christian churches, disregard of Christian fasts, or the murder of the clergy were made punishable with death. Upon their baptism, the Saxons were to forsake the devil and the heathen gods (in the opinion of the Church the latter were the tools of the devil) and to acknowledge the Trinity in Unity. The pacification seemed so far complete that in 782 Charles made a levy of his new subjects to complete his expedition against the Wendish Sorbs on the Saale. The Saxons, however, attacked the Franks on the march at Süntel, between Hanover and Hamlyn, and defeated them. Charles took a cruel revenge, executing his Saxon prisoners, who are reported to have been four thousand five hundred in number, at Verden on the Aller; this was the signal for a general revolt, but the victories of Charles at Detmold and on the Hase (783) finally secured the success of Christianity in Saxony. The leaders and all the nobles were baptised, including Widukind and his comrade Abbio (at Attigny in 785). The newly subjected territory was now divided into the episcopal sees of Halberstadt, Paderborn, Minden, Münster, Osnabrück, Verden, and Bremen. The system of tithes was introduced and the Frankish system of military service imposed upon the Saxons. Once again (792 and following years) irritation against these two latter innovations ended in a rebellion, which was punished by the transportation of ten thousand Saxon families to the Frankish Empire; in the lands thus left vacant Frankish colonists were settled. In this way the strength of the old race was broken. The supposed "peace of Salz" concluded in 803 (on the Frankish Saale) cannot be proved by documentary evidence.

The religious character of these long wars was outwardly indicated by the presence of missionaries and the relics of the saints with the armies. The Christian "message of peace" was introduced by armed force and bloody persecutions, methods repeated nine hundred years later in the Huguenot wars under Louis XIV. These methods, however, were in complete accordance with the arbitrary spirit of the times. The work of conversion was soon firmly founded, and the execution of the more stringent laws could afterwards be abandoned. Christianity became the pioneer of civilization, and upon the economic side the

Saxon territory was improved by the careful cultivation of the ecclesiastical domains. The hold which Christian life and thought had gained, even upon the lower classes, is shown by the gospel harmony of the "Heliand" (Heiland), composed about 830 by a Saxon peasant, a poetical idealisation of the work of Christ, based upon the Bible narrative. On the other hand, no religious interests influenced the wars by which Charles forced the Lombards, Bavarians, Danes, Wends, and Avars either to become incorporated with his empire, or to recognise his supremacy. The campaign in Spain was inspired only by the desire to secure the Frankish frontier against a repetition of the Moorish invasion. For this purpose Charles fought in alliance with the Arab King of Saragossa, against his enemy the Caliph Abd ur-Rahman, — a Christian thus uniting with an unbeliever, as, during the Crusades, the Knights Templar occasionally helped the Mohammedans against their co-religionists. The destruction of the Frankish rear guard in the valley of Roncevalles (the historical nucleus of the *Chanson de Roland*) was due to the Basque mountaineers and not to the Arabs, who, however, availed themselves of this defeat to regain the territory conquered by Charles.

The Frankish monarch and the papacy also stood in close alliance, even in cases where matters of European policy were concerned rather than ecclesiastical and religious questions. It was to this alliance that the Lombard kingdom fell a victim in 774. Desiderius had renewed his attacks upon the papal possessions, and had, moreover, entered into close relations with Charles' brother Karlmann and his family, who were hostile to the emperor. Desiderius had recognised the two sons of Karlmann, who were not yet of age, as Frankish kings after their father's death (771). The family dissension thus threatened was averted by the premature death of Karlmann, upon which Charles was appointed sole ruler by a decree of the national assembly and the nephews were passed over. None the less, after a victorious campaign, Charles put an end to the independence of the Lombard state, was crowned at Milan, divided the conquered territory into counties, and introduced the judicial and military organisation of the Frankish Empire. Desiderius was sent into a monastery, the usual fate of troublesome competitors in that age. Charles thereupon hastened to Rome to take part in the Easter festivals of April 3, 774; he was received in solemn procession, and concluded an alliance of friendship with Pope Hadrian at the tomb of the Apostle Peter. There is no doubt that he then renewed the Donation made by his father (p. 159); it is, however, more than doubtful whether, as a papal record asserts (the "Vita Hadriani"), he conferred Parma, Mantua, Reggio, Venice, Spoleto, and Corsica upon the papal chair as fiefs. Of these supposed grants Charles himself retained Spoleto after the conquest of the Lombard kingdom. Even though these and other districts were declared papal possessions by a decree of Lewis the Pious (in the year 817), the points at issue were then claims and desires rather than actual rights of practical possession.

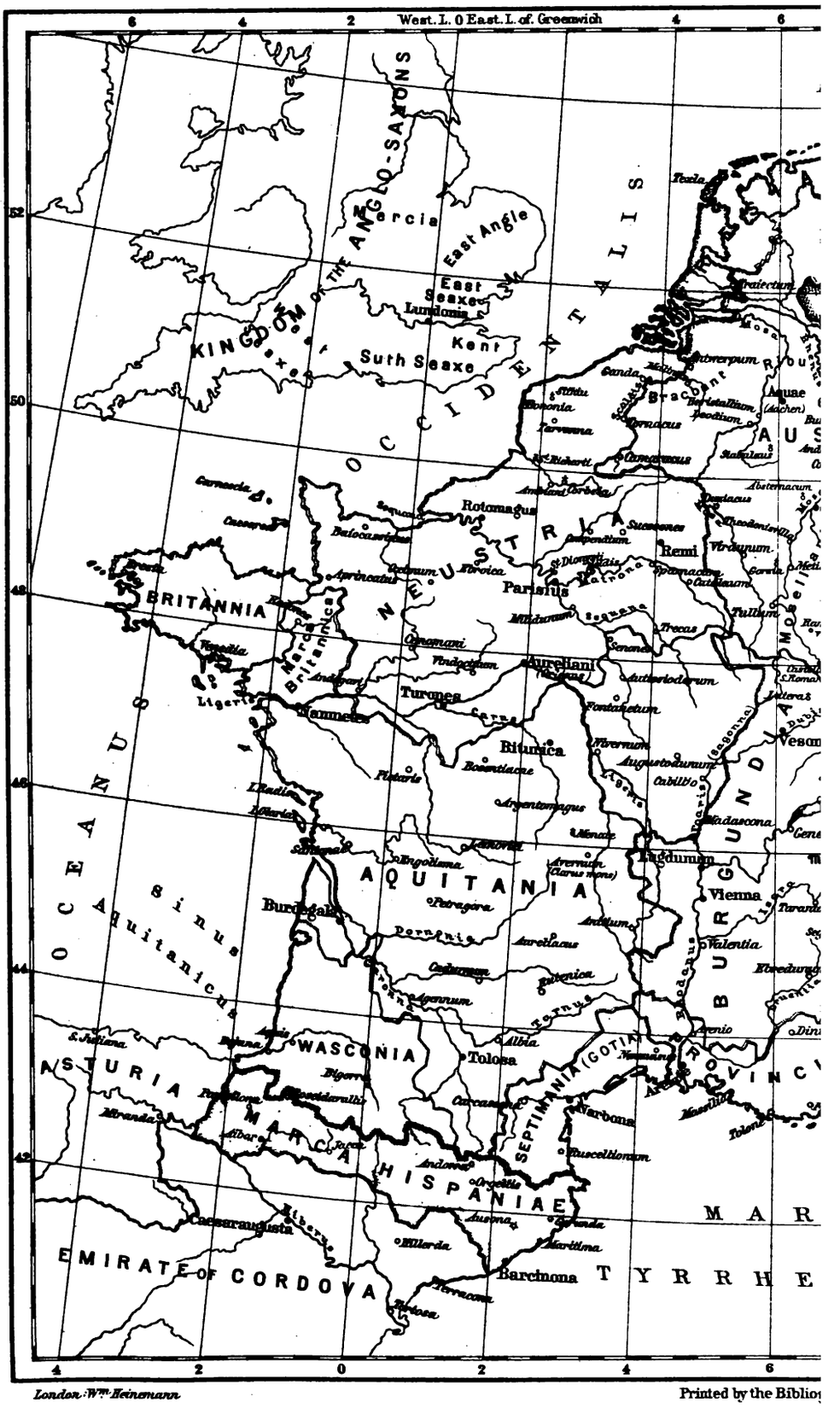
We find the king and Pope agreed upon the desirability of overthrowing Tassilo, the last Bavarian duke. He had renewed his old oath of allegiance and had given hostages, but was administering his territory from the Lech to the Enns as an independent prince. Charters were dated by the years of his reign and he had appointed his son to succeed him. In the year 787 negotiations took place in Rome between his ambassadors and those of Charles, though the latter were not given full powers to treat. The Pope threatened the duke with excommunication

if he broke his faith. Upon the complaint of certain treacherous Bavarians that Tassilo had joined Charles' enemies, the Avars, who were collected at the Theiss, the duke was condemned to death in the following year by the imperial diet at Ingelheim, though Charles commuted his sentence to confinement in a monastery (St. Goar). Bavaria was united with Franconia; the limits of the empire were extended to the Saale and the Wilzes in Pomerania, the east mark (Austria) thus becoming the frontier against the Avars, and the mark of Brandenburg securing the empire against the Slav Sorbs. The territory taken from the Avars, from the Enns to the Rab, was given up to Frankish colonists, and Christianity in the Danube district was revived by the foundation of the Archbishopric of Salzburg.

(*b*) *Charles as Emperor.* — Charles had many opportunities for using his position as protector of the papacy after the accession to that dignity of Leo III (December 26, 795). Leo sent the banner of the city of Rome and the keys of St. Peter's tomb to the Frankish king, while Charles used the protectorate thus given to him by advising the Pope to follow the canonical rules and to avoid simony. In the year 799 there broke out against Leo a popular revolt which was instigated by his immediate relations. The threatened Pope fled to Charles, and was brought back to Rome by force of arms. Before Christmas, in the year 800 Charles held a court at Rome to decide between the Pope and his opponents. The latter did not venture to bring any proof of their accusations, while the former swore to his innocence; and at his request his opponents, who had been condemned to death, were punished only with exile. On December 25 Charles was crowned emperor in the Church of St. Peter; the matter had been previously discussed, but was carried out in a form distasteful to himself, as it seemed to confer too large a measure of independence upon the Pope, who required his help, though upon this occasion the Pope himself bent the knee before the ruler of Christianity.

Thus the political unity of the nations of Europe had received the blessing of the Church; for Charles' empire included the countries from the Pyrenees to the North Sea and from the Eider to the Apennines.[1] Disregarding the claims of Byzantium to the title of Roman Empire, the Frankish monarch now ruled as the successor of the Cæsars. His relations with Byzantium were already strained, and this tension, accentuated by dogmatic quarrels and the division of the Greek Church from the Roman, would no doubt have led to an appeal to arms had not the military weakness and dissensions of the Byzantine Empire obliged the authorities to compliance. For a time the project was even entertained of a marriage between Charles, who was nearly sixty years of age, and the empress Irene (cf. Vol. V, p. 72). Charles also asserted his superiority over the Eastern empire by his arbitrary interference in the lengthy quarrel concerning the adoration of pictures. An assembly of Frankish bishops at Frankfort declared in 794 against this practice, the resumption of which had been ordered by the empress Irene. He also wounded the pride of the Byzantines in 799 when he received the keys of the Holy Sepulchre and of the city of Jerusalem from the patriarch, thus coming forward as protector of the Holy Land. This fact in no way disturbed the friendly character of his relations with the Abbasid Caliph, Haroun al Raschid, who kept peace with the patriarch. In 811 Byzantium was obliged to recognise the imperial supremacy of Charles, and received Venice as the price.

[1] See the map facing this page, the Frankish Empire.



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FRANKISH DOMINIONS
from 771-843
after Droysen, Wolf and others
Scale 1:7.500.000
Miles.
Boundary of the Empire in the Year 771 (Death of Carloman and Union of the Kingdoms under Charles the Great)
Conquests of Charles the Great to his Death 814
Lothair's Kingdom
Louis' "
Charles' "
Partition of the Kingdoms after the Treaty of Verdun 843
SAXONIA
Thuringia
Francia
AUSTRASIA
Orientalis
Mark of Bohemia
BOHEMIA
(Behaim)
MORAVIA
Ostmark
BAIOARIA
ALAMANNIA
KARENTANUM
PANNONIA AVARUM
KINGDOM OF ITALY
to 781
Carniola
Forum Julii
Venetia
CROATIA
SERBIA
Mediolanum
Papia
Taurinum
Genua
Ravenna
Pedena
Parma
Regia
Mutina
Bononia
Pentapolis
Spoletum
Corsica
Sardinia
MARE TUSCUM
MARE ADRIATICUM
To the East Roman Empire
ROMA
Beneventum
BENEVENTUM
(Temporarily Tributary)
Neapolis
Salernum
Tarentum
Brundusium
Augusta Vindelicorum
Augusta Trevirorum
Basilia
Vesontium
Argentoratum
Spira
Wormatia
Moguntiacum
Francofurt
Fuldа
Erphesfurt
Magdaburg
Halberstadt
Halle
Saxo
Praga
Ratisbona
Reganesburg
Ingoldestat
Augusta Vindelicorum
Salzburg
Aquileia
Sclavi
Sorbi
Obotriti
Wilzi
Pomerani
Luzizians
Daleminzians
Nordliudi
Sclavi Marini
Sclavi Sorabi
Sclavi Behemi
Sclavi Moravi
Sclavi Pannoniae
Sclavi Carantani
Sclavi Dalmatiae
Sclavi Croatiae
Sclavi Serbiae
Avari
Saxones
Thuringi
Franci
Alamanni
Baioarii
Longobardi
Romani
Saracens Possession
Spanish Saracen Possession
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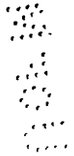
New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.



The last decade of Charles' reign was disturbed, apart from some frontier wars, only by a dangerous invasion of the Danish ruler Gottfried, who made a triumphant advance with a large fleet on the Frisian coast and threatened with destruction the Christian colonies in the north of Germany. As no fleet of war existed, the chastisement of this enemy was out of the question, and the danger was only averted by Gottfried's murder in 810. The east and south frontiers of the empire were, however, firmly defended by the marks, under the command of warlike counts. These were: the East Mark, protecting Thuringia and Franconia against the Avars, Sorbs, and Bohemians; and in the south the Spanish Mark, which was organised in the year 810 after the reconquest of the district between the Pyrenees and the Ebro. In the year 806 Charles divided his territory, according to the tradition of his house, among his three sons, Charles, Pippin, and Lewis, upon principles that secured the chief power to the eldest, and were intended to maintain a close federal alliance between the three parts of the empire. The death of the two eldest sons (810–811) overthrew these arrangements, and on September 11, 813, Charles himself crowned his youngest son as emperor, without the assistance of the Pope, who was entirely subordinate to his will.

B. The Government and Administration of Charles the Great

Charles had realised the idea of a Cæsar-Pope, that is to say, the union of the secular and ecclesiastical powers; in the government and administration of his wide empire he also aimed at unlimited power. Frankish kings had originally been nothing more than the first among their vassals. At the time of the conquest of the Roman districts the leaders nominally possessed the right to dispose of all military acquisitions; but, in order to secure the fidelity of their soldiers, they were obliged to make a general and equal division of all land and property. From the stage of communistic enjoyment of the land, that of private ownership was bound to arise, as the kings, in order to secure adherents, were accustomed to confer land upon nobles for agricultural purposes, which land was thus given as private property. The occupation of such allodial land — that is to say, of land held in freehold — implied an obligation to serve in war and to provide an armed force, to administer justice in the smaller divisions of the counties. During the continual wars the fields lay fallow and property was ravaged. Hence the smaller freeholders adopted the method of surrendering their property to some noble, or to the Church, from whom they received it back as a fief (*beneficium*) for a yearly rent. A long-standing custom was the conferment of church property upon smaller men, or the grant of it by royal decree, under terms which provided for its eventual return, to nobles for a rental, which was generally unpaid (*precaria;* Charles Martell was especially fond of this form of grant). The great landowners also made grants of small estates in return for payment in kind and product; a system of money rents, such as existed in the Roman Empire, was naturally impossible among the Frankish territorial lords. The difficulty of communication made the export of products impossible, nor would any one have bought what he could grow for himself. The fruits of the soil were thus consumed by their producers upon the spot. Men had therefore to do without what they could not produce for themselves; luxury was thus out of the question. These fiefs reverted to the grantor

upon the death either of the vassal or of his lord, or, if the vassal proved disobedient, to the king.

Freehold property was customarily surrendered to a lord in return for immunity from military service, which was in any case an obligation usually settled by the payment of a "heriban;" in this way the number of unfree men, which had grown since the seventh century, increased to an appalling extent in the ninth, while the claims of nobles to power were raised accordingly. They demanded freedom from taxation and rights of jurisdiction; they led their followers into war under their own orders, created a subordinate band of officials in the stewards of their property, and attempted to secure predominant command of the higher offices of state, especially the privilege of the counts, and to make their fiefs hereditary with the offices connected with them. This success was finally attained in the ninth century. An erroneous theory, which was first disseminated by the champions of the French Revolution of 1798, represents the unfree peasant as invariably a serf. But there were two classes of unfree, which must be carefully distinguished. The superior class of the unfree could mortgage or alienate their copyholds, provided that they paid the taxation assessed upon them and performed their labour services; the serf was subject to the arbitrary will of his overlord in respect of money dues and labour services ("taillable et corvéable à merci), while he could bequeath his tenement only to children who were living under the administration of the same family. Where no such heirs were forthcoming, the overlord ("seigneur") could exercise the right of "main morte;" that is to say, he could resume possession of the fief. On the other hand, from the free taxpaying peasant nothing apart from the "census" could be collected but a poll tax, the taille abolished by the French Revolution, though the amounts of this were arbitrarily varied. The right of purchasing the power of alienation also belonged to the serf, and by the acquisition of an "abonnement" he could protect himself from extensive taxation or forced service.

A special position was occupied by the smaller mesne vassals, the feudal dependants and "ministeriales" of the great landowners. In respect of their fiefs they are only bound to render the oath of fealty ("hommage"), service in war, castle-guard, and suit of court. Like their feudal masters, they could only be condemned by their peers (the "cour féodale"). It is obvious that the feudal system in its highest development would tend to dislocate the constitution and to destroy the power of a weak ruler. Every seigneur not only had a large income, in kind and afterwards in money (juridical dues, fines, imposts, heriots and reliefs, fines on alienation, millers' and bakers' fees, labour service and carrying service from the peasants, tithes of corn and cattle), but had also an army of officials, of soldiers, his own court, his own coinage, and immunity from taxation. He was thus an independent ruler, and his lordship was a state within a state.

Charles the Great wisely strove to counteract this disruptive tendency by protecting the freemen, supporting their independence, and creating a close bureaucracy dependent only upon himself. For this purpose the obligations of the freemen were strictly regulated, and the counts, who were chiefly territorial owners and used their power to plunder the peasants, were prohibited from any attempt to destroy the independence of that class. The poorer men were relieved by Charles of the duty of personal military service, by the regulation that several might join to equip one man. Those parts of the empire which lay at a considerable distance from the

seat of war were partially relieved of the necessity for service. Charles also limited the number of court days and assembly days. General meetings of the freemen of the county were to be held only thrice a year, to discuss the most important matters affecting the rights and welfare of the community; all other judicial sessions took place under the presidency of the count, and after about 775 seven assessors only were summoned to attend, as representing the communities. These were chosen from the principal men by the royal "missi dominici" (itinerant commissioners), the supervisory officials of the county, while the counts had a voice in the matter. These measures did not, however, secure self-government or real communal freedom. Charles was chiefly anxious to increase the prosperity of the freeman. His own estates were regarded as models of their kind. He was accustomed to examine the smallest details, to look over the accounts, and to increase the productive powers of the non-free. His wife and daughters managed the household personally, and were obliged to spin and card wool. This high example exercised a stimulating influence upon agriculture. Villages and courts arose where formerly the land had been fallow. Trade also revived. Military roads went along the Rhine to the North Sea, from the Elbe to the Black and Adriatic Seas. Feuds and other disturbances of the peace were suppressed by stern regulations.

The administration of justice was the object of the emperor's special care. Every week a communal court was held under the presidency of a hundredor, while a county court was held monthly, under the count of the district. The "missi dominici" were obliged to make quarterly journeys of inspection, when they examined every detail, inspected the courts and the military contingents, and represented the interests of the crown against the spirit of feudal separatism. As commissioners dependent upon the crown, they took the place of the old independent dukes. The ruler was advised upon matters of legislation by an imperial assembly composed of the ecclesiastical and secular nobility and of the royal officials, a continuation of the old popular and military assembly of the Mayfield, which had long become meaningless; this assembly received and confirmed the decrees of Charles in the spring, while in the autumn an imperial privy council met for deliberation.

Hitherto two legal systems had been in vogue, the Salic and the Ribuarian. It was now advisable that the united empire should have a uniform system of law; the two existing systems were improved by Charles, who introduced his own regulations in his "capitularies." In contrast to those issued by the Merovingians, these decrees are characterised by their humanitarian character and their limitation of capital punishment. They were supplemented by his successor, and the earliest collection of them is dated 827. Though written in Latin, they breathe a Teutonic spirit and faithfully reflect old Teutonic customs, morality, and institutions. Charles also caused collections to be made of the popular laws of the larger tribes under his rule, — the Saxons, Angles, and Frisians.

Below his court officials, the clergy formed the medium of higher culture; their energies being chiefly confined to studying the creeds of the Church, liturgies, and extracts from the fathers, the writing of ecclesiastical Latin and the reading of some ecclesiastical authors. Of these court clergy, the highest in rank was the arch-chaplain ("apocrisiarius") who kept the emperor informed as to all ecclesiastical matters and received his orders. The arch-chaplain was at the head of the imperial chancery. In the High Court of Justice the president was the Count of the

Palace, the highest secular official. With him sat commissioners who were chosen from the most experienced lawyers of the court. Upon occasion Charles himself presided in these courts.

C. Culture under Charles the Great

The Frankish Empire was essentially an amalgamation of the Roman and Teutonic civilizations; side by side with the popular law existed the civil law of Rome, just as ecclesiastical Latin existed side by side with the vernacular dialects. Similarly Charles attempted to conjoin Teutonic legend and tradition with the remains of Roman civilization and culture. Hence he caused collections to be made of the old Teutonic songs which celebrated the exploits of the legendary kings; he conceived the idea of a German grammar, and replaced the Latin names of the months with German names (Wintermonat, Hornung, Lenzmonat, Ostermonat, Wonnemonat, Brachmonat, Heumonat, Erntemonat, Weinmonat, Herbstmonat, Heiligenmonat). To the four German terms which existed to denote the direction of the wind he added twelve new ones, if we may believe the report of Einhard.

His own tutors in the classical languages and civilization were partly Anglo-Saxons, with whom were now to be found the learning and philosophy which had perished in Italy with Cassiodorus and Bœthius. Of these scholars the chief was Alcuin of York, who created the monastic school of Tours, and was the leading spirit among Charles' group of scholars. To him Charles owed his knowledge of rhetoric, dialectic, and astronomy. The emperor's teacher of grammar was Peter of Pisa, a priest like Alcuin. The most distinguished historians of Charles' exploits were Einhard, who was by origin from the Odenwald, and wrote the first complete biography of the emperor (the only defect of which is the unnecessary plagiarism of sentences and phrases from the lives of Suetonius), and Angilbert, who immortalised the emperor's feats in an epic poem. Since the time of Gregory of Tours and his contemporary Jornandes (Jordanis, the historian of the Ostrogoths) historical writing had sunk to a low ebb. It now revived in the hands of Teutons who wrote Latin. At Charles' court lived for some time the Lombard Paul, son of Warnefried (Paulus Diaconus), the author of the history of his nation to the year 744, which is based upon old sagas and legends. Charles himself attempted to remedy the defects of his youthful education. When advanced in years he would spend the nights, though with no great success, in learning to write, an art which was chiefly confined to the clergy and scholars. On the other hand, he had completely mastered Latin and the elements of Greek, if the testimony of Einhard may be believed. He was acquainted with the work of St. Augustine, "De Civitate Dei." He caused his sons and daughters to be also educated in the sciences, and for the education of young nobles and of the more talented sons of the middle class he provided the School of the Palace, which he himself was accustomed to inspect, in addition to the model school of Tours.

Among the arts, he had an especial preference for music and architecture, both of which he applied to the service of God. He attempted to improve church music by the introduction of Italian masters, whose cleverness, however, could do little with the rough voices of the Franks, while divine service was amended by the use of a book of homilies which Paulus Diaconus composed. Charles paid zealous attention

to the construction and decoration of churches. For the Basilica of Aix-la-Chapelle he sent for marble from Italy, and provided a magnificent supply of gold and silver vessels and ecclesiastical robes and vestments. He visited the church morning and evening, and often at night, and took pains to secure the observance of order and decorum in the services. He also afforded valuable assistance in the decoration of the Church of St. Peter at Rome. Those Christians who lived beyond the boundaries of the Frankish Empire ever found a ready supporter in Charles the Great.

In accordance with the spirit of the time, he enriched churches and monasteries by presents and grants of land; the Frankish clergy, whom he kept in strict obedience, began to claim political power on the ground of their wealth, even in his successor's reign. Apart from tithes, the Church possessed wide properties and estates (the abbey of Fulda, for instance, owned fifteen thousand hides shortly after its foundation); at the same time these incomes had to provide for much charity, for the education of the poor, and other obligations, while the overlords retained their right of appropriating church property in order to reward their own adherents. The monasteries and churches remained, however, the central points, not only of education, but also of trade and intercourse, of manufacture and agriculture. The great ecclesiastical festivals were also the most important market days; even if business was at a standstill on those particular days, it was carried on the more zealously either before or subsequently. In the towns and market villages, foreign merchants came in where formerly trade and manufacture were only permitted to the members of guilds. The name "mass" for a market was derived from the solemn high mass which was held on such days, and attended by numerous natives and foreigners. Around churches and monasteries arose new marks and even new towns. Within the territory of the monastery lived also the non-free artisans, who worked for the inmates of the monastery, and stimulated manufacture by their industry and cleverness. Agriculture and viticulture, gardening and vegetable growing, were increased by the example of the monasteries; new products were discovered and new methods introduced. The growth of the ecclesiastical estates and their methods of cultivation on a great scale, which almost recalled the Roman *latifundia*, gave a useful impulse to changes in the primitive system of agriculture in vogue upon noble and peasant properties.

Charles remained a true Teuton in his mode of living; his dress, his favourite exercises of riding and hunting, were entirely German. Of an excitable disposition, which could move him easily to tears, he was yet entirely master of himself. He had, for instance, completely overcome the tendency to excessive drinking which was characteristic of the Teutons, and to a less degree his inclination to eating, which his bodily vigour permitted him to satisfy. His constant activity, extending often through the hours of the night, was a standing example. Wherever he went he inquired personally into details; his household, the administration of justice, and the settlement of quarrels were subjects in which he took most interest. He resided in his palaces at Nimwegen (with its sixteen-cornered chapel), at Nieder-Ingelheim (built 768–774), and at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle, rebuilt between 777 and 786), and not in the Romance portions of his empire. In 793 Charles attempted to connect the Rhine with the Danube by the canal from the Altmühl to the Rednitz, which was never completed; at Mainz he built a wooden bridge over the Rhine five hundred yards long, and when this was burnt down in May,

813, he projected the construction of a new bridge in its place. He was often obliged to change his headquarters owing to the difficulty of collecting the necessaries of life in any one spot; for communications by road or river were then highly defective. In his last years Aachen was his favourite residence, and its hot baths provided him with relief for his growing infirmities; he advised his son, his friends, and his courtiers to make constant use of them, and often more than one hundred persons bathed together.

He was distinguished above all other Franks for his breadth of mind, which was especially obvious in his preference for foreign culture and its exponents, and in his disregard of the limits of nationality or of religious faith, when higher political objects seemed to be at stake. He concluded alliances, not only with Alfonso II of Galicia and Asturias and with the Scottish princes, but also with Haroun al-Rashid, who was a friend of culture. Under the protection of this Mohammedan, Charles sent an embassy to adorn the Holy Sepulchre, while Haroun sent messengers to conduct the Franks on their homeward journey, bearing presents to Charles of treasures, robes, and spices of the East, in addition to an elephant, for which the Frankish ruler had asked.

Charles also showed an entirely German spirit in his relations with the female sex. He did not indeed follow the traditional polygamy of his ancestors, but he constantly changed his wives and was never long a widower. After marrying the daughter of Desiderius at the wish of his mother, Bertrada, for whom he had a great respect, he divorced her for unknown reasons and married Hildegarde, a Suabian woman of noble birth (died 771). After this, in 783, he married a Frankish woman, Fastrada, who was followed by the Alamannian Luidgard (died in 800). Beside his legal wives, he had concubines, whose numbers increased to three after the death of Luidgard. He allowed his unmarried daughters entire freedom of sexual intercourse.

The glamour which has been spread around this great emperor and his paladins by legend and poetry must pale in the light of historical truth. But this will also destroy the grotesque picture of the one-sided French Charlemagne, to which French historians have clung until recent times, in conscious opposition to German manners. Charles the Great is rather to be regarded as the earliest exponent of the excellences of the Teutonic character, the rudeness of which he was able to moderate, while overcoming or mastering its weaknesses.

3. THE RISE OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL AND SECULAR NOBILITY

It is a common historical experience that great empires, consisting of mixed peoples connected by outward ties rather than by inward solidarity, often lose their greatness or fall into disruption upon the death of their founder. Such was the case in the fourth century B. C. with the empire of Alexander the Great, also in Central Asia, after the death of Tamerlane, and the phenomenon was repeated in the case of the Carolingian monarchy. The one-sided theory which regards mankind as master of circumstances, and not as subject to them, usually makes the less capable successors of great princes responsible for such disruption; but the deeper reasons lie in foreign and domestic political conditions. Such was the case with the Frankish empire. Notwithstanding his sedulous care for the defence and security of his frontiers, Charles the Great had never entirely been able to

overcome two dangerous enemies. Even during his time the Northmen were plundering the British coasts under the leadership of their petty kings, or Vikings, who had been driven out of their Norwegian possessions by powerful governors. In 795 they captured the island of Rathlin on the north coast of Ireland, in 802 the missionary settlement of Iona (the modern Hy), one of the Hebrides, and in 804 they sailed up the Boyne and captured Dublin. They were also advancing in the interior of the country; in 789 they raided Wessex and in 799 Northumberland. Charles fortified the coasts and rivers on the north frontier of his empire, but for want of a fleet he could no more permanently repel these raids than drive back the Danish sea-king Gottfried (p. 163). The example of the Northmen in western Europe was repeated by the Saracen pirates in southern Italy, and here again Charles strove to protect himself by fortifications at the river mouths and harbours. The main object of the Northmen was the extortion of tribute and the acquisition of plunder, and the extent to which Charles' successors suffered under this plague may be seen below (p. 172) and in the section on Scandinavia.

The second enemy was the Slav people, which was divided into a number of tribes; they had occupied the country abandoned by the Germans during their migrations from the Baltic and the mouth of the Elbe to the Bohemian Forest; from thence they had extended to Styria and Carinthia, to the Danubian territories of the Byzantine Empire, and even into ancient Greece (Vol. V, p. 47). In Moravia a powerful empire had arisen under Svatopluk (died 895; Vol. V, p. 234), which was not to collapse until the beginning of the tenth century. The modern territories of Prussia, Pomerania, Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, Saxony, Bohemia, Moravia, and the Austrian Alps were in the possession of Slavonic tribes. Notwithstanding the victories of Charles over the Sorbs and Wilzes, they retained their wide sphere of influence practically undiminished. The dissension prevailing among the individual tribes, of whom even in Charles' time the Obotrites of Mecklenburg joined the Franks, made it impossible that they should withstand the superior military prowess of the Germans. Until the tenth and eleventh centuries they were steadily driven back before the missionary zeal of their western neighbours; only in heathen Prussia did they resist the power of the Teutonic knights until the thirteenth century.

In the interior the feudal nobility had been kept in check by the strong hand of Charles, but its tendency to separatism had not been thereby destroyed. The rich presents and favours of Charles had raised the power of the ecclesiastical nobility, which soon became a force threatening the monarchy, although the papacy continued subject to the protectorate of the Franks for a longer period.

A. The Carolingian Empire to the Partition of 843

(*a*) *Lewis the Pious.* — Lewis the Pious was the sole heir of his great father, who died on January 28, 814, and was crowned emperor in Rheims by Pope Stephen V. He was by no means the helpless weakling that he is painted in the traditional accounts of his reign. During the lifetime of his two elder brothers he was naturally thrown into the background, and was brought up in Aquitaine by monks in an environment of prayer and penance. After his accession he continued the great work of conversion begun by Charles, and created two strong

centres of Christianity in the bishoprics of Hildesheim and Hamburg. Hamburg was intended to form a bulwark against the heathen Danes and Northmen, but was reduced to ashes by them twenty years after its foundation (837). Lewis also followed his father's example by enriching the clergy with gifts of land and rents; but he allowed the secular princes subordinate to himself to appropriate Church property. It was chiefly for this reason that the clergy, who were conscious of their independence, conspired against the emperor on behalf of his rebellious sons. The action of Lewis in dividing the empire between his sons, Lothar, Pippin, and Lewis, in 817, has been denounced as weakness. But this partition was in the first place proposed rather by the great ecclesiastics of the empire than by Lewis himself, and was but a continuation of the precedent set by Pippin and Charles. The unity of the empire and the emperor's own position were guaranteed by the provisions that Lewis should remain sole ruler during his lifetime, that the imperial title should pass only to the eldest son, without whose consent the other two sons could neither wage war nor conclude peace, nor negotiate upon questions of foreign policy, while the consent of the national assembly was necessary before they could enjoy their shares. Upon the death of the eldest brother the next in age was to take the seniority. Pope Paschal I, who had been won over by guarantees securing his territory, agreed to this scheme of partition and showed great readiness to support the empire. On April 5, 823, he crowned Lothar as emperor, and allowed the new ruler to impose a regulation upon the Romans by which they were forced to take an oath of allegiance to the Pope and the emperor, while the papal elections could only take place when the emperor's consent had been obtained.

The misfortunes of Lewis were due to his weakness in dealing with his second wife, the Guelph princess Judith. In order that the son of this marriage, Charles (afterwards known as the Bald), should not be thrown into the background, Lewis altered the principle of partition in favour of this son without the consent of the nation, but with the assent of the compliant Pope. These feminine intrigues were the signal for a revolt of the three other sons, whose possessions were thus reduced, even as formerly the domineering spirit of Fastrada (p. 168) had brought about the conspiracy of the bastard Pippin and afterwards of the Teutonic nobles against Charles the Great. The rebellious sons were now joined by the west Frankish clergy, who had grown extremely powerful. In a synod held at Paris they laid down certain principles of ecclesiastical policy which were soon to serve the papacy as a useful weapon for advancing its claims and encroachments. The king was to be subject to the priestly power, and if he did not rule upon principles approved by the Church he might be deposed from his office as a tyrant. The empress Judith became a special point of attack on the part of the opposition nobles. These were laymen, many of whom had already shared in the revolt of Bernhard, the nephew of Lewis. They were able to relieve themselves of Judith by confining her in a monastery; but the monarchy was too firmly rooted to be overthrown at one blow. Lewis was able to find help among the east Frankish nobility against the west Franks and his own sons, of whom Lothar was the ringleader. At an imperial diet held at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle) the emperor and his queen, who had come back from her monastery, were justified, and Lothar was forced to submit (831). The revolt of the clergy from the crown offered a favourable opportunity to the Pope for breaking away from the dependent position which Charles had

introduced, and for making himself supreme over the shattered power of the king. When the sons again raised the banner of revolt they found Gregory IV on their side. At Colmar in Alsace the emperor's officials, seduced by the Pope himself, deserted to their rebel comrades in arms (end of June, 833); Rotfeld, where this treachery was completed, received the contemptuous name of Lügenfeld (field of lies). We now find a division in the ranks of the west Frankish episcopate. Many who feared that the papal aggressions threatened their own independence renewed their allegiance to Lewis; a minority, led by the vigorous archbishop Eb(b)o of Rheims, forced the emperor to do penance in the church of St. Medard at Soissons, to abdicate his position as emperor, and to enter a monastery. The other party induced Lewis to withdraw the decision which he had made at St. Denis, and to renounce his deposition at a council at Diedenhofen (835). The emperor was now induced by his wife to make a fresh partition (839), under which Lewis, whom she hated, was placed at a disadvantage in favour of Lothar and Charles, although it was to Lewis in part that the emperor owed his restoration (Pippin had died on December 13, 838). Lewis then took up arms against his father, who, however, died at Ingelheim before any battle was fought, on June 20, 840.

(*b*) *The Treaty of Verdun.* — The struggle for the inheritance was carried on by the two younger brothers, Lewis and Charles, who joined their forces against the domineering Lothar. Lothar was utterly defeated at the Ries (Nördlingen, beginning of 841), and at Fontenoy en Puisaye (near Auxerre; June 25), where the flower of the Austrasian nobility fell. He summoned to his help the heathen Saxons, to whom he promised the restoration of their old privileges, and the Danes; he also secured the support of the papal legates; but he was unable to recover the supremacy of his west Frankish territory. He therefore agreed to the partition treaty of Verdun (August 10, 843). He was left in possession of the imperial title, together with the old province of Austrasia, the main portion of Burgundy, the Alamannic districts on the left bank of the Rhine, Provence, and Italy; that is to say, of a district extending from the mouth of the Rhine to the harbours of the Mediterranean. Neustria, Flanders, and Brittany, northwest Burgundy, Aquitaine, and the Spanish mark, went to Charles. Lewis, known as the German, received all the country on the right of the Rhine, and on the left bank, Worms, Mainz, and Speier, together with parts of modern Switzerland (see the map facing page 162).

Thus the unity of the Carolingian Empire was dissolved, although Lothar retained the imperial title. The east and west Franks, under the rule of Lewis and Charles, entered upon separate courses of development, affecting their national characters, their languages, and their policies, which ended in the differentiation of France from Germany. The kingdom of Lothar was broken in 855 into three parts connected by a show of outward unity. These were Austrasia, with Friesland, and the left bank of the Rhine ("Lotharingia," so called from its future owner, Lothar II), Provence with Burgundy, and Italy, which belonged to the emperor Lewis II. Lotharingia, although inhabited by Germans, was exposed to French aggression. However, in the treaty of Meerssen (August 8, 870) Lewis the German and Charles the Bald agreed that the Romance districts, namely, Provence and Burgundy should belong to the west Frankish Empire, and that the remainder should fall under the east Frankish ruler. Here, in contrast to the Roman language of the west Franks, and also to the ecclesiastical Latin, a German

vernacular language had developed. Our first specimen of it is to be found in the "Strasburg Oaths" which Lewis and Charles, when forming their alliance against Lothar, took each in the language of the other, on February 11 (14 ?), 842. The oath bound not only the two princes but also their officials, who would be judged guilty of rebellion if they broke their allegiance to their feudal lords. Nothwithstanding this duality of language, the local dialects, which had not died out, were brought into a higher unity, created for literary purposes. Politically, however, the separate portions of the divided empire went their own ways. In east Francia, the old hereditary duchies of Saxony, Franconia, Suabia, and Bavaria gradually gained a new importance which menaced the existing unity (pp. 84 ff.). In west Franconia a number of greater and smaller vassals secured their independence, and in course of time reduced the crown to the position of a meaningless and helpless shadow.

B. The French Carolingians

The first of the French rulers of the Carolingian family, Charles the Bald, preserved the external unity of his state, but during the thirty-four years of his reign was greatly occupied by the invasions of the Northmen and by quarrels with the east Frankish kingdom. So early as 841 the Danes had advanced to Rouen, had conquered the town and carried off the inhabitants, from whom they exacted a tribute. Some fifteen years later (857) they reached the outskirts of Paris. In 858 they were granted a strip of land extending from the mouth of the Seine as far as the capital. They then seized Meaux, but were forced by King Charles to evacuate west Francia. Notwithstanding occasional defeats in the open field, they steadily renewed their raids, especially after the death of Charles (877), when France was divided by the quarrels of factions. The grandson of Charles, Louis III, conquered them in January, 881, at Sau(l)court in Picardy, a victory glorified in the old High German "Ludwigs-lied;" but in 882 they captured Laon. In 884 they again invaded France, made Amiens the base of their plundering raids, and were to some extent pacified by a payment of tribute, while a band was engaged in the conquest of Louvain. In the following year they were defeated by the united forces of the west and east Frankish armies under the command of King Charles the Fat at Louvain. They were, however, able to besiege Paris, which was defended from November, 885, to the autumn of 886 by Count Odo (Eudo) of Anjou. Eventually they were bought off by a monetary payment. These disturbances did not cease until the modern Normandy was conferred as a duchy upon the Norman Rollo, together with the hand of the princess Gisela, in 911.

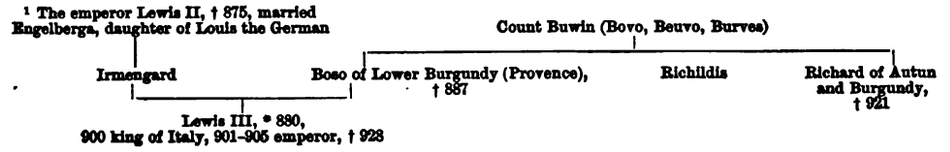
Shortly before the death of Charles the Bald, the west Frankish Empire entered upon a period of apparent prosperity. After the death of Lewis II, the last of the three sons of Lothar I, on August 12, 875, Pope John VIII invested his uncle with the position of emperor, which had been thus left vacant, and the nobles recognised him as emperor (Christmas, 875). However, his two journeys to Rome brought little reputation to Charles, for the Lombards adopted an attitude of coolness towards an emperor who ruled by the favour of the Pope. His attempt (in 876) to secure the coveted province of Lotharingia, upon the death of his brother Lewis the German, proved a failure; he was defeated at Andernach (October 8) by the nephews of Lewis the German, Karlmann and Lewis the Younger.

Upon his death (September 5, 877) the favourable moment had arrived for the crown vassals to assert their independence. Their homage was offered to his son Lewis II, the Stammerer, only upon the condition that he would acknowledge himself as an elected king. The clergy and the Pope had often conceived the idea of crowning another ruler, the Count Boso,[1] who had asserted his independence in lower Burgundy (the "Arelate," the Rhone valley, and the Lake of Geneva). However, in 878 Lewis succeeded at Fouron (to the northeast of Visé on the Maas) in securing a reconciliation with the east Frankish Lewis the Younger, as both rulers felt themselves threatened by the growing power of the papacy.

Upon the death of the Stammerer, on April 10, 879, a number of the clergy desired to unite the two Frankish kingdoms in the hands of Lewis the Younger, but the majority of the nobles firmly supported his two sons, Lewis III and Karlmann. It was not until their premature deaths (882–884) that the last son of Lewis the German, Charles III, the Fat, came into possession of the empire of Charles the Great. Rarely has a ruler been so conspicuously successful with so small an expenditure of energy. In February, 881, the imperial throne was offered to him by John VIII; his supremacy was recognised in Italy, and King Boso was forced to renounce his claims to the imperial dignity and to upper Italy. Similarly Duke Wido II of Spoleto, the opponent both of Charles and of the Pope, was deprived of his fief in 883, and only restored to favour in 885. The basis of these successes was a close connection with the Pope. The latter regarded the emperor as a protector against the Saracens, who were settling in lower Italy, and even plundering the states of the Church; it must be said that the alliance implied subjection to the greater power of the Church. Conscious of his inferiority, Charles strove to support himself by concluding his ties of friendship; among such are those with the Moravian ruler, Svatopluk, and with the Northmen, as has been detailed.

Only a strong military ruler could compel the respect of the self-asserting nobles. They deposed Charles at Tribur on the Rhine (Trebur in Hesse) on November, 887, but were by no means united among themselves, and the old opposition between the east and west empires broke out afresh. One party desired the appointment of Arnulf of Carinthia, an illegitimate nephew of Charles, while the majority of the west Frankish nobility supported Odo, the brave defender of the capital against the Normans, who had adopted the title of Count of Paris and Duke of Francia (Isle de France). Arnulf was obliged to recognise his appointment. For ten years Odo ruled with energy and decision (died January 1, 898); however, his kingdom, like the east Frankish Empire, was in a state of disruption. In lower Burgundy the above-mentioned Boso was ruling, and was succeeded by his son Lewis III, and afterwards by his vassal Hugo.[1] Upper Burgundy, the country beyond the Jura, had an independent ruler in King Rudolf I (died 912). In Italy Berengar I of Friuli, Wido of Spoleto, Hugo and Rudolf II of Burgundy, were struggling for the mastery, with varying success. On February

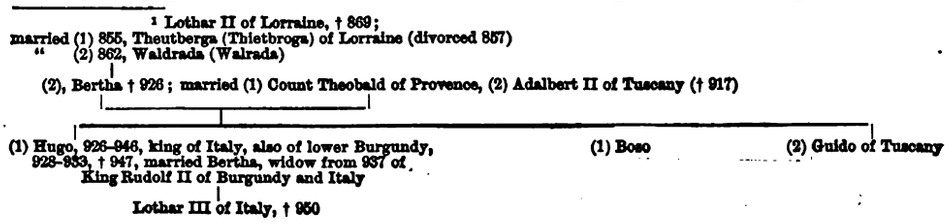
[1] The emperor Lewis II, † 875, married Engelberga, daughter of Louis the German



22, 896, Arnulf secured the imperial throne and the supremacy over Rome and Italy; this, however, was lost to his house upon the accession of his son Lewis, known as the Child, in 899.

Throughout this general confusion both the great vassals and the Popes had secured the mastery of the royal power. There was a possibility of replacing the broken power of the French Empire by a papal theocracy which should include all nations in an iron net and overcome all other forces, ecclesiastical and temporal; this seductive prospect could not fail to arouse the ambitions of individual Popes, whose secular power had already involved them in political quarrels. During the party struggles between Lewis the Pious and his sons, the project was set in circulation in a collection of councils and papal documents ascribed to Bishop Isidore of Seville (died 636). At the close of the ninth century these forgeries reappeared in the episcopate of Rheims. They contained a forged Donation of the emperor Constantine, bequeathing Rome and Italy to Pope Sylvester I (314–335); the origin of the papal patrimony in the presentations of the French kings was one that did not correspond with papal ambitions. On the basis of some sixty forged letters and decretals ascribed to Popes during the first four centuries of the Christian Church, the papal power was represented as absolutely unlimited, and all bishops as unconditionally subject to it. The Pope alone had the right of inducting, transferring, and deposing bishops. Metropolitan bishops could consecrate their subordinate provincials only as papal plenipotentiaries; the Pope could convoke councils and confirm their conclusions. The ecclesiastical functions of the crown were not so much as mentioned.

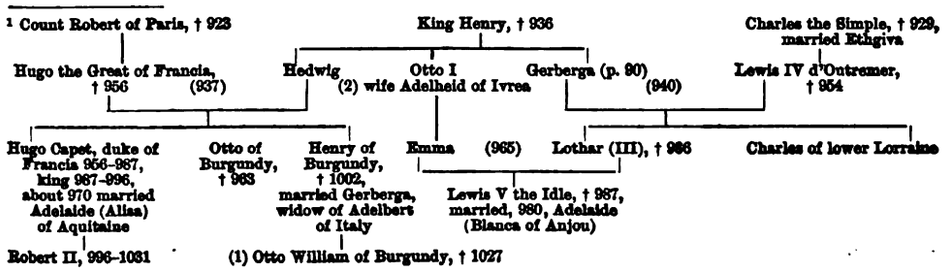
This comprehensive. but purely ecclesiastical position provided the Popes with full reason for interference in wholly political matters, to secure their spiritual interests. Such was the action of Gregory IV, who joined the side of the revolted sons against the emperor Lewis. Nicholas I (858–867), who was the first to make full use of the Forged Decretals, represented himself as the supreme judge upon earth, against whose decision there was no appeal. The power thus conferred upon himself was used only to protect Christian morality and religion. A synod summoned by him to Rome condemned the immoral proceedings of Lothar II in 865, annulled the opposite conclusions of the Frankish episcopal synods, removed the archbishops of Köln and Trier, as they had permitted the king's adultery, and threatened all disobedient bishops with excommunication. His successors, especially Pope Innocent III, interfered at a later date in royal matrimonial affairs in similar fashion. The inadequate criticism of that age was unable to discover the reality of these forgeries, and would indeed have forgiven them, as the principle of the pious fraud had often been put in practice in the early Christian Church by tampering with canonical and non-canonical letters and writings. These decretals encouraged Pope John VIII (872–882) to give away the imperial throne as he pleased, and to act as arbitrator in disputes concerning the succes-



sion and other matters of the kind. The Popes of the tenth century, however were too weak and degenerate to advance such high claims, apart from the fact that they were hard pressed and hampered by Italian claims to the crown, by Arab pirates, and by the Byzantine emperors. Otto the Great was therefore able to administer ecclesiastical affairs almost as independently as Charles the Great, and to make the papacy the footstool of his power. The offensive measures of Nicholas I were not resumed until the time of Gregory VII.

As the Pope claimed to bestow the imperial crown according to his will and pleasure, so also the great vassals assumed the right of electing the king, without reference to the principle of hereditary succession, while in compacts, which preceded the election, they secured their privileges and their territory, making their own possessions independent and diminishing those of the king. The west Frankish Carolingians, who occupied the throne of France after the death of Odo, were Charles the Simple (898–929), Lewis IV (929–954), Lothar (954–986), and Lewis V (986–987); these were not the foremost among the nobles with equal claims, but rather the inferior and powerless members of the class, and entirely dependent upon the good or bad will of their vassals.

As under the degenerate Merovingians the Carolingian family rose to power and eventually seized the throne, so now we may mark the rise of the family of Robert of Anjou, who had fallen in battle in 867 against the Normans; the above-mentioned Odo was his son, and their descendants rose to supreme power in France first in fact and afterwards in name. Odo's brother, Robert, had already made an attempt and been crowned at Sens in 922; he had fallen fighting against the mercenary forces of Charles at Soissons (June 16, 923). He had a large following among the nobility, and was father-in-law of Duke Rudolf (Raoul) of Burgundy; hence his party chose his son-in-law to succeed him (died 936). However, his son Hugo, after the death of his brother-in-law, raised the Carolingian Lewis IV, surnamed d'Outremer, to the crown, and enthroned him at Rheims. Hugo's efforts were directed to extending the power of his dynasty and to weakening the royal prestige; in course of time he considered that the royal title would naturally fall to the most powerful of the vassals. Hence he secured from the king the grant to himself of the title of Frankish duke (*dux Francorum*). His father had already been margrave of three marks and also possessed the county of Maine. These possessions were increased by Lewis' successor Lothar, so that a contemporary, the later Archbishop Gerbert of Rheims, could write that Hugo was the actual master of France, and this he was in practice between 948 and 950. Lothar's position was assured only in Aquitaine, where his son Charles had married the widow of the duke. Hugo's connection by marriage with Otto the Great[1] lent him special prestige; he died in 956.



These phantom kings of the west Franks were guilty of the greatest impolicy through their interference in the affairs of the German Empire: they ought rather to have consolidated their weak forces against their all-powerful vassals, and to have secured the friendship of the house of Robert and of the powerful Norman dukes. Lewis IV had already quarrelled with his brother-in-law Otto I, and his successor Lothar III (954–986) attempted in 987 to secure possession of Lorraine, the apple of discord between the east and west Frankish rulers, on the basis of a claim that the provinces had been a personal possession of Otto, and not one which he could bequeath. For this purpose he advanced into the duchy with twenty thousand men, surprised Aachen, and turned the eagle of Charles the Great, which was placed upon the palace, towards the west as a sign that this ancient capital of the empire now belonged to France. The emperor Otto II marched at the head of his troops upon Paris, which, however, offered a brave resistance under the son of Hugo of Francia, the later ruler of France. The German king therefore contented himself with striking up a hallelujah with his army on the heights of Montmartre, after which he retreated, pursued by Lothar's troops as far as the Aisne. In the year 980 Lothar proposed an alliance of peace and friendship with the German king. He was greatly afraid that this ruler might make common cause with the disobedient French vassals. Lothar, therefore, renounced his claim to Lotharingia at the conference of Chiers. However, when Otto II had died upon the threshold of old age in 983, Lothar renewed his claims and attempted to secure the guardianship of Otto III, who was still a minor. Neither attempt, however, proved successful. His son Lewis V, who was given the undeserved nickname "Le Fainéant" (the lazy or the cowardly), continued a show of imperial power for one year.

4. THE RISE OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL STATE

A. The Disruption of the State under the First Capets

After the death of Lewis V, the last of the French Carolingians, the next heir his uncle Charles of Lorraine, a vassal of the German emperor, failed to secure the throne of France, which passed to Hugo Capet, the son of Hugo of Francia; he possessed not only the wide territory of his family, but also connections by marriage with Burgundy, Aquitaine, Normandy, and Vermandois. He was crowned in Rheims by Archbishop Adalbero on July 3, 897. The country was in a state of disturbance; agricultural and civil prosperity were at a low ebb; the people were subject to the oppression of the powerful lords and of the royal demesnes; practically nothing remained to the crown save Laon. Now began a period of constitutional order, of legal protection, and of renewed prosperity for the middle classes.

The deposition of the lawful king was not so easy a task for the ancestors of Capets as it had been for the Carolingian Pippin. The old royal house possessed many adherents among the nobles, while the new dynasty lacked the support of the higher ecclesiastical powers. With the help of the nobility who remained faithful, Charles of Lorraine seized Laon, which for the last century had been the

capital of the kings and the centre of France. The coronation city of Rheims, the archbishops of which had been more or less independent since the beginning of the ninth century, also came under the ecclesiastical supremacy of Arnulf the Carolingian after the death of Adalbero.

The views then prevalent among the French clergy were hostile to the secular power and to its supremacy over church affairs. The powerful Count William of Auvergne, who had been made duke of Aquitaine by Odo of Anjou, had founded a monastery in 910 at Cluny in the northern part of the Cevennes. By the terms of the foundation charter the monastery was to be independent of all secular or episcopal power, and was to choose its superior by independent election; even the Pope was prohibited from any interference or diminution of its foundation, and was allowed to exercise no influence upon the election of the abbot. The monastery attained great prosperity under its second abbot, Odo (927–941), and at that time, during the fasts some seventeen thousand poor were fed. Naturally this isolated foundation joined the papacy against the secular and episcopal powers, and defended that unconditional supremacy of the Pope over the secular rulers, which Gregory VII afterwards secured.

The special opponent of Cluny was the above-mentioned Bishop Arnulf of Orléans, the president of the synod of 991, which assembled in a church near Rheims to decide the succession to the archbishopric of that city. King Hugo naturally did not wish to leave this ecclesiastical metropolis in the possession of his political opponents, who had indeed sworn fidelity to him, but had placed the Carolingian Charles in possession of Rheims and Soissons. The synod was now to decide whether Arnulf could be removed from his office by the vote of the west Frankish clergy, or only by the decision of the Pope. The latter view was championed by all the adherents of the Cluniac doctrine, and appeals were made to the False Decretals. Bishop Arnulf then delivered a violent speech upon the immorality of the ruling Pope, John XV, whom he compared with Antichrist. He did not venture to maintain the falsity of the decretals, the main foundation of the papal claims; even Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims, who had defended the episcopal power against the papal supremacy about 860, during the time of Nicholas I, did not venture upon this step. However, King Hugo and his ecclesiastical supporters induced the synod to agree that Arnulf should voluntarily resign his archbishopric, and that the learned Abbot Gerbert should be his successor. Hugo Capet had meanwhile treacherously imprisoned Duke Charles, who died in captivity, and had thus disposed of two of his main opponents. In contrast, however, to the time of Pippin, not only the papacy, but the strict religious party among the clergy and the national enthusiasm inspired by Cluny, supported his opponents. Archbishop Gerbert found his position in Rheims extremely difficult. Mass was deserted when celebrated by himself, and no one would sit at his table, while he was actually menaced upon his journey to a council of the French bishops in 995. Otto III relieved him of this untenable position by making him spiritual adviser at court in 997, and in 999 he became Pope Silvester II.

King Hugo attempted to secure the favour of the clergy by confirming ecclesiastical possessions and privileges; on the other hand, he showed no hesitation in retaining his royal privileges, especially where the right of interference in ecclesiastical matters was concerned. The state over which he ruled was in an

even greater period of disruption than under the weak Merovingians, or during the last century of the nominal Carolingian rule. He was not even the sovereign power in his own crown domain, the Isle de France; one record of doubtful authenticity speaks of him as possessing only five towns, — Paris, Orléans, Étampes, Senlis, and Melun. The whole of the Frankish kingdom was divided not only into a number of larger and practically independent fiefs, but also into a quantity of secondary fiefs and smaller estates, the holders of which had formed close federations with one another. Seigneuries, châtellenies, baronies, vicomtés, and other forms of feudal possession were recognised. The vassals had resumed their power of independent administration, and only insignificant lords managed their own properties. Every village had its intendant or administrator, while larger estates were supervised by an official known in the north as prevost, and in the south as bailli or viguier. The great duchies and counties had their own legal codes and law courts.

Language itself was broken into different dialects (cf. p. 152). The chief groups of these were the Frankish, Norman, Burgundian, Picard, and Lotharingian or Walloon, apart from the special Provençal language in the south. Every dialect had thrown out offshoots, and was in no case strictly confined to geographical boundaries. Hence the only uniform ecclesiastical and official language was Latin.

The unfree classes suffered severely under the exactions of numerous petty tyrants, especially during the eleventh century, when a period of commerce began to supplant the old régime of self-sufficing estates. The oppressive demands of the overlords, which were added to the former obligations of forced service, often drove the subject peasantry into armed revolt. Trade and commerce and the prosperity of the middle classes were largely impeded by the quarrels and raids of the nobles. It was difficult for the feeble power of the king to enforce the obedience of these domineering lords, each of whom had his own castle or fortified capital, and his own retainers or military comrades. It was especially impossible for the crown to assert its rights within the greater fiefs, which, as in the time of the later Merovingians and Carolingians, had secured an independence that was complete in actual fact and partially recognised by law. Such, in particular, was the case with the duchies of Normandy and Aquitaine, the provinces of lower and upper Burgundy, which since 933 had been united to form the kingdom of the Arelate, and did not revert to the German Empire until 1032–1034. The duchy of Brittany stood outside of the French constitutional union. In 938 it had replaced the original federation of Armorica, which was at first independent, and had been then subdued by Charles the Great and afterwards by the Normans. The counties of Flanders, Champagne, and Toulouse were in a similar position (see the maps facing pages 90 and 162); Lorraine, with Metz, Toul, and Verdun, belonged to the German emperor, and Provence to the Spanish county of Barcelona.

The object of the Capets was to restore the shattered political unity, to replace feudal tyranny by law and order, to extend the crown demesnes, to advance the middle classes at the expense of the nobility, to secure their ecclesiastical powers and the independence of their bishops at the expense of the papacy, and to make their elective position hereditary; towards these purposes they were helped by a variety of circumstances. The great feudal lords were constantly at variance among themselves, and were accustomed upon such occasions to appeal to the

arbitration of the king. It would have been dangerous for them to set an example of infidelity to their own vassals by showing too open a contempt for the fealty which they owed to the crown, the more so as the subject vassals would have found a ready protector in the king. The clergy needed the help of the crown against the oppression of the rapacious lords, and also appealed to the arbitration of the crown in the case of territorial disputes. They also supported the crown by a natural community of interests against the aggression of Rome, which threatened their traditional privileges. In particular, the communes which began to rise in and after the eleventh century looked for the protection of the king if they were to maintain the rights and privileges which they had bought from the greedy nobility. It appeared in the case of the French kings that a nominal position and a title could to a certain extent serve as a substitute for actual power. Helpless as the ruler formerly had been, he was recognised as general and judge, as magistrate and protector; his awards were recognised when conflicting interests made recognition desirable.

In their efforts to make their succession hereditary the Capets could not venture to infringe the electoral rights of their vassals, for the result might have been a revolt with which they could not have coped; they therefore adopted the device of appointing and crowning the eldest son during their lifetime and acknowledging him as co-regent. In this way the crown descended from father to son for more than three centuries.

The main care of the new rulers was naturally the restoration of domestic peace, which was disturbed by the continual feuds and raids of the nobility. For this purpose they readily accepted the help of religion and the influence of the Church. Since the dissolution of constitutional and social order throughout the French kingdom, the clergy had endeavoured to supply the defects of secular law by ecclesiastical decrees. At the synod of the diocese of Poitiers in 989 the curse of God was uttered upon all who should plunder or even threaten churches, clergy, or poor. Excommunication or exclusion from church fellowship, and interdict or refusal of the church sacraments, were the weapons used against evil doers who broke the peace. National calamities helped these efforts at pacification. Between the years 1031 and 1034 France was devastated by a famine, and the desperate inhabitants sought consolation from those who dispensed the Church's favours. The Church seized this opportunity to add to their penances an oath to refrain from robbery or violence, and to found brotherhoods of peace, which soon became armed federations against all discordant elements, especially against the enemies of the churches and monasteries. Such federations were preceded by priests bearing holy banners who blessed their enterprises.

After these preparations, it was possible in 1040 for the clergy in Aquitaine to proclaim a general peace of God (*Treuga Dei; Trève de Dieu*), which was to last every week from Wednesday evening to Monday, and in 1041 was extended in Burgundy to include the season of Advent and the greater festivals. The monastery of Cluny and the bishoprics of Arles and Avignon were the centres of that beneficent work which protected the poor and the unfree from destruction, secured trade and commerce, agriculture and prosperity, and saved the French nobility from degenerating into unchecked brigandage. With the commencement of the crusades the priests assumed control of these humanitarian movements. At the council of Clermont in November, 1085, Pope Urban II proclaimed a general peace

for the purpose of leading a united force of Christians to battle against the infidels. At a later date, the peace of God was recognised by the canon law, and was transferred to secular legislation, for instance, in the German Sachsenspiegel. From France it extended to Germany, Italy, and England; it was introduced into the German Empire in 1082 by Bishop Henry of Liège, and by Archbishop Sigiwin of Köln in 1083; the Franconian emperors supported it, and the Norman princes adopted it in lower Italy. The demands of the Church could, however, only be enforced by an independent royal power; where this was wanting, as in France, or where Church and State were in opposition and gave an example of disturbance, the commands of the Church proved ineffectual.

B. The Prosperity of the Old French Kingdom under Philip II Augustus and Louis IX

(*a*) *Law, Education, and Administration.* — The task of unifying a judicial system under secular law was hampered not only by the special jurisdiction belonging to the feudal lords, but also by the existence of provincial codes, which were by no means identical; of these the codes of the Isle de France, Beauvais, and Anjou were published in the time of St. Louis, the others not until the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (finally extinguished in 1789). The task of unification was greatly advanced by Louis IX, or St. Louis (1226–1270). His grandfather, Philip II Augustus (1180–1223), had already attempted to make the king's court a kind of tribunal of appeal, and to throw the jurisdiction of the territorial lords into a secondary position. His government, however, was so full of disturbance and internal dissension that he found it impossible to complete the task he had begun. Under Louis IX a system of constitutional law grew up, patched up from Old Testament theories and reminiscences of the legislation of Roman Cæsars; this was enforced in the Parlement of Paris. This supreme court of justice consisted of fractions of the old Privy Council (*Grand Conseil*) and of the royal exchequer; hence ecclesiastics and secular nobles were accustomed to sit side by side with the court officials. These gentlemen, however, were ignorant of law, and had no inclination to undertake a study absorbing a large amount of time; Louis was therefore obliged to add professional lawyers (*maîtres*) to the hereditary members. The duty of these experts was that of investigation and report (hence they are called *membres rapporteurs*, while the responsibility of decision remained with the *membres jugeurs*). Thus the question of fact and responsibility was separated from the legal process, as it is in modern jury systems.

An appeal could be made to the Parlement from the courts of the feudatories, the communes, and crown officials; all feudal disputes were brought before the Parlement for settlement. These decisions extinguished the custom of trial by ordeal or by battle (royal decree of 1258), which still survived in other countries. The procedure of a sitting was similar to that of the present day: there was the hearing of evidence, the administration of oaths, documentary evidence, written as well as oral procedure. Apart from the precedents which the court itself had created, the influence of Roman law was paramount. The written judgment of this court formed a precedent for future cases and thus gained the power of law.

At the same time there grew up a legal class, dependent only on the king (the

later *noblesse de robe*), which gradually made its way into the highest offices of state, and limited the privileges of the clergy. The ecclesiastical courts were thereby restricted, as were the feudal courts; since appeals could be made from ecclesiastical courts to the Parlement, and in the last resort to the king himself. Louis presided in person over judicial hearings, received complaints, and secured the conscientiousness and incorruptibility of his judges. Important criminal cases were reserved for his special decision, as also were all questions of honour, after appeal had been made to one of the four chief justices of the government (*grands baillages*).

Roman law, which had formed a basis both for substantive law and for the law of procedure, was taught in the schools of Paris, Montpellier, and Orléans. The university of Paris received a constitution of its own, giving it control over the students and the craftsmen connected with the schools; stipends (*bourses*) were given, a fixed curriculum was formed, and a number of colleges sprang up. The name *université* did not then imply, as it does to-day, an educational institution, distinguished from other schools, but rather a corporation of students and teachers. Every school elected its own rectors. In accordance with the educational and religious views of the time, philosophy took the first place among all studies; it was especially cultivated in the Sorbonne founded by Robert de Sorbon, the chaplain of Louis IX, and also in the schools of Toulouse; it was also naturally represented in other provincial universities, each of these having its own organisation, with no special tie or connection. Next to the theological faculty came the faculty of arts, corresponding with the modern *faculté de lettres;* the legal and medical faculties only rose to independence by degrees. Students were organised by "nations," that is to say, according to their geographical origin, and for the most part lived in hostels which were under the jurisdiction of the university. The discipline of the students, who were partly of mature years, was very loose. They changed their schools nearly as often as their curriculum. The highest title that the university could confer was that of doctor; of less importance were the degrees of licentiate and master, the least important of all being that of bachelor (*baccalaureus*). In schools which were not of university rank the teaching was chiefly in the hands of the ecclesiastical orders; the Dominicans were distinguished as theological and philosophical teachers, while learned Benedictines undertook the guidance of the younger students. The education of the lower orders and of women was generally neglected, except in so far as it was undertaken by the regular clergy. Administration and public order, like law, justice, and higher education, were improved by Louis IX, as they had been by his grandfather. Over the *baillis* and *sénéchaux* appointed by Philip II (the provosts formed the lowest official rank) Louis placed the inspector class of *enquêteurs*; and he issued the strongest regulations to prevent misuse of official power ("Ordonnance" of 1254). As the position of the royal officials had been thus raised, the smaller nobility aspired to that profession, and entered the class of *officiers royaux*. In consequence, the lower stages of the feudal system were subjected to a disintegrating influence, which was increased by the prohibition, or by the limitation when prohibition was impossible, of the private feuds, duels, and tournaments which were a vital point of the system. A feud could not be brought to the arbitrament of the sword before forty days from its announcement (*Quarantaine de roi*), in order that the threatened person might have time to appeal to the king's court. Louis IX thus actually effected those aims which the clergy had proposed in their "truce of God."

Owing to the undeveloped economic condition of the country, the royal income chiefly consisted of the produce of crown properties, which were administered by officials styled the *bouteiller* and the *chambellan*. The first direct tax, apart from the *taille* (p. 164) and the capitation or poll tax on the non-free, was proposed by Philip II upon those who declined to take part in the crusade of 1189. This tax amounted to ten per cent of each man's income or personal property, and was payable every year; as the crusade was directed against the Sultan Saladin, the tax gained the name of *dîme saladine*, or Saladin tithe. Apart from this exception, the taxes of that age were chiefly indirect and payable in kind; it was not until the time of Philip the Fair that a tax was imposed upon crown property, at first one per cent and then two per cent (*impôt foncier*). As the king's needs increased, the system of direct taxation became extended, and, with the growth of commercialism, payment in kind was naturally replaced by a payment in money.

(*b*) *The Communes.* — As constitutionalism overpowered its most dangerous opponent, feudalism, so the prosperity of the towns inevitably increased and civic life developed. Of the French towns of the Middle Ages only a few can be connected with the one hundred and twelve *civitates* of Roman Gaul. Most of these latter had not survived the confusion of the barbarian migrations, but had been deserted or had dwindled away till they became mere *castra*, fortified camps, of which the Romans had a great number in Gaul, as in all other provinces. It was only in the south that the Roman town system continued. Upon the remnants of the *civitates*, which were under the rule of the bishop, *villæ* or townships were often grafted, especially in the agricultural north of Gaul. The origin of the new towns is a matter of conjecture and cannot be determined with certainty. Their centre in every case was the castle of the feudal lord, or the seat of an abbot, round which gathered the settlements of the freemen, which were then enclosed with a wall. The Latin names for these new towns vary in the documents, in which they are mentioned as *burgus*, or fortified town; *oppidum*, a smaller town; *castellum*, or *municipium*, a community; smaller groups of houses were known as *villæ* or *vici* (village).

The development of a town life, such as had existed under the Roman Empire, was greatly retarded by the agricultural economy which predominated throughout the Frankish age. The inhabitants of the towns were forced to confine their energies to agriculture, cattle-breeding, or handicrafts; of trade and industry, or communication with the outer world, there was little or none. It was at most the market towns which became centres of intercourse with the outer world, and it was these in general which gave the first impulse to the foundation of town communities. Towns were narrow, with unpaved and badly lighted streets, gloomy gabled houses, often entirely dark, with no open square except the market place, with no gardens, promenades, or pleasure grounds; the gates were closed at nightfall, and the stables and barns were close to the dwelling-houses; they were, in short, insanitary villages. Sanitation was then practically an unknown science. There was no inspection of public health, and the simplest precautions to prevent uncleanliness, plague, and other public disasters, were non-existent. Houses and dwellings shrank from the outer world, as though afraid of light and air, while the little diamond windows of the rooms in front and behind admitted only the pestilential air of the narrow streets. The rooms in the middle of the houses, which served among other pur-

poses as bedrooms, were entirely dark, or were lighted by the obscure passages which led to them. Only a few houses belonging to the nobles were in a tolerably sanitary condition. Apart from this, the "free" towns were singularly destitute of freedom. Not only were they dependent upon bishops, abbots, feudal lords, and royal officials, but their guilds received a new-comer with strict and hostile exclusiveness, refused him access to any trade or profession, and exercised a ruthless control over his dependants, servants, apprentices, etc. Family life suffered no less from want of freedom and intellectual progress.

An improvement did not begin until the eleventh century, when a commercial began to replace the agricultural economy. Trade and manufacture, intercourse and public life, began to develop, and new towns arose. The wandering traders, who had hitherto passed from place to place on rivers and high-roads, regarded with suspicion by the settled inhabitants, and conducting their business under the greatest difficulties, were now induced to settle permanently upon some favourable spot, whether under ecclesiastical or secular government. Thus in Verdun during the tenth century a self-contained trading colony was founded under one wall of the city and divided from the rest of the community by the river, over which two bridges provided communication for trade. These new citizens, the *bourgeois*, as opposed to the old citizens, the *citoyens*, were at first excluded from all participation in town administration, from the rights of the guilds or other privileges, were under the authority of a count or viscount, and proceeded to form guilds, with officers and a treasury of their own. This process was the beginning of their independence and of their later equality with the old citizens. The *bourgeois* secured the recognition of their own customary law, by means of *chartes de coutumes*, and were able to buy their immunity from many of the feudal taxes imposed upon agricultural pursuits. The settlements in the town precincts grew steadily in number, their sign of freedom being a high watchtower, or *beffroi*. All new-comers enjoyed the peace of the town and market. All the citizens took a mutual oath of peace and enclosed themselves by walls built at the common expense.

Now began their struggle for liberation from the supremacy of territorial owners, ecclesiastical or civil, and their efforts to secure their due share of the administrative and legal privileges belonging to the privileged old citizens. At the head of the town corporations was a council of *échevins*, a remnant of the Carolingian class of *scabini* (that is, doomsmen in the local court). The dignity of *échevin* was hereditary in certain old families. This council, with its elders and its presidents, decided questions of law, justice, and order, and defended the privileges of the town against bishops, abbots, and the counts of the feudal nobility. The new citizens, from the twelfth century onwards, proceeded to make their way into the town council, often by main force, and thus the old town corporations became communes of a more democratic, a freer, and less stereotyped character. They had their special privileges, which were, however, subject to alteration. They were known in northern France as *communes jurées*, or sworn communities. After shaking off the yoke of the *citoyens* they had a severe struggle to fight with the pecular and ecclesiastical powers. They succeeded, however, in buying their freedom from the territorial owners who were overwhelmed with debt by their own extravagance or by the expense of war; they were also able to secure the protection of the king, and thus to gain a confirmation of their communal rights through

charters. If they could not purchase freedom from the supremacy of the territorial lords, they fought for it with the help of the lower classes in the town or by themselves. These infant communes found their most bitter opponents in the ranks of the clergy, since they offered an asylum to many whose creed or morality had incurred the suspicion of the Church. A Paris synod of 1213 and several Popes declared strongly against the existence of these communes within ecclesiastical districts; bishops forbade at times the administration of the citizen oath to the clergy, or preached from their pulpits against these "pestilential communities."

None the less the astute statesmanship of the French kings recognised that the communes were useful and valuable allies against the nobility and the Church. Louis VII (1137–1180) readily granted charters to those towns which were not immediately subordinate to him, though his officials and financial administrators put the more pressure upon the communes which stood upon the royal demesne. Philip II Augustus kept a careful watch over the royal towns through his *baillis* and supervisors, but readily sold charters at a high price to the towns of his vassals. Louis IX continually found legal pretexts for interfering in the jurisdiction and administration of the towns. The number of cases which could only be brought before the Parlement for decision (*cas royaux*) was arbitrarily increased; the royal accountants carefully examined the financial administration of the towns, and severe penalties were imposed in cases of refusal or resistance. Philip the Fair made no attempt to limit the charters, but exhausted the prosperity of the towns by arbitrary extortion, since he required much money for his wars. Cruel punishment was inflicted upon such revolts as that of Carcassonne (August, 1305); the interference of his officials in the administrative powers of royal and of non-royal towns proved a serious obstacle to their development.

Thus during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the prospects of the communes were not particularly brilliant. The towns had no entire power of jurisdiction, for individual quarters, which had been founded upon ecclesiastical or feudal property, came under the jurisdiction of a bishop, a chapter, or a feudal lord. The natural result was a constant succession of quarrels and attempts to shake off these impediments. The new citizens also misused their power as the old had done, and refused to grant a share of the town administration to new settlers (*manants*). To these obstacles must be added the extortion of the crown officials. The confusion of the Hundred Years' War against England also injured the prosperity of the towns and forced them to procure the protection of the crown by surrendering their rights. These wounds, however, were largely healed by peace, the new impetus given to trade, the commercial connections secured by foreign treaties, and the reorganisation of the taxes when the horrors of war had been brought to a conclusion. Splendid town halls, churches, and private dwellings bear witness to the wealth of the towns after 1450. None the less, obstacles to communication and the difficulty of market trade remained as before. Business was hampered by the tolls levied along the rivers and roads; on the Loire, between Roanne and Nantes, seventy-two separate tolls had to be paid. No less complicated were the market dues, which had been framed with the special object of excluding foreign competition. The roads, moreover, were in the worst possible condition and infested with highwaymen and footpads.

Next to the statesmanlike policy of the kings, the strongest impulse to the prosperity of the towns was given by the crusades. Nobles who were starting for

the Holy Land sold properties and privileges to the towns that they might have ready money for their journey; moreover, the relations which thus connected France with the East, especially after the crusade of Louis IX, between 1248 and 1250, made the coast towns centres of Eastern trade. The passage of crusaders and pilgrims brought great wealth to Marseilles; and farseeing merchants seized the opportunity of settling in Syrian harbours and securing a kind of monopoly for the importation of spices, scents, fabrics, etc., from the East to the south and centre of France. The southern towns carried on a profitable trade in the products and manufactures of the East, and exported, with less advantage, their own fruits and manufactures to Syria, Egypt, and Constantinople. The fabrics of Narbonne, Perpignan, Toulouse, and other places competed successfully with Italian rivalry. The raw material was brought from Catalonia and the north coast of Africa. Cloth weaving also became a flourishing industry in north France, in Troyes, Rheims, Paris, Rouen, while linen weaving was practised in Burgundy, in the Franche-Comté, and in the neighbourhood of Avignon, and formed an important export to the East. Maritime trade chiefly centred in the Mediterranean ports. Upon the Atlantic, Bordeaux, Honfleur, and La Rochelle exported wine to England and Flanders, receiving wool in return. Of the market towns in the interior (p. 167) the most famous were Troyes and Beaucaire. At the two yearly markets of Troyes, Italians and Germans bought woven fabrics, leather, weapons, armour, metal work, horses, and other commodities. The commercial customs of this town were largely approved and imitated abroad.

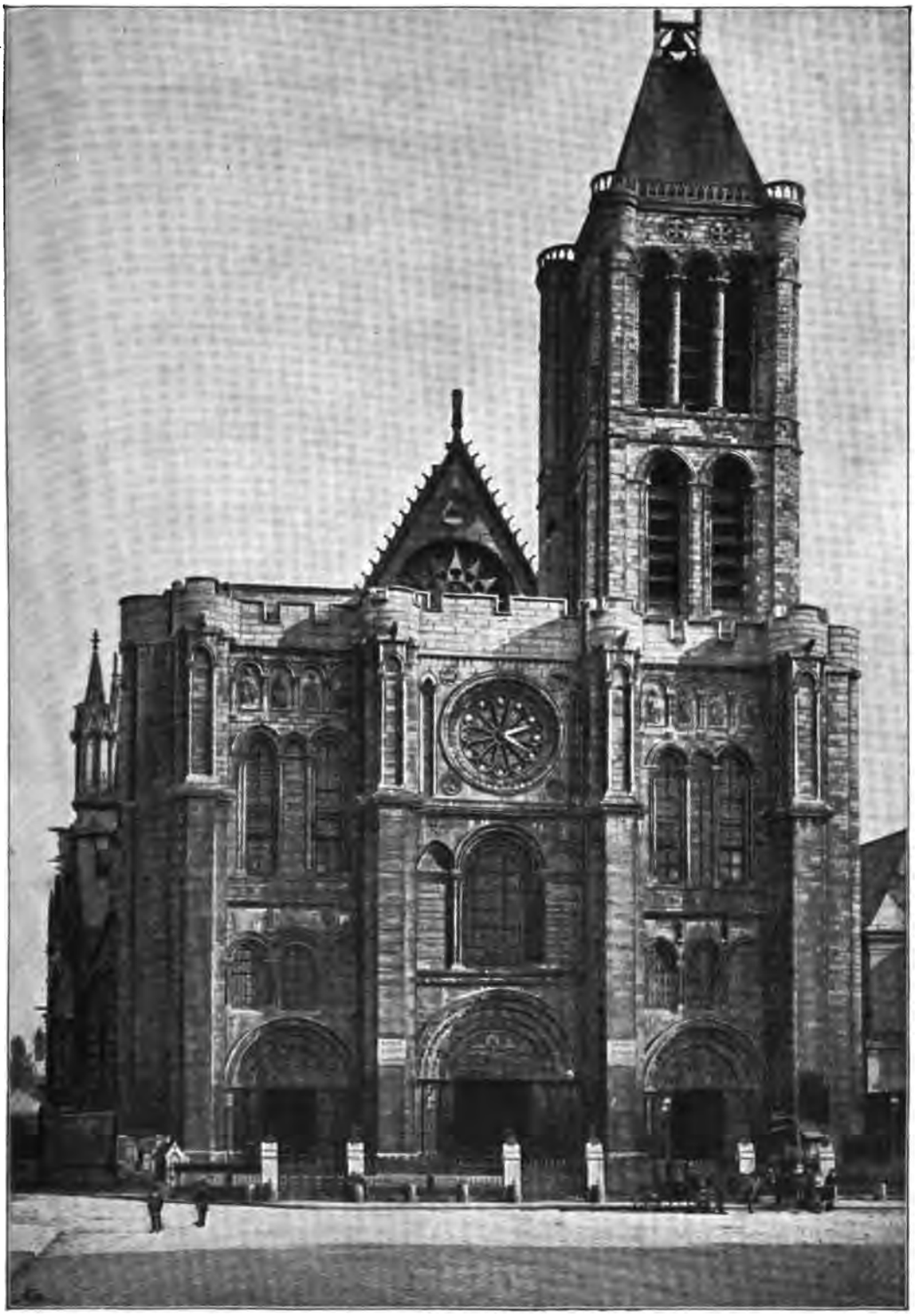
The most successful traders at that time were the Jews and the Lombards. The pious Louis IX issued an ordinance against their usurious practices in 1269; for he regarded the exaction of interest entirely sinful. These and other measures, however, produced no more effect than did the expulsions and prosecutions of the Jews, which were instigated not so much by the princes and the Church, who profited by the sums which the Jews paid to secure their protection, and required them in any case as money changers; these outbreaks were rather the expression of popular passion, inspired by envy and greed no less than by religious animosity.

Notwithstanding his strong ecclesiasticism, Louis IX did a great deal to further trade and communication. He arranged that in his demesnes the assessment of taxes, tolls, and coinage should be concluded only under the advice of deputies from the towns, that the administration of town property and the apportionment of communal taxes, especially of the *taille*, should be intrusted to a committee chosen from the citizens. In Paris he caused the *Prevôt* of the merchants, Êtienne Boileau, to reduce the principles and customs of the several trades to writing, in a work entitled the "Livre des Métiers." He also threw open the towns to those manumitted serfs who might wish to enter, and followed the example of his grandfather in his measures to promote trade. The latter had conferred important privileges upon the presidents and *échevins* of the guilds in Paris, giving them rights of jurisdiction in trade disputes; he had relieved Orléans and other crown towns from oppressive taxation, and had conferred privileges upon smaller communes.

The position of the towns within the body politic varied greatly. Royal "communes" were self-governing, imposed their own taxes, and possessed *la basse justice*. In token of these privileges they were allowed a corporate seal; they were obliged, however, to provide military contingents and to pay taxes to the crown.

The *villes de bourgeoisie* were in a less favourable position, possessing neither jurisdiction nor self-government. They too were for the most part subject to the king as their territorial and feudal lord. The *villes neuves* were dependent upon prelates or the greater nobles, and were merely market towns, with a right of refuge which attracted malcontents and those who feared the vengeance of the Church. The administration of the towns was in the hands of the communal council. In the south administration was exercised by a board of "consuls." The communal council was composed of *échevins* or *pairs, jurats, syndics,* or *capitouls.* In some cases these were assisted by a committee of citizens, nearly corresponding to a modern town council. The numbers of this committee varied. In Marseilles it amounted to eighty-nine, in Bordeaux to three hundred, and they were known as *défenseurs.* Individual towns were administered by a chosen citizen, the *maître.* Most of the towns held the right, conferred upon them by the king, of levying the *octroi* duty (from *octroyer,* to guarantee) upon certain goods carried into or through the town; thus ten per cent was levied upon wine.

(c) *The Capital, the Court, and the Nobility.* — For a time the representatives of the towns had no share in the administration of the state. It was not until 1302 that they were summoned by Philip the Fair to the States General, as he then required their presence for the imposition of fresh customs and taxes; in 1308 two hundred and seventy towns were thus represented. As the kingdom became a unified state, so did Paris become the recognised capital. Hitherto the dingy town of Lutetia had been surpassed by other larger towns, in trade, in public institutions, in the beauty of its buildings, and the wealth and number of its inhabitants. The Capets were the first to give the capital an appearance worthy of it. Philip II Augustus lighted the streets and paved the centre of them, surrounded the town with a wide circle of walls and towers, and built market halls surrounded by walls. He removed his court from the oldest and unhealthiest part, the Île de la Cité, to the right bank of the river, and from the island castle to the Louvre. Louis IX decorated Paris with splendid buildings devoted to the service of God and Christian charity. He built the Sainte Chapelle in the early Gothic style, as a shrine to receive the crown of thorns, which was sent to him from Constantinople by the emperor Balduin II in exchange for eleven thousand pounds of silver (£50,000) (Vol. V, p. 345). Here, during Holy Week, he showed the relic to the people, acting as a priest. Henceforward Paris became the centre of noble society, of festivals, shows, and tournaments; travelling merchants, mountebanks and tumblers were naturally attracted. The inhabitants numbered two hundred thousand at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and steadily increased, while the prosperity of the citizens was improved by the number of foreigners, and especially by the university students, who entered the town. The king and people vied in their effort to make the town an attractive resort for these thousands of scholars. Among other privileges they were granted the right of giving place upon the pavement to no one except the *Prevôt des Marchands.* Upon one occasion they caused an uproar, asserting that the wine in the suburban inns was undrinkable and that the town authorities had imprisoned several of their ringleaders, whereupon the king ordered the liberation of the captives and the provision of better wine. The abbey of St. Denis, in which was preserved the Oriflamme, the war banner of red cloth with green silk tassels, fastened on a golden lance, was made a royal burial-



FRONT OF THE ABBEY CHURCH OF SAINT DENIS, THE BURIAL PLACE OF THE FRENCH KINGS, REBUILT IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

(From a photograph)

place by Louis IX, and here were laid all his predecessors from Dagobert I.[1] The Abbot Suger (1081–1155), who advised Louis VI with equal talent upon matters of art, science, and government, had already decorated this early specimen of Gothic architecture with paintings on glass, depicting the exploits of the crusaders, and to these were afterwards added paintings of the life and deeds of Louis IX.

The kings no longer changed their capitals as they had done during the age of agricultural economy, and Paris became their permanent residence. Here they were surrounded by a band of high court officials. There were five chief officials, the Sénéchal, the Chancelier, the Boutellier, the Connétable, and the Chambrier. These offices were held as fiefs by the high nobility, and were practically hereditary; the object of the kings was to place them as far as possible in commission by intrusting their responsibilities to ecclesiastical or secular nominees, who were thus dependent only upon themselves. In this way, as under Charles the Great, was formed a professional class of court officials, in which the first place belonged to the lawyers and the jurists (p. 181), known as *chevaliers ès lois*, knights of the law, to distinguish them from knights of noble blood. Of the high feudal offices there remained only those of Connétable, the commander of the army, the Chambrier, and Boutellier. The number of the chancery officials, the *clercs* and *gardes des sceaux* (notaries and seal keepers), increased, as did that of the lawyers and parliamentary officials. A special room, the *salle des pas perdus*, was assigned in the law courts to these attorneys as their meeting room. The *clercs* and the *huissiers* gradually became a close corporation, *La Basoche*. Certain committees of the Parlement were regularly sent into the provinces to hold assizes at Troyes, Rouen, and other places.

The growth of this bureaucracy, which was due in chief to Philip IV the Fair (1285–1314), naturally had its bad side, which was marked by an increased taxation and a conjoined attempt to secure money in any manner. The king was ready to sell letters of freedom to serfs; for a piece of land conferred upon them which could be sown with 1 septier of corn (= 33 gallons, also known as *setier de terre*) a payment was made of 12 deniers or 1 sou. The king also took refuge in such devices as the debasing of the coinage (1306–1311), the sale of offices, and the plundering of the Jews and Lombard money-lenders. The debasing of the coinage reduced the value of a *livre tournois*[2] from 20 francs to about 6, while the *livre Parisien* was still further reduced. It should be stated that these livres contained 20 sols or sous, and a sou 12 *deniers*. The coins in greatest currency were known as the *agnel* (which was 12½ sols), the *sol tournois*, the *gros*, the *obole* (which was 1½ gros), the *maille blanche* (a third of a *gros*), and the *denier*. When these financial operations proved inadequate, Philip the Fair, with the consent of the States General, that is, of the noble, ecclesiastical, and citizen deputies, imposed fresh taxation in addition to the *impôt foncier* (p. 182); these were taxes upon goods of three per cent, the *maltôte*, the army tax or *aide de l'ost*, and numerous feudal aids. He also exacted forced loans from towns and church properties.

The great vassals made constant attempts to reduce the royal power to its former position of nonentity. The opportunities they required recurred upon every accession to the crown, especially upon that of a minor. The barons revolted

[1] See the plate facing this page, "Front of the Abbey Church of St. Denis, restored in the Twelfth Century."

[2] A pound of Tours; see the figure 3 among the coins on the plate facing page 68, of Vol. VII.

against Louis VI when their plan of a new royal election was anticipated by a hasty coronation at Rheims; they had desired to set upon the throne a prince born of the marriage of Philip I with Bertha of Holland, which the Church did not recognise, as she had been divorced in 1087. The rebels found an ally in Henry I of England, who invaded Normandy. Supported by the capacity and insight of Abbot Suger, Louis gained the upper hand of his opponents and secured the subjection even of the marauding knights, who refused to obey the decision of the royal court. Louis' relative,[1] Pope Calixtus II (p. 99), excommunicated the emperor Henry V from Rheims, and then secured a reconciliation with England. More serious was the revolt of the vassals against Louis IX, in his minority, and his mother the queen-regent Blanche of Castile (died 1252). The rebels attempted to capture the thirteen-year-old prince at Montlhéry; he, however, was saved by the faithful citizens of Paris, who ran together at the sound of the alarm bells. The unity of the nobles was then broken by the fact that Count Thibaut IV of Champagne (cf. below, p. 191) espoused the cause of his beloved queen and bravely defended her against the rebels. In 1241 a fresh revolt broke out under the leadership of Hugo of Lusignan, the count of La Marche. Louis found an ally in Raimon VII of Toulouse and King Henry III of England. Louis, however, drove the Plantagenet, who then held almost the whole of western France as a fief, to take flight to Bordeaux, captured part of the count's territory, and concluded the war in 1243, by a truce for five and a half years; at the same time he forced those barons who were in feudal relations with England and the French crown to renounce one or other of these incompatible allegiances. The majority left their foreign feudal lord, who was also a vassal of the French king. The ambitious designs of the feudatories revived upon the death of Philip the Fair in 1314, when his feeble and pleasure-loving son, Louis X, ascended the throne. He was obliged to limit the privileges of the king's high court of justice, to guarantee the old privileges of the nobles, and to exclude the intendant of finance, Enguerrand of Marigny, his father's faithful adviser (p. 214). The decline of the royal power during the Hundred Years' War with England and its restoration by Charles VII and Louis XI lie outside the limit of our narrative (cf. on this point Vol. VII).

5. FRENCH SOCIETY FROM THE ELEVENTH TO THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

TOGETHER with the spirit of feudalism and the growth of corporations, the French body politic, as above described, displayed the characteristics of a modern bureaucracy and was marked by a certain uniformity. A wholly different factor meets us when we consider social life and its expression in art and poetry. Here we are immediately confronted by a line of demarcation dividing the country into halves, separated by language, society, and politics; these are the north, which

[1] Hugo the Great, † 956

Hugo Capet, † 996 — Henry of Burgundy, † 1001

Louis VI, † 1137 — Guido, Pope Calixtus II (1119–1124)

was essentially Teutonic, and the south, which was essentially Romance, the linguistic areas of the *langue d'oil* and the *langue d'oc*, north and south of the Loire. We also meet with a number of strictly exclusive classes, the ecclesiastical, the high nobility, the knights developed from the smaller nobility, the citizens, and the *menu peuple*.

A. Ecclesiastical Life

The princes of the house of Hugo Capet had been constantly obliged to defend their rights against the Church and the papacy, and in their struggles enjoyed the general support of the national clergy; but science and literature, exactly at the point where the influence of the crown was most immediate, display an inward unity of ecclesiastical belief and of intellectual power and a close adherence of the clergy to the doctrines and uses of the Church. It is true that the theology and philosophy of the hierarchy of northern France display freer thought and the power of independent judgment. Berengar of Tours (died 1088) opposed the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation. His contemporary Lanfranc, a Lombard by birth, had been the leader of a dogmatic school in Normandy since 1042, and had been made Archbishop of Canterbury by William the Conqueror in 1070 (died 1089); Berengar attempted to replace the supernaturalism theology by a more philosophical system. Within the limits of scholasticism Peter Abelard was a distinguished figure, and is better known for his tragical connection with his pupil Heloise than for his "Introduction to Theology," which was condemned by the synod of Soissons in 1121; his views brought him into violent conflict in 1140 with Pope Innocent II (died 1142) and with that zealous defender of the faith, Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153).

The power of the Church over human thought was shown by a number of new monastic foundations. Benedictine foundations had been scattered broadcast over France during the sixth century; to these were added in 1098 Cistercians in the forest monastery of Cîteaux in the Côte d'Or; at the outset they renounced the pleasures of the world and lived only in mystical communion with God, though they also deserve credit for the impulse they gave to gardening and vine cultivation. Under the above-mentioned Abbot Bernard the order rose with such rapidity that its centre was transferred in 1115 from Cîteaux to the new foundation of Clairvaux on the Aube; on Bernard's death the order embraced one hundred and sixty monasteries. The struggle against earthly and sinful desires, the ideals of self-renunciation and purification, were also pursued by the Carthusians (of La Chartreuse), founded in 1084, by St. Bruno of Köln, at Grenoble in southern France; their rule imposed silence, the wearing of a hair shirt, total abstinence from wine, and advised the pursuit of science. The same principles actuated the more distinguished Premonstratensian foundation, whose first monastery was situated in the wooded meadows of Prémontré near Laon (1119). These three orders, which were native to France, were eventually outstripped in importance and dimensions by the Dominicans and Franciscans, who came in from Spain and Italy, and whose organisation belongs to the second decade of the thirteenth century. The Dominicans occupied themselves with the task of higher education (p. 181), with the management of the Inquisition, which was especially active in southern France, and with the extirpation of the Albigenses and Waldenses; the Francis-

cans gained a great hold on the lower classes as preachers and confessors. The Inquisition was a tool which served both the ecclesiastical and the political unity of France; under the excuse of protecting the purity of the faith, powerful opponents or rivals of the royal power were occasionally exterminated, such as the counts of Toulouse (1207–1229) and the Knights Templars (1307–1313).

B. Provençal Court Poetry

Northern France presented a more exclusive front to the outer world than southern, where great harbours were connected by trade with the west, and where great and populous sea towns were centres of the world's commerce; hence the effects of the crusades were far stronger in the south than in the north. The knightly class then became the exponent of poetry and deprived the clergy of some portion of their influence upon the intellectual development of the nobles; the crusading movement also gave them a tendency to idealism, a burning enthusiasm for bold deeds, a devouring ambition, and a stainless sense of honour. On the other hand, this movement gave an impulse to the taste for outward show, for adventurous enterprise, for purposeless attempts to gain reputation, and for the trifling game of love. At the same time they disseminated the seeds of those heresies which were equally dangerous to the Church and to society; these were introduced from the east Roman Empire by sectaries (the Bogumiles and Cathari; cf. Vol. V, p. 337), whose degeneracy and indiscretion led to extravagances which permeated the whole of southern France. In France, as elsewhere, knights were originally drawn from the ranks of the lower nobility, who possessed no property, and were in the service of some ecclesiastical or secular noble; for pecuniary reward they passed from the service of one lord to another, and were occasionally occupied with highway robbery and plunder. But among the more highly educated and talented of this class there were men who combined the professions of singer and poet, who passed from castle to castle, sang the praises of their host and the honour of his ladies in their remote and desolate fortress, receiving in return presents of money and festival entertainment. These harmless parasites of society were known as *jongleurs* (Provençal, *joglar*), and were at the same time performers on musical instruments, wandering singers, and begging poets. A change took place after the crusades, when great lords and even kings devoted themselves to the service of love and song, entered into rivalry for the laurels of the knight and poet, fought in tournaments, and settled personal quarrels according to the customs of knighthood. Hence developed in southern France the numerous and highly gifted class of the troubadours (inventor or poet), and in the north the less numerous *trovères*. The *jongleurs* became mere singers and accompanists, who followed their distinguished poetical patrons upon their journeys of love and song, to perform their compositions or to accompany them upon the harp, zither, or viola.

The first important troubadour was the adventurous count William IX of Poitiers (died 1127); his disgust with the stiffness and affectation of court life finds scornful, bitter, and at times wearied expression in his poems. The most famous of his followers was Bertran de Born (died about 1215 in a monastery), one of the most political of the troubadours, and the author of many

TROUBADOURS

1. *Bernard of Ventadour*, born of servitors in the castle of the Viscount Ebles II of Ventadour (département of Corrèze); at first in the service of Ebles III, then at the court of Eleanor of Normandy, the wife of Henry Plantagenet of Anjou, whom he followed to England in 1154; ultimately at the court of Count Raimon V of Toulouse, upon whose death (1194) he retired to the Cistercian monastery of Dalon, where he died a monk.
2. *Jaufre Rudel*, Prince of Blaye of the house of Angoulême.
3 and 4. *Perdigon*, joglar (jongleur) and knight in the service of the Dauphin of Auvergne.
5. *Marcabru*, a foundling of Gascony and pupil of Cercamons, contemporary with the Second Crusade, killed by the Castellans of Iguian (Eyguians, département Hautes-Alpes ?).
6. *The Monk of Montaudon*, son of a noble family of Vic, near Aurillac in Auvergne; monk in Aurillac, then prior of Montaudon and itinerant singer; died as prior of Villefranche de Conflent (at the outset of the thirteenth century).
7. *Pons of Chapteuil*, fell in the Third Crusade (?).
8. *Albertet*, son of a joglar from the neighbourhood of Gap.

(After Suchier and Birch-Hirschfeld, "Geschichte der französischen Litteratur.")

London: Wm Heinemann. Printed by the Bibliographisches Institut, Leipzig. *New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.*

TROUBADOURS.

(From MSS. of the end of the 13th Century (No. 6 of the 14th Century) in the National Library, Paris.)

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sirventes (northern French *serventois*, Italian *serventese*), satirical songs or lampoons intended to serve a cause which the author considered just. This singer, who belonged to a noble family (Autafort, near Périgueux), turned his high gifts and personal charm to ill account by stimulating the princes Henry and Richard Lionheart to revolt against their father Henry II of England, thus evoking a series of cruel wars throughout the French soil from the Garonne to the mouth of the Seine, which district included those fiefs then possessed by the English king in France. Dante in his "Divina Commedia" places Bertran as the author of civil strife in the pit of hell, where he finds himself in distinguished company with other poets. Bertran was not merely the trumpet-toned singer of military themes, he was also a sympathetic and tender composer of love songs, and he throws the chief responsibility for the wickedness of the times upon the clergy. The anti-clericalism of the *sirventes* is still more obvious in the case of Guilhem Figueira, a poet of low birth. The highest point of the southern French lyric poetry is represented by men who are for the most part of unblemished reputation; it lasted about one hundred years, and the principal figures are such men as Bernart of Vendadour (died about 1200; see figure 1 on plate facing this page, "The Troubadours"), a protégé of the count of Poitiers, Arnaut Daniel, whose fame was sung by Dante and Petrarch, and Guiraut de Bornelh (died about 1220; "the master of the troubadours"). This age, short as it was, produced a many-sided lyric poetry of love and shepherd songs (*chansons, tensons, pastorales*), of elaborate canzoni with effective refrains, with careful and over-elaborate rhythms and rhymes; it also exercised a permanent influence upon the German minnesingers and upon the poetry of Dante.

In the second half of the thirteenth century the knightly class began to degenerate into rudeness of manner and cupidity. The tournament became a brawl and love poetry an unnatural, unmeaning, and often immoral word-play. The Albigensian wars (1208–1229) deprived the nobility of southern France of their political power and of their great wealth, and therefore made their patronage and their presents to singers and poets a thing of the past. The crusades, commanded by papal legates, ended in the cruelest extermination and persecution of the Waldenses and their chief patrons among the nobles and princes, stifled all freedom of life and thought, put an end to the delights of society and to the enthusiasm for art. Southern France had formerly been a centre of intellectual life, ready to receive all new discoveries, whether they came from the east or from Spain and Italy; it now became an isolated desert, broken only by passionate denunciations of heresy.

C. Northern French Chivalry

The lyric poetry of northern France is far inferior to that of the south; on the other hand, the epic poetry of the south cannot be compared with the productions of the half-Teutonic northern France. Hence lyric poetry to the north of the Loire is, in form and content, merely a feeble echo of the south, and its representatives, the *trovères* and *ministrales*, are but feeble imitators of the poets and singers of the south. The only important figure is Count Thibaut of Champagne (1201 to 1253; p. 188), who was king of Navarre from 1234; he gained reputation as a poet of love songs, religious songs, and hymns to the Virgin, though in his case elaboration of form replaced the vital spark of genius. The character of the

northern Frenchman was rather matter of fact than fantastic or emotional, and inclined more to the free and occasionally immoral *fabliau* than to the chivalrous poem of love.

None the less the north retained a strong and capable nucleus of chivalry, and was preserved from southern degeneration until the fourteenth century. The education and training of the knight was ostensibly founded upon that of the monk; in fact, the age of the crusades had united the ideals of the knightly and ecclesiastical career in the persons of ecclesiastical orders of knights. The young noble who was intended for a knight was sent at an early age to his lord's castle, even as the novice was educated from childhood within the walls of the monastery and prepared for the future duties of his order. Until his fourteenth year he stood midway between the servants and companions of the household. He waited at table, went messages for his master, accompanied him when hunting or travelling, and performed duties also for his mistress. He then became a squire and his master's armour bearer, practised riding, the use of arms, and all knightly pursuits. He received the accolade in his twenty-first year with the observance of certain religious formalities. The previous night (*la veille*) was spent by the squire in the chapel in prayer; in the morning he took the bath of purification, and after several hours' rest was clothed in red and white garments. The time of rest was to symbolise his future state of rest in Paradise, the white garment his moral purity, and the red, the battles in which he would have to shed his blood. From the priest's hands he received the knight's sword on his knees before the altar and made his vows. He then received from some distinguished noble, in the presence of witnesses, the blow on the shoulder or neck which dubbed him knight.

The religious character even of this secular chivalry was expressed in the struggles for Christianity against the heathen (for as such the adherents of Mohammed were reckoned by the Church of the time), and in the protection of widows and orphans, of the oppressed and defenceless; at the same time ideal theories of honour and love were constantly disturbed by entirely secular thoughts. The conception of honour appears rather as the honour of a class or profession than that of a person. A knight who had been guilty of base dealing or common offence, or had shown himself cowardly in battle, was expelled, publicly denounced by a herald, and cursed by the Church, his coat of arms and his weapons were broken by the executioner, his shield was bound to the tail of his horse and shattered by the animal in its career. During the better period of the chivalrous movement the robbery of merchants and of monasteries was naturally avoided, as was any infringement upon the property of others. Practice in the use of arms could be gained not only in campaigns and feuds, but also in tournaments, the organisation of which was the result of the crusades. These took place in the presence of ladies, who gave their praises to the victors and whose colours were worn by the knights, so that the whole proceeding was connected with courtly life. In the French tournaments thousands often fought; men were killed and wounded, though the laws of the tournament insisted that only blunted weapons should be used, and that the struggle should end when the opponent had been thrown from his horse. The need for some sign by which knights could distinguish one another, as their lowered visors made recognition impossible, led to the use of coats of arms, which were hereditary in a family; these were some outward sign upon the helmet, the shield, and the surcoat, consisting either of an animal or some other device.

The knight did not trouble himself greatly with learning. He occasionally knew some foreign languages and was almost always a clever player on the zither. Reading and writing were unknown accomplishments to him; hence the troubadours were obliged to dictate their poems to others, and from this word "dictate" (*dictare*) the German *dichten*, to compose poetry, has arisen. This lack of education, as is invariably the case, led to a disregard of the refinements of life and produced an inclination to drunkenness and gambling, to cruelty towards subordinates and prisoners and even towards wife and children. The castles were usually restricted in space, as they were thus more defensible; the main room was the knight's hall, and here the lords lived, especially in winter, in great lack of occupation, cut off from all refining influences. They ate without knives or forks, with fingers or wooden spoons, sat upon benches or stools, and had little or no light when darkness came; in cold weather the heating of the rooms was generally defective. Instead of windows they had openings in the walls, which, in bad weather or for protection against the cold, were closed with shutters. The education of the knights was but scanty, better provision in this respect being made for their wives and daughters. Ladies of good birth were often able to read and write, and sometimes even knew Latin or some other foreign tongue; they were clever at needle-work, cooking, and the preparation of medicine, and were distinguished especially by courtly manners and refined modesty. Food and clothing in knightly families, apart from festival occasions or drinking bouts (from which women were excluded), were very simple, as their supplies depended upon the chase, the fish pond, the vegetable garden, the produce sent in by the serfs, or the small beer brewed in the castle brewery; foreign wines only appear after the crusades. Clothing for the most part was home-made also.

The service of ladies, peculiar to chivalry, bore within itself the germ of degeneration in so far as it was carried on not only by unmarried but by married knights, and invariably devoted to some married woman, for whom adventures were undergone, tournaments fought, sometimes for a fair one who was entirely unknown or purely imaginary. The result was an unnatural and affected subtlety, which destroyed a movement contributing largely at the outset to the development of courtly manners and culture.

Chivalry, like the feudal system in general, was wholly incompatible with the conception of a uniform state as planned by the Capets. Instead of devoting their strength and their forces to their king and country, adventurous knights went fighting throughout the world, in Spain or in the East, against the "heathen," in the civil wars of England, or in Italy or Sicily, whither they were attracted by the possibility of gaining lands and money; here Charles of Anjou, the chivalrous brother of Louis IX, won Naples and Sicily from the declining family of the Hohenstauffen (p. 112). Hence it was fortunate for France that this restless and adventurous class was destroyed by internal disruption and degeneration, and became robber knights, lost life and property in the crusades, or perished on foreign soil before the invention of gunpowder, when the consequent change of military tactics entirely put an end to their existence.

D. The Chivalrous Epic

The guidance of French literature now passed from the hands of the clergy to the knights, first in poetry and afterwards in history. The earlier poems of northern France are of a narrative and legendary character, and deal principally with Christ and his apostles, the Virgin Mary, the saints and martyrs of the Church, remarkable conversions, and lives of an edifying character. With the beginning of the crusades the subject-matter is extended, and no longer confined to the immediate environment of the writer; the scene of action is often laid in the East. It is not until the age of the crusades that the chivalrous epic begins its career.

The personality of Charlemagne, which had now become fabulous, was first brought into local connection with the East as a result of the disagreeable reception accorded to the first crusaders by the Byzantine Greeks and their emperor Alexius (Vol. V, p. 91); this connection appears in the Alexandrian poem "Comment Charles de France vint en Jérusalem" ("Chanson du pélerinage (voyage) de Charlemagne à Jérusalem et à Constantinople"). Charles is said to have started under the influence of his wife's pride to measure his power with Hugo of Constantinople, a king who is supposed to have been more powerful. (The poet considers that only one Eastern emperor existed.) He makes a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, where God does miracles for him and gives him the chief relics of the Passion, which he caused to be preserved in St. Denis. In Constantinople he sees that Hugo is inferior to himself; his companions mock at the Byzantine and his Greeks, but are preserved by Divine Providence from the misfortunes which they had deserved. Here we have clearly a crusader's conception of his own fortunes.

The influence of crusading ideas is also obvious in the description of the great emperor, ascribed to Archbishop Turpin of Rheims (died about 800), and really composed at the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century; this was the "Historia de vita Caroli magni et Rolandi ejus nepotis," which dealt with his struggles with the unbelievers in Spain, the heroic death of Roland, the warden of the Breton March, in the valley of Roncesvalles, and the treachery of Ganelon; the latter subject is also treated in the Latin poem concerning the treachery of Ganelon ("Carmen de proditione Ganelonis"). The figure of Charles is sometimes modelled on that of Christ, and his twelve paladins correspond to the twelve disciples; he also appears as an idealised crusader. The model for Ganelon's character seems to have been the treacherous and voluble Greek, who, in the opinion of the crusaders betrayed by him, was in secret connection with the infidels. This chronicle was soon translated into the dialect of the Isle de France, which from the twelfth century onwards became a more uniform literary language. The subject of this somewhat poetical cycle was reduced to writing in its earliest form about 1090 as the "Chanson de Geste de Roland." It was an amalgamation of older poems, perhaps fragments from Charles' lost collection of epics (p. 166), and was edited in its present form about 1170 by the minstrel Turold; the hero resembles rather the Teutonic warrior than the crusader inspired by religious ideals. In comparison with Roland, the emperor Charles is a somewhat feeble figure, and is depicted rather as a querulous old man than as the bold and energetic restorer of the empire. The character drawing is elementary, and produced by the simplest means and often by nothing more than the conventional adjective. The lights and

shadows are distributed unequally. On the one side we see subtlety and cunning, on the other, invincible heroism and supernatural power, friendship and fidelity to death and heartrending grief, inspired by the warmest patriotism for the death of so many nobles. The poem arose within the area of the Norman dialect, and was intended to celebrate the praises of the Breton race, to which the historical Roland belongs. A number of other narratives from the Carolingian cycle describe the battles of Charles with his disobedient vassals, apparently modelled upon that war of suppression which the Capets waged against the feudal nobility of the twelfth century. As the poets belong to the retinues of the great lords who were conquered, they are invariably found in sympathy with the losing side.

About the middle of the twelfth century a fresh body of material for French epic poetry was provided from England and Brittany. In the sixth century the Britons had retreated from modern Britain before the Anglo-Saxons and brought with them their legends of King Arthur and the heroes of the round table; these stories had also been disseminated by Geoffrey of Monmouth (Galfridus Monmutensis; died 1154), who was for some time in French service, in his "Historia Brittaniæ," or "Historia Britonum," composed before 1135. In the "Roman de Brut" of Robert Wace, Arthur, like the legendary Charlemagne, is represented as the chief of twelve peers, and as accomplishing marvellous exploits with these bold knights. The religious element was introduced into this cycle by the amalgamation of the Arthur traditions with the legend of the Holy Grail (the cup containing the Blood of Christ). The best known of these Grail epics is the Perceval of Chrestien de Troyes, a poet acquainted with Latin authors and especially with Ovid; his works were composed at the courts of Champagne and Flanders between 1155 and 1188. In this epic is shown the picture of a knight inspired by religious enthusiasm and moral purity without fear or reproach, which is expressed in a series of adventures, and at times in exquisite form; the same poet in his "Chevalier de la Charette" (Lancelot) and in his "Tristan," which is now lost, depicts two knights of mere human character, who are made traitors or weaklings by the seductions of love. The remarkable versatility of this epic poet appears in another form in the love epic of "Erec and Enite" and the "Chevalier au Lion" (Yvain). Love is here a source of true heroism and chivalrous spirit. Chrestien thus displays a series of knightly crusades in their most different forms, especially as affected by the service of love, which may bring either destruction or blessing. Two German epic poets entered into the labours of Chrestien, Hartmann von Aue, the author of "Erec" about 1190 and of "Iwein" about 1200, and Gottfried of Strasburg, the author of "Tristan" and "Isolde" about 1210. Wolfram von Eschenbach in his "Parzival" shortly after 1200 uses the material which appears in Chrestien's poem of the same name, and follows his model very closely. Connected with the Grail legends is also the Lorraine poem of the swan-rider Lohengrin (Garin le Lorrain). Like the old Carolingian, Breton, and Lorraine legends, the history of antiquity, the Trojan war, the deeds of Alexander the Great, etc., were also so treated as to transform the Greek heroes into mediæval knights and crusaders.

E. The Bourgeois Literature

The rising citizen class was bound to express its thoughts in literature no less than the knightly class. This was done in the *Fabliaux* (p. 192), which originated in the East, but were modelled on the daily life of the citizen as it was at that time. Their satire is directed against the upper classes or the cultured clergy and physicians, but also depicts the gloomier side of citizen life, the narrow-mindedness, drunkenness, and jealousy of the men, the infidelity and falsehood of the women. The needs of the middle class upon the stage were satisfied by such productions as the two musical plays of Adam de la Halle (about 1235 to 1287), while mystery and miracle plays taken from the Bible and the legends of the saints attracted the whole of the people to the Church. There were at the same time allegorical pieces or "moralities," also based upon the teaching of Christian morality. The ironical mockery of the lower classes at the court and the clergy is expressed in the thirteenth century by the "Roman du Renart," with its later continuations, which was composed in the Netherlands upon northern French models. The fox is here a satire upon the intriguing courtier who insinuates himself within the despotic government of the king of beasts, the lion, and brings ruin upon defenceless or honourable people. The monks are his accomplices, and he shows a hypocritical submission to the Popes and the Church.

The animosity which was cherished against the feudal system and the mediæval Church with its miracles, pilgrimages, crusading sermons, and ritual, and also that against the laity with their different classes and representatives, appears in the "bibles" of Guyot de Provins and Hugues de Berze; these are encyclopædic narratives, in metrical form, of some thirty-four thousand lines. They originated at the beginning of the thirteenth century; men of every class co-operated in their production, laity and clergy alike, and their composition, like their general tendency, thus far resembles the encyclopædias of Diderot and D'Alembert. A compendium of the thought and knowledge of this scholastic age, with a criticism of church, religion, and morality, may be found in the allegorical, stilted, and wearisome "Roman de la Rose," which was composed and continued by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun(g), who lived in the thirteenth century. The sleeping poet attempts in a dream to pluck a rose from the hedge of love. Obstacles and annoyances of every kind try to defeat his object and to drive him from his purpose. Only when his guardian spirit, Belaccueil, has freed him from the prison in which Jalousie has confined him can he pluck the rose. The subject-matter of this *roman* was turned to account by Molière; the truly French flavour of the satire consoles the reader for its weary scholasticism and the dryness of the allegorical treatment. One of the most charming productions of early French narrative art is the novel "Aucassin et Nicolete."

Thus we see that the poetical literature of north France, which attained its highest point rather in the twelfth than the thirteenth century, gives a many-sided and yet a true picture of the general and varied society of the time. Knights and citizens, clergy and laity, the king and his vassals, upstarts from the middle class, are there represented, while the *menu peuple*, who were still suffering under oppression, peep cautiously into the story. This poetry reflects with a special clearness the transition from the age of the crusades, which began with the triumphs of the

Church in religious belief, but ended with the undermining of both by the influence of foreign religions and philosophies. Perceval marks the height of Catholicism, the earnest belief of undoubting devotees; the bible of Guyot is not only inspired by the heresy of the Waldenses, but is also the expression of that destructive worldly wisdom which Voltaire was to represent five centuries later.

After centuries of torpidity, the writing of history was revived by the general shock of the crusading movement. Great changes in French history have invariably introduced new departures in historical writing. Gregory of Tours was inspired by the foundation of the Frankish state under Chlodwig; the authors of the Frankish annals by the greatness of Charlemagne. When his empire broke up, historical writing decayed; the chronicle of Regino at the outset of the tenth century was the last attempt for the moment to produce a universal history from the beginning of the world. In the Eastern, as in the Western empire, local history takes the place of imperial history. The disruption prevailing in France during the tenth and eleventh centuries held out no inducement to the historian. It was not until later that Philip Augustus and his grandson Louis IX found important historians of their deeds in Rigord (died about 1209) and William of Nangis (died about 1300), but the historical revival is closely connected with the crusades. Among the French historians of that age the archbishop William of Tyre (died about 1190) is distinguished by the fact that he was an immediate eye-witness of part of the events he described; at the same time he was superstitious, uncritical, and impatient. With the thirteenth century the description of the crusades passes into the hands of the crusaders themselves, the knights. In place of the Latin chronicles of the monks come French histories inspired with the chivalrous spirit. Godfrey of Villehardouin (1160–1213) describes with dramatic power and ruthless regard for truth that fourth crusade which placed the Byzantine Empire for some decades in the hands of the northern French count Baldwin of Flanders and his successors (cf. Vol. V, p. 103). John of Joinville (1224 to 1313) describes in a straightforward, faithful, and religious narrative the personality and deeds of St. Louis. Historical writing had thus emancipated itself from clerical control and had assumed a national character. On the other hand, philology and philosophy, with painting, architecture, and music among the arts, remained for the moment entirely or principally in the hands of ecclesiastics.

6. THE DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY OF THE CAPETS

THE first three successors of Hugh Capet, Robert II (996–1031), Henry I (1031–1060), and Philip I (1060–1108), are distinguished only for their lack of importance, while their governments are marked by no great events. All three were involved in constant struggles with the Norman dukes, until these latter found room in England to develop their ambitions and their pride. Philip I, who was distinguished only for his bodily size, came into conflict with the papacy through his divorce of his legal wife, and is therefore an object of special animosity to the ecclesiastical chroniclers.

A. The Dynastic Policy of the Capet Kings

The first king of the house of Capet of importance in the general history of the world was Louis VI (1108–1137); he was a capable ruler and a prudent politician, guided, moreover, with great skill by his chancellor the Abbot Suger of St. Denis (p. 187). The policy of Louis was directed to extending the power of his dynasty as far as possible at the expense of his vassals. He availed himself of their revolts (p. 188) to confiscate as many as possible of their estates. This fate overtook in particular certain marauding knights on his own demesnes of the Isle de France, who had been plundering church property. Louis in consequence received the title of "eldest son of the Church." He came into close contact with Pope Calixtus II, whom he supported against the emperor Henry V (p. 98), and was afterwards immortalised in the legendary chronicles of the clergy as a miracle worker who relieved sufferers from leprosy, etc., by laying his hand upon them. Like every other king who desired to secure his own position and that of his country, he occasionally quarrelled with his own clergy and with those of Rome, but these differences invariably ended in reconciliation. In his dealings with foreign countries, for instance, in the quarrels concerning the succession in Flanders and England, where two of his vassals[1] were fighting for the crown, he supported the rights and position of France.

His most important achievement, however, was his attempt to secure the succession in Aquitaine, which was practically independent, by the marriage of his son Louis VII with Princess Eleanor. Such success as this son attained, when the time came for him to rule, was due entirely to the teaching of Abbot Suger. This man, who has been named by historians the mediæval Richelieu, persuaded his master to grant rights and privileges to the rising towns, raised the prestige of the royal courts, improved and reorganised the treasury, and gave an impulse to art and science. During the inglorious crusade of Louis VII (1147; cf. below, p. 204) his kingdom was torn by faction, and would have collapsed had it not been for the energy of Suger; Louis also committed the incredible political folly of divorcing his wife, who was certainly unfaithful, but none the less a valuable possession, and driving her with her property of Aquitaine into the arms of the heir to the English crown, Henry of Anjou (1152). The future ruler of England already held the French territories of Anjou, Touraine, Normandy, and Maine, and this marriage brought him Guienne, Poitou, Auvergne, the Limousin, Périgord, Angoumois, and Gascony, so that he was in possession of the whole of western France. These lands he held indeed as the nominal vassal of the king of France, but the relationship was unmeaning in view of his greater power. Louis VII revenged himself for the cunning with which he had been overreached by joining the revolted sons of Henry II and fostering their rebellion for twenty years. Victory, however, eventually remained with his enemy.

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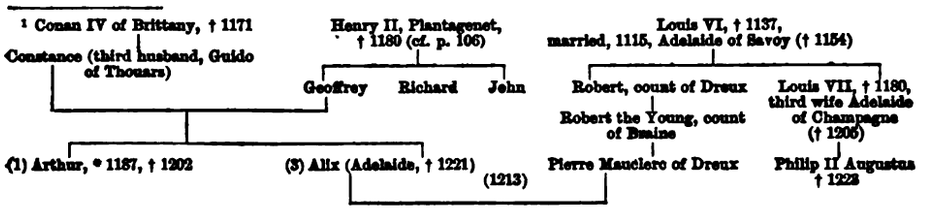
[1] William the Conqueror of Normandy, king of England, 1066–1087

- Henry I, † 1118
  - Matilda, † 1167, second husband, 1127, Geoffry of Anjou († 1150)
    - Henry II Plantagenet, † 1189, married, 1152, Eleanor of Guienne, Poitou, etc. († 1204; cf. p. 106)
- Adela
  - Count Stephan of Blois, † 1102
  - Stephen of Blois, king of England 1135–1154

The credit of liberating France from its English fetters belongs to his far more important son and successor, Philip II Augustus, a ruler who combined military with diplomatic capacity. His main object was to increase his financial power and to secure the unity of the kingdom. As these objects could not be obtained by peaceful negotiations, he was obliged to spend twenty-six of the forty-six years of his reign in war (1180–1223). He emancipated himself from the influence of his mother Adelaide of Champagne, and of her brothers, and he speedily put aside his political adviser, Count Philip of Flanders. His enemies largely played into his hands by their dissensions. Like his father he allied himself with the sons of Henry II of England, and secured the homage of the second in age, Geoffrey, count of Brittany. The haughty Richard Lionheart also did homage to him as a vassal before his accession to the throne, as Philip Augustus had threatened to wrest from him his hereditary domains with the help of the nobility of Poitou. On the death of Henry II, in 1189, Philip found Richard a dangerous adversary by reason of his adventurous spirit and his military capacity; he therefore attempted to reduce him to impotence by joining with him in the Third Crusade of 1190 after the fall of Jerusalem (1187); he went on this expedition rather to keep an eye upon his enemy than to help him by support. However, after the capture of Acre Philip deserted his English ally and reappeared in Paris at the end of December, 1191. Notwithstanding his oath to abstain from hostilities against Richard, he invaded his French possessions. The misfortune of his captivity in Germany (cf. above, p. 108) prevented Richard from offering resistance. After his liberation and a further series of struggles Pope Innocent III secured a five years' peace between the two kings on January 13, 1199; Richard died on April 6.

Philip had formerly been in alliance with Richard's brother and successor, John Lackland, against the captured king. John was now summoned by his feudal lord, Philip, to justify himself upon a charge of complicity in the murder of Arthur of Brittany,[1] his nephew (1202). John declined to recognise this unusual judicial procedure and did not appear. He was then declared to have lost his fief in France, and all the English possessions were reconquered as far as Guienne (1204–1206). To these extended domains of the French crown were added, either by conquest or by inheritance, Vermandois, Valois, Artois, and the district about Amiens. Preparations for the incorporation of Brittany were made and completed by the end of the fifteenth century through the marriage of a step-sister of the murdered Arthur with a cousin of Philip. John was fully occupied between 1208 and 1212 with Pope Innocent III and his own refractory vassals, and was obliged to abandon the last of his French possessions. When he had been freed from the Pope's interdict, by accepting England as a papal fief on May 15, 1213, he brought together against Philip a large confederacy which had been already formed in 1212; it included Otto II of Brunswick, who had been sole German emperor since the death of Philip of Suabia (1208; p. 109), Count Ferrand of Flanders, and



various nobles of north France. However, on July 27, 1214, Philip won the most brilliant victory of the century over Otto II and the Count of Flanders at Bouvines, a village between Lille and Tournai, while his son Louis VIII drove the English ruler and his French allies out of Poitou and Brittany. Louis even crossed to England in May, 1216, was supported by the barons who were in revolt owing to John's repudiation of Magna Charta (signed in 1215), and declined to be intimidated by the papal interdict. King John died on October 19. Louis then returned in the following year without securing any definite success, as he was unable to keep command of the sea. As in the time of Charles the Great, the want of an adequate fleet was severely felt.

Meanwhile a further extension of the French dynastic power had been planned, though it already reached from the mouths of the Loire to the borders of Flanders. In southern France a reformation had been in progress from about 1173, which threatened to undermine the foundations of the Catholic Church. A merchant of Lyons, Pierre de Vaux (Petrus Valdez or Waldus), had founded a sect the members of which travelled after the manner of Christ and his apostles, preaching and living upon the charity of pious adherents, and proclaiming to the people the downfall of the degenerate visible church, and the triumph of the invisible church, that is, of their own community. They rejected the sacraments, with the exception of juvenile confession, while forgiveness of sins they considered as secured only by the grace of God and not by ecclesiastical absolution. The sect was distinguished by enthusiasm, by actual poverty, by popular origin, and intellectual power, and succeeded in securing a large number of adherents, by preaching, reading of the Scriptures, devotional exercises and confession, and even the celebration of the Communion; it was soon disseminated throughout Italy, Spain, and Germany. It based its teaching upon the New Testament and upon certain sections from the patristic writings in a translation composed by Waldus, the text of which contained interpolations directed against the Church; the Pharisees, for instance, being described with allusions which could only refer to the Romish clergy. As the sect laid especial claim to priestly powers, the papacy was deceived in the hope that it might become an ecclesiastical order of monks. It was excommunicated in 1184, and missions were sent out to oppose its seductive teaching.

The Manichæan sect of the Albigenses, which about the same time spread over the whole of southern France, possessed a powerful protector in Count Raimon VI of Toulouse; he was a knight fond of outward show, ruling over fifty towns and one hundred vassals. Peter of Castelnau, one of the legates of Innocent III, was murdered in January, 1208, by a feudal vassal of the count; in consequence the passionate and energetic Pope threatened Raimon and his territory with an interdict. A crusade was preached against the Albigenses, in which Count Raimon was forced to take part to avert the threatened punishment of the Church. Ambition, greed, and the hereditary hatred of the half-Teutonic northern Frenchman, which had never died out, brought together a large number of knights for the expedition against the Romance inhabitants of southern France, under the banner of Simon IV, Count of Montfort, whose family belonged to Hainault. Philip Augustus himself sent troops, but his suspicions of Rome prevented him from taking any official part in the war of extermination. Montfort had more than fifty thousand men at his disposal, and the strongholds of the heretical nobles fell into his hands one after another. Toulouse itself was threatened with

devastation, as the count hesitated to surrender the heretics of his capital. A wave of cruel and exterminating fanaticism passed over the Church; Innocent would have been glad to save the count, but dared not exert his influence against the fanatical Montfort and his rapacious followers. Raimon lost his territory in 1213. It was taken over by Montfort as a papal fief, and the next count, Raimon VII, was left in possession only of a narrow stretch of country. After Montfort's death in 1218 his son Amaury VI resigned his claims to Louis VIII in 1226, as he found his position difficult to maintain. Raimon VII succeeded in saving only the smaller portion of his father's inheritance, notwithstanding his vigorous resistance (1229; died 1249). The county was united with the French crown in 1271, after the death of Alphonse of Poitiers, a brother of Louis IX, who had married Joanna, the daughter of Raimon. Thus the crown territory of the Capets extended from the Seine to the Mediterranean.

The careful calculations of Philip Augustus had proved correct; in the expectation that this valuable territory must eventually fall to himself or his dynasty, he left the discredit of the heretic war to the Church, and secured the spoils for himself. The remainder of the English possessions in France except Bordeaux and Gascony were conquered by Louis VIII (1223–1226). Louis IX, who was anxious to secure a permanent peace and was tired of the hazardous game of war, gave back the districts of Limoges, Saintonge, Agen, and Quercy as fiefs to the English king Henry III, though he retained the majority of the former English possessions, Normandy, Brittany, Anjou, Poitou, Maine, and Touraine. Eventually Philip the Fair in a war with England, in which he was supported by the Scotch, recovered almost the whole of the ceded territory in 1297. A federation of England with the Flemings and the Empire was formed by King Edward I of England, on the model of the arrangements of 1214 and of the scheme which had been arranged in 1278 with Rudolf of Hapsburg; this, however, collapsed owing to the carelessness of the German king, Adolf of Nassau, in 1297. Philip the Fair, however, suffered a fearful defeat in his struggle against the democratic citizens of Bruges and Ypres in the "battle of Spurs," at Courtrai (Kortrijk; July 11, 1302); he owed it rather to his diplomacy than to his victory of August 18, 1304, at Mons-en-Pevèle (in earlier form Mons-en-Puelle, Flemish Pevelenberg), that he was able to secure the peace of Athis-sur-Orget in June, 1305, with Count Robert of Béthune, the successor of Gui of Dampierre; under this arrangement he retained Lille, Douai, and Béthune as guarantees.

The royal demesnes in France proper had previously been extended, during the reign of Philip III, by the addition of the counties of Valois and Auvergne, in return for which the Venaissin was ceded to the papacy (1271). The attempt of this warlike ruler to recover Sicily for his family by a war with Aragon (1285) remained fruitless; his uncle, Charles of Anjou, had been expelled from the island by the "Sicilian Vespers" on March 30, 1282. Unfortunately the Capets weakened their great and consolidated crown demesnes by cutting off appanages for the younger princes, of whom there were eight during the second half of the thirteenth century. They allowed the occupants of these appanages to carry on an independent foreign policy, and consequently to involve the crown in wars with other states (cf. Charles of Anjou, 1266; pp. 111, 193, 205).

B. The Relations of France with the German Empire

The Capets avoided the mistake which the last Carolingians had made in continually seeking quarrels to their own disadvantage with the more powerful German Empire; they were indeed sufficiently occupied at home with refractory vassals and other neighbouring powers, and aimed rather at alliance than at hostility with the wearers of the imperial crown. In diplomatic relations we find the French kings figuring as the subordinate or secondary party, until the downfall of the imperial power, after the time of the Hohenstauffen, provided them with an opportunity for wresting fragments from the neighbouring empire.

Robert I and Henry I, the two immediate successors of Hugh Capet, maintained friendly relations with Germany. Robert, in conjunction with the emperor Henry II and Pope Benedict VIII, proposed a union for universal peace, the prototype of our modern Triple Alliance. The two secular rulers met at Ivois on the Chiers in August, 1023. The German supremacy over Lorraine was recognised afresh on the side of the French, but the peace proposals came to nothing, as the Emperor and Pope died in the following year. The acquisition of Burgundy, after the death of the childless king Rudolf III in 1032, was facilitated for the German Emperor Conrad II (1033–1034) by the French Henry II; both rulers had a common enemy in Odo of Champagne, who attempted to extort from Henry the recognition of his own hereditary right, and to secure his claims upon Burgundy against Conrad by force of arms. These good relations remained unimpaired even with the emperor Henry III, whose consort, Agnes, belonged to the house of Aquitaine (p. 93); for the Duke of Aquitaine, William, was also one of Odo's enemies. Dissension threatened to break out when Godfrey II (or the Bearded, p. 92) sought the protection of the French king, after his rights in lower Lorraine had been infringed by Henry III; but the difficulty was averted by the imprisonment of the Lorraine claimant in the Giebichenstein at Halle on the Saale (1045).

The French kings were clever enough to avoid interference in the long quarrel of Henry IV with the Popes. On the other hand, the support given by Louis VI to Pope Calixtus II against Henry V (pp. 99 and 188) nearly led to an outbreak between the two kingdoms. However, the fidelity to their king of the French vassals, especially of Thibaut of Blois, the growing strength of nationality, and the increasing opposition to Germany, so intimidated the despotic emperor that he refrained from hostilities in 1124. In general the efforts of the French kings to avoid interference in the continual struggles for supremacy between the Emperors and the Popes show great political tact, as they thus avoided strengthening either one or the other power. Such was the policy followed by Philip Augustus, when excommunicated by Pope Innocent III in January, 1200, for the reason that he declined to sacrifice his mistress Agnes of Meran (1201) to his second wife Ingeborg of Denmark, who had been legally divorced; he refrained from interference, though this ambitious Pope was then at war first with Philip of Suabia and then with Otto IV (p. 109). The war was brought about solely by the family relationship of the Guelph Otto with the royal house of England; it ended with the victory of the French at Bouvines. St. Louis also only supported the passionate opposition of Pope Innocent IV to the Hohenstauffen Frederick II so far as to offer his mediation, and to secure some assistance for his policy from the council of Lyons, which excommunicated Frederick (1245; cf. p. 111).

Philip the Fair was the first ruler who attempted to secure the advantage of France at the expense of the Germans. Like King Albert I, who then refused recognition to Rome, Philip was an opponent of Pope Boniface VIII; and though, during the lifetime of Adolf of Nassau, he had joined the Hapsburg side, he met the German king in December, 1299, in the Val de l'One, near Toul, to conclude a marriage between his sister Blanche (died 1305) and Albert's son Rudolf (died 1307), who was to inherit Austria. The German king was anxious to secure the imperial succession to his firstborn son, and Philip the Fair was therefore brought into close and profitable relations with Germany. Philip also maintained a show of good relations with the successor of Albert, Henry VII, after the hopes of his brother Charles of Valois had come to nothing (p. 118). The Luxembourg ruler, who was half a Frenchman, was anxious to find some support against the Hapsburgs, that he might accomplish his coronation journey to Rome undisturbed; he therefore offered in 1310 to receive from Prince Philip (V) homage for the palatine county of Burgundy, which had been already taken by France, though he did not renounce his claim to the town of Lyons, which belonged equally to the empire and had been occupied by French troops since June, 1310. None the less Philip secretly attempted to disturb Henry's plans in Italy through his relation Robert of Naples[1] and the Guelph adherents of Pope Clement V, who was entirely dependent upon himself, and practically a prisoner in Avignon.

C. The Crusades of the French Kings

In the case of the crusades the Capets adopted a waiting attitude, as they had done in their relations with the German Empire, although three French rulers participated in these world-stirring events. The crusades were instigated primarily by French or semi-French chivalry, but certainly not by French kings. Such names as Godfrey of Bouillon and his brother Baldwin, the Norman Boemund II of Tarent, Hugo of Vermandois, Stephen of Blois (the elder, p. 198), are conspicuous among the leaders of the first crusade. King Philip I at that time refrained from participation (1094–1096), as his unlawful marriage of 1092 had brought him a new sentence of excommunication. The credit of the enthusiasm which inspired this and the two following crusades belongs to the papacy. It was by the personal intervention of Pope Urban II, at the council of Claremont in the late autumn of 1095, that the crusade was organised. The reasons and motives actuating the motley throng of crusaders were very different. There was a burning enthusiasm for the liberation of those cities where the Saviour had taught and suffered, and a passionate hatred of the enemies of the Christian Church; on the other hand, there was a desire for reputation, authority, honour, and adventures, and there was especially the hope of recompense in the next world for heroic deeds in the Holy Land, and the assurance of the Church's absolution, which was very effective with the leaders and the true believers; there was also the hope of plunder and pillage, and

[1] Louis VIII, † 1226

- Louis IX, † 1270
  - Philip III, † 1285
    - Philip IV, † 1314
- Charles of Anjou and Naples, † 1285
  - Charles II of Naples, † 1309
    - Robert, † 1343 (cf. Vol. V, p. 377)

the pressure of poverty arising from the great economic change of the eleventh century, the change from the agricultural economy of a farmer population to a mercantile economy, and to large territorial holdings; there was hopeless poverty desiring to secure the imaginary treasures and wonders of the East, and other impure motives influenced the great mass of the crusaders. To distinguish the religious from the secular motive, the divine from the earthly impulse, is as difficult a task as it is to decide how far the actual motives of the papal policy may have been the extension of Christianity and the repulse of the "paynim," or the attempt to secure world-wide supremacy and to extend the possessions of the Church. The maritime cities of Italy and France were attracted by commercial interests and the hope of pecuniary gain; high profits were made by the ships of the Genoese merchants, who had secured a monopoly of the transport of crusaders.

The French monarchy took but a secondary part in the second crusade of 1147 as in the first. Eugenius III, through the mouth of the ecclesiastic Bernard of Clairvaux, had induced two of the most powerful princes of central Europe, the Emperor Conrad III and King Louis VII, to undertake a joint expedition to the Holy Land. Conrad was reluctant and hesitated; but Louis was anxious to relieve his burdened conscience. In a quarrel with one of his bishops, imposed upon him by the Pope and his protector Thibaut of Champagne, Louis had burned one thousand men in the church at Vitry; that is to say, in sanctuary. Affairs in the Holy Land were highly critical (cf. on this point special section below). Edessa had fallen in 1144, and Jerusalem was threatened. Moreover, the enthusiasm for this high cause was beginning to fade. The descriptions given by returning crusaders of their dangers and privations could not but discourage others and shatter their dreams of the enchantments of the East. When King Louis himself had taken the Cross he begged the abbot Bernard to inflame the masses with his powerful oratory; but Bernard refused, with the sensible observation that it was better for a man to wage war against his own heart than against the infidels. In the meanwhile, however, various noble and ignoble motives brought many thousands together from France alone. As in the first crusade, the difficulty of feeding and disciplining so large a number was the main cause of the enormous losses. In Nicæa, Louis, with his ill-disciplined army, met the haughty and much weakened German emperor, Conrad III, who was regarded with suspicion by Byzantium (November, 1134). Conrad, however, fell ill, and soon returned as an uninvited guest to Constantinople, with the greater part of his remaining troops; the others were deserted by the French and put to the sword by the Seljuks. Instead of conquering Edessa, Louis hastened to Jerusalem to do penance. There he met Conrad (April, 1148), who had been ordered to return by Byzantium, and the two kings resolved to march upon Damascus. Strengthened by north German and English pilgrims, their army numbered some fifty thousand men. However, when the siege of the great town proved fruitless (end of July), Conrad returned home in September, 1148, and Louis in the spring of 1149.

The third crusade, of 1189–1192, which brought the rulers of England, Germany, and France into the Holy Land, and ended the life of the emperor Frederic I, was the work of Pope Clement III. He had reconciled the quarrel between Richard Lionheart and Philip II Augustus, and induced the Hohenstauffen, who were again on good terms with the papacy, to make the crusade. The diplomacy of the French king on this occasion has been already examined (p. 199).

Zeal for Christianity may have been the motive actuating St. Louis IX when he undertook the sixth crusade in 1248, at the head of numerous nobles and their retainers. Louis, however, as usual, cherished two ideas,—an unselfish religious theory and a calculating policy. He spent the winter of 1248–1249 in Cyprus in uncertainty concerning the object of his expedition, and was induced by an embassy of Christian Mongols (Vol. II, p. 99) to make his adventurous attempt upon Egypt. He immediately considered the possibility of founding a French empire upon the ruins of the local Ayubite government, of conquering Syria from this base, and of so securing for the dangerous feudal nobility of France a new sphere for ambition and enterprise, and opening a new area for export and import trade to the rising commercial powers of his country (cf. above, p. 185). This dream, which reminds us of the projects of Bonaparte in 1798, soon vanished. Notwithstanding the resistance of the Mamelukes and their "Greek fire" (Vol. III, p. 706), Louis captured Damietta in 1249, but was cut off from his army and taken prisoner in the Nile delta on the retreat from el-Mansūra. He and some of his nobles were able to buy their freedom for the enormous sum of one million besants (£400,000): the common people were forced to choose between apostasy and death. Louis spent four years in Syria, calculating upon divisions among the Mohammedans and reinforcements from Europe. At length he returned home with a few faithful followers. The flower of the nobility had perished in this wearisome adventure. Previously the enthusiasm for the crusade had fallen so low that Louis had caused crosses to be sewn upon the coats of his vassals to pledge their participation in the crusade by this deceit; desire to see the wonders of the East now disappeared entirely.

Once more in 1270 Louis undertook the crusade known as the seventh. Its object, the conversion of the Emir of Tunis, may have attracted him no less than the thought of extending the south Italian kingdom of his brother, Charles of Anjou, to African soil. After spending some weeks in Africa, with little or no fighting, Louis, like many of his near relatives and comrades in arms, fell a victim to the climate on August 25.

7. THE SUBSERVIENCE OF THE PAPACY)

A. France and the Curia from 800 to 1300

Charles the Great had organised the ecclesiastical affairs of his wide realm in an autocratic spirit, and had made laws as he pleased; he had also been supreme over the papacy and the Church. After his death the weakness of the later Carolingians had benefited the episcopal power in France, and had also enabled the papacy to strengthen its position. By means of the Forged Decretals (p. 174) the papacy had attempted to reduce the independent bishops to feudal subservience. The bishops, however, retained their independence, and with the abbots continued to be elected by the free choice of the clergy. From the outset the Capets had attempted, with the help of the bishops, to sever their ecclesiastical connection with Rome, and for this purpose they had found powerful allies in Arnulf of Orleans and the synod of 991 (p. 177). The kings, however, had to defend the justice of their actions against both the ecclesiastical and the secular nobility, hence any permanent co-operation on the part of the episcopate and the temporal power was

out of the question. At the same time the Cluniac reform, which speedily dominated the French clergy, paved the way for the papal claims to supremacy, both in ecclesiastical and secular affairs. Of the two swords which then symbolised the spiritual and temporal powers, the one might be given to the king by the head of the Church only as a fief, and under the condition of complete obedience. Until the second half of the eleventh century the episcopate remained no less independent than the crown in matters of domestic policy, even though these were of an ecclesiastical nature. As in the times of Charles Martel, the princes appropriated the property of the Church, while domestic disturbances and the struggles with the Northmen constantly forced the abbeys and monasteries to place themselves under the protection of the king.

It was Gregory VII who first enabled the papal power to rise in France, as in Germany, at the expense of the secular power. This Pope governed the French church through his legates, and secured the right of appointing bishops and abbots. He opposed the usurpation of church property by the princes. The French monarchy was unable to make head against the refractory nobles, and its occupants were in general too weak to oppose their energetic adversary with any success. After Gregory's death the papacy attained further power, notwithstanding the precarious character of its success, owing to the great crusading movement, which derived its origin and its stimulus from Rome. King Philip I of France was at that time obliged to yield to Rome on the question of his marriage in order to avert the papal inderdict. His successor was thrown upon the side of the Pope through his marriage connections (p. 188, note), and owing to the general feeling in favour of Rome manifested by his clergy in the investiture quarrel, in which the Pope opposed the appointment of clergy by secular rulers. At the council of Troyes, held in the presence of Pope Paschal II, a resolution was passed that every layman who conferred investiture upon a priest should be subject to deprivation no less than the recipient. The journey of the Pope to Troyes was almost a triumphal procession, and in the monastery of Cluny he was received like an ambassador from heaven.

Meanwhile the royal power increased, and as the disappointments of the crusades diminished the prestige of the Pope and the Church, the rulers even of France were able to contemplate the possibility of recovering their old independence in ecclesiastical affairs. In this struggle Philip Augustus proved an energetic pioneer. He had submitted to Pope Innocent III on the question of his marriage (p. 202), as his realm was laid under an interdict; he had enjoyed the alliance of the papacy for a time in the course of his policy against England; at the same time he was careful to see that bishops and abbots performed their feudal obligations, that the rights of patronage held by the laity over ecclesiastical foundations remained unimpaired, and that the courts-Christian never encroached upon secular jurisdiction. On his reconquest of the English possessions he secured a legal definition of the rights of the feudal lords as against the Church, and insisted upon their observance by the clergy. Upon property which passed to the Church by purchase or presentation he levied a mortmain tax, to compensate for the loss of reliefs and wardships which ensued when property passed into the hands of a deathless tenant; he also exacted a tax (in lieu of the *jus spoliorum*) from benefices that fell vacant, and maintained all the other rights of the temporal power, or sold them at a high price.

The ecclesiastical policy of St. Louis was entirely penetrated by his own ideas. Under his protection was formed an alliance of French nobles hostile to the Church, led by the duke of Burgundy and the counts of Brittany and Angoulême. These feudatories revolted against the aggressions of the ecclesiastical courts in secular affairs, and also against the extortions to which France under various pretexts was subjected by the papacy (1246). Their argument was that the French nobility had been impoverished by the greed of the clergy, and that the Church should therefore return to its original condition of poverty and purity. Excommunication and interdict were to be respected only with the consent of the chief of the alliance. Here we may trace the after-effects of the teaching of the Waldenses. These menacing resolves against Rome were passed at a moment when Pope Innocent IV was staying on the frontier in Lyons, which was then part of the Empire, and at a time, moreover, when this Pope had secured the zealous support of the French clergy against the emperor Frederic II in the council of 1245. Louis himself did his best to prevent the extortions to which Innocent subjected the French clergy in his efforts to provide resources for the struggle against the Hohenstauffen. From the very outset of his reign he was a zealous champion of the independence of the French church. In an ordinance of 1229 he had established the *libertés et immunités* of the Church, and had thus raised a barrier against the ecclesiastical and financial encroachments of Rome; ten years later he subjected the clergy to the jurisdiction of the state courts in civil cases, and limited the power of excommunication, which was one of the Pope's chief weapons; at the same time he regulated the process of election to prelacies and their transference within the French church, and prohibited arbitrary exactions on the part of Rome. The so-called *Sanction Pragmatique* of 1268, which was long regarded as the foundation stone of the later national Gallic church (Vol. VII, pp. 155 and 201) is a forgery of the fifteenth century, and does not concern us here.

B. The Quarrel between Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII

Though long deferred by both parties, the struggle between the Curia and the French monarchy became inevitable upon the accession of Philip the Fair, an autocratic and at the same time a diplomatic ruler; at that moment Pope Boniface VIII (1294–1303) revived the claims which Gregory VII and Innocent III had asserted. Boniface had entered Rome with great splendour on January 25, 1295, and had then been crowned, after obliging his predecessor Celestine V to abdicate. This interloper had retained his position from July 5 to December 13, 1294, and was kept in prison by Boniface till his death, on May 19, 1296. Boniface added a second circle to his tiara, as a sign that the Pope was the representative both of the ecclesiastical and of the secular powers. He ordered the Greek Church to appoint no patriarch without his consent. In the year 1300 he arranged the great jubilee celebration, which brought many thousands of pilgrims to Rome, to lay their gifts at the feet of the apostle. Meanwhile, however, the political horizon had become clouded; the crisis began with political difficulties, in which Boniface attempted to act as the overlord of the princes, and was accentuated by ecclesiastical complications. The Pope attempted to conclude the war between Philip and

England, which had lasted since 1293, by arranging an armistice and obliging both kings to do penance by a pilgrimage to the Holy Land; a similar penance had been appointed by Innocent III. The two enemies declined to agree to either project, and Philip, though a firm supporter of the faith of his time, proudly declared to the papal legates the independence of his kingdom.

Boniface forthwith issued the papal bull *Clericis laicos* on February 25, 1296, in which he threatened with excommunication all princes who exacted taxes from the clergy, and any of the clergy who paid. In this way he proposed to deprive the English and especially the French kings of the means for carrying on war. The prohibition was naturally disregarded by both monarchs, and hostilities were continued notwithstanding the armistice imposed by the Pope, and extended until 1298. Philip replied to the papal decree by a yet more vigorous measure. On August 17, 1296, he forbade any exportation from France of gold, silver, objects of value, arms, and munitions of war; if the Pope was attempting to cut off his taxes, Philip would treat the Pope in like manner. Boniface yielded so far to this pressure to issue two further decrees, which entirely destroyed the practical effects of his bull. At the same time he insisted that Philip's prohibition was not to be extended to the ecclesiastical foundations of France, and threatened an interdict if the gifts to Rome were cut off; Philip replied by prohibiting any interference with his prerogatives. Further complications soon resulted. Boniface was in bitter hostility with the Roman nobles of the Colonna family, and excommunicated the two cardinals, Jacob and Peter Colonna, who had declared his title illegal. Philip secretly espoused the cause of the Colonna. In retaliation the Pope came forward as a protector of Count Gui of Flanders (p. 201), who was hard pressed by Philip; his action came too late to help the count, and he also proclaimed the nullity of an interdict which Philip had laid upon the county by means of the bishops of Rheims and Senlis, who were dependent upon himself.

Diplomacy, however, was able to secure a reconciliation. In a quarrel between Naples and Aragon for the possession of Sicily Boniface supported Philip's brother, Charles of Valois (died 1325), and also canonised Philip's grandfather, Louis IX (August 11, 1297). A French embassy, which was sent to Orvieto, apparently composed all differences and abandoned the Colonna. The war between France and England was decided by Boniface in favour of Philip, who retained his possessions by a decision of June 27, 1298, "issued not as a judge but as a friendly mediator;" the two kings had previously determined upon an armistice until January 5, 1300 (at Vive St. Bavon on October 9, 1297), and only gave the Pope an opportunity of finally holding out the olive branch.

However, after the expiration of the armistice Philip inspired Charles of Valois to attack Flanders again at the beginning of 1300, while he extended his truce with England to November 30, 1302. In general he let no opportunity slip of rousing the anger of the Pope. He appropriated episcopal fiefs to the crown (the comté of Melgueil and the vicomté of Narbonne), he supported the citizens of Lyons against their archbishop, disregarding the rights of the empire, and in several cases oppressed the French superior clergy and their possessions. The Colonna, who had been deprived of their possessions and offices by Boniface, met with a most friendly reception from Philip; he also made a close alliance with King Albert I, whom the Pope had refused to recognise as being the murderer

of his predecessor (p. 203). We should be inclined to wonder at the gentle patience of the Pope under all this irritation, did we not know the extent to which his position was endangered in Rome itself. Boniface had incurred the bitterest hostility of the adherents of the fugitive Colonna, and was by no means certain of the fidelity of the ruling Orsini, upon whom he was dependent to an undesirable extent; in the College of Cardinals there was a party which disputed the legality of his election. His opposition to the Aragonese supremacy in Sicily led him steadily back to France.

Philip also avoided an open breach, although his two most famous jurists, the chancellor Peter Flot(t)e and the privy councillor William of Nogaret, eagerly advised this step. A south Frenchman, whose father had fallen a victim to the Inquisition, William had, though originally a cleric, the strongest personal reasons for opposing the supreme representative of the Church. He was a capable professor of jurisprudence at the University of Montpellier, and could perform excellent service to his king in the war of pamphlets which now began between Rome and Paris; at this moment (1300) he was sent to the Pope by Philip with secret instructions, of which we learn only from the later and apparently exaggerated reports of Nogaret. It was his business to pacify the Pope upon the question of the agreement with Albert I, and this agreement was to promote the peace of the Church and the welfare of the Holy Land; Boniface was thus to be confirmed in his cherished hopes of a crusade.

In the following year the Pope sent to Paris the bishop of Pamiers, Bernard of Saisset, to discuss the question of this crusade, the affairs of Flanders, and the interference of Philip with the French church. Saisset adopted a haughty attitude, and after his return to his bishopric he was prosecuted by the state council at Senlis, which sat under the presidency of Peter Flotte, and thrown into prison. Boniface proceeded to issue the bulls *Salvator mundi* (Redeemer of the world) and *Ausculta fili* (Hear, O son). In the first he declared that all the privileges conceded to the king were null and void, and in the second he claimed the supremacy over all states and princes, even in secular affairs. At the same time he demanded the release of his legate, whereas Philip had insisted that this bishop should be deprived of all his spiritual privileges. Boniface also summoned all the French bishops to a council at Rome on November 1, 1302, to discuss "the reform of France and the improvement of its king." The bull *Ausculta fili* was turned to clever account by Philip's jurists; they issued it in shortened and sterner form with the initial words *Deum time* (fear God), but concealed the true composition, and proceeded to burn their own falsification in solemn conclave. At the same time Philip summoned the three estates of the kingdom on April 8, 1302, forbade his clergy to take part in the council, deprived the disobedient of their possessions, and sent a threatening embassy to the Pope in November. On November 18, 1302, Boniface issued another appeal, *Unam sanctam* (one holy church), in which he strongly emphasised his claims to supremacy over all secular rulers; and in 1303 he sent his ultimatum to Philip in twelve articles. The French king returned an indefinite answer and prepared to employ force, after Nogaret, at a council of March 12, had accused the Pope of the worst crimes and heresies, and had advised the king to summon a general council which should judge the guilty. However, in a second council, of June 14, these attacks were somewhat weakened by another royal adviser, William Plasian, and the convening of the council was left to the

Pope, whereas Nogaret had demanded his deposition and imprisonment. A popular assembly of June 24 also demanded the summoning of a council, and on this occasion Philip appealed to different princes, to the estates, to the towns, and to the College of Cardinals.

Meanwhile Nogaret and three of Philip's emissaries had proceeded to Italy with powers which were purposely unlimited, had provided supplies of money in Florence, and had induced Sciarra Colonna, the Pope's deadly enemy, and his armed retainers to make an attack upon Boniface, who was then staying in Anagni. This attempt took place on September 7, 1303; the accounts of it are very various, and it has been exaggerated for party purposes, but Boniface defended the dignity of his high office. The Pope was a prisoner for two days, and was only saved by Nogaret from death, that he might be brought to France. However, the inhabitants of Anagni liberated him on September 9. Boniface returned to Rome on September 18, but died on October 12, 1303, in consequence of an old complaint and the excitement of the previous five weeks.

His successor, Benedict XI, was Pope for barely nine months (1303–1304), and with difficulty maintained his ground against Philip. The king proposed that the aged Boniface should be declared a heretic by the sentence of a council, and suggested as a meeting-place Lyons, which was close to his own kingdom. He had previously interfered with the prerogatives of the Church by sending a committee to examine the prisons of the Inquisition in southern France and liberating all prisoners without distinction; as Nogaret was a member of the committee, their duties were no doubt discharged with great thoroughness. The new Pope opposed the process against his predecessors and did not summon the council; at the same time he removed the excommunication which had been laid on Philip and the royal family, and revoked the measures of Boniface against the king and the French clergy subject to him. However, the participants in the attack of Anagni, including Nogaret, were excommunicated.

C. The Babylonish Captivity of the Church and the Suppression of the Knights Templar

The papacy was now entirely dependent upon France, when the archbishop of Bordeaux, Bertrand del Got, was appointed Pope by Philip's influence in return for binding promises (June 5, 1305); he established himself first in Lyons and afterwards (from 1309) in Avignon, which belonged to the Angevin dynasty of Naples.

This second successor of Boniface VIII, who was known as Clement V, was a clever diplomatist and intriguer, but greatly wanting in personal energy. He secretly opposed the nomination of Philip's brother as king of Germany (1308, cf. p. 203), while in Italy he attempted to embroil Henry VII, the newly appointed ruler of Germany, with the Neapolitan Angevins; at Philip's orders, however, he was obliged to prohibit their advance upon Rome. He also played a double part in the process against the order of Knights Templar, in the guilt of which Philip hoped to involve his confederate. This order had risen from a very modest origin; in 1119 it had been founded by eight French knights at Jerusalem, and had now gained great power and enormous wealth; it had also abandoned the rule of

the order, which had been drawn up in 1128 by Bernard Clairvaux in conjunction with the first Grand Master, Hugh of Payens. The strict morality of the order was broken down by the growth of pride and voluptuousness and a general disobedience towards the Grand Master, who could decide important matters only with the consent of the majority of the general chapter (the assembly of the brothers of the order). It was necessary for the knights to give proof of noble birth, and only priests acting as lay brothers could belong to the citizen class; hence a system of caste was introduced within the order which destroyed its real significance. In the struggles with the Saracens it had often displayed a suspicious lukewarmness and had agreed to truces of a doubtful advantage for the Christian cause. By the fall of Jerusalem (1187 and 1244) the order had been driven from its first centre on the site of Solomon's former temple (hence the name Templar), and after the loss of the Holy Land the island of Cyprus had become the centre of the order, though it was widely spread in France and other countries. In France the order possessed wide lands and influential connections, which had long aroused the envy and suspicion of King Philip. To these causes were added political and personal disagreements. Rightly or wrongly, the order had gained a reputation for heresy and idolatry. The knights were supposed to be coquetting with Mohammedan and sectarian religious opinions; hence was secured the desired pretext for attacking them under the cloak of solicitude for the Church; in these proceedings the king was both prosecutor and judge. Naturally the admissions made by deserters from the order, or the confessions extorted on the rack and afterwards retracted, must not be taken as actual truth. Such wild tales as a supposed worship of the idol Baphomet, generally supposed to be a human head made of precious metal, and to govern the material world as the servant of the heavenly God; the defilement of the crucifix; the immoral kiss of peace, etc., would hardly find credence, even if they were better attested. It is, however, highly probable that the noble caste within the order was morally and spiritually degenerate for the most part.

The proposed process was begun as follows. During a conference with Clement V at Lyons, in November, 1305, Philip had first proposed to proceed against the order, and had promised the Pope to undertake a crusade and also threatened to resume the process against the dead Boniface; the threat was intended to force, and the crusade to induce, the Pope to take action against the order, which he hated. Clement actually invited the Grand Masters of the orders of St. John and the Temple to come to France for a discussion upon the crusade. It was not, however, until August 24, 1307, that he issued permission for an ecclesiastical inquiry into the supposed misdeeds of the order. Philip's adviser, Nogaret, who now also plays the part of *advocatus diaboli*, had meanwhile secured the evidence of former Templars, who had either been expelled from the order or had left it, and handed them over to the Inquisitor of France, William Imbert, who was also Philip's confessor, on the ground that they were prisoners for examination. Behind this Inquisitor, who was an enemy of the Templar order, stood the king; apparently at his instigation all the members of the order in France were imprisoned on October 13, 1307, and their property was confiscated. To rouse public opinion on behalf of the process, Nogaret influenced the clergy, the populace, the canons of Notre Dame, and the masters of the university of Paris in a series of meetings. On Nogaret's advice, the king invited the Estates General to Tours on May 5, 1308.

This body then ratified the imprisonment of the Templars, and declared them guilty and worthy of death.

Under pressure from Philip, Clement, on May 29, undertook to begin the ecclesiastical examination of the imprisoned Templars in an assembly at Poitiers composed of ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries; apart from the process against the dead Pope, Philip was able to put pressure upon Clement by his action against Bishop Guichard of Troyes, who was supposed to have killed Philip's wife, Joanna of Navarre, by witchcraft (1305). The prisoners under examination, though formally in the custody of the Church, were actually in the hands of Philip, as also was the administration of their property. The examinations proceeded in Poitiers from June 28 to July 2, and in Chinon from August 17 to 20, before a commission consisting of three cardinals, but also in the presence of the two royal counsellors, Nogaret and Plasian. Clement had been obliged to abandon the right of inquiry to the Inquisition, which was under Philip's influence. The admissions of the Templars are said to have been very damaging, especially in a hearing at Chinon, though the Grand Master, James of Molay, afterwards indignantly rejected the admissions ascribed to him. A special hearing was begun by a new commission in November, 1309, at Paris, again in the presence of a royal official. Clement could not bring himself to decide upon the abolition of the order, which was Philip's earnest desire, for the reason that he would then deprive himself of a powerful and wholly dependent body of supporters, and would accentuate his subservience to the French king. Philip, however, repeated his menace of attacking the memory of Boniface; and on March 16, 1310, the Pope actually permitted the commencement of the process against his predecessor. This led to no result; Clement naturally strove to avoid any act of dishonour to the deceased Pope; while Philip considered the action only as a means to secure the destruction of the order of Templars. When this object was conceded by the Pope in the bull *Rex gloriæ* of April 27, 1311, Philip abandoned his unworthy manœuvre.

On October 16, 1311, a council was held at Vienne, which was to settle this long-standing problem. Philip attempted to influence the council by summoning the Estates. As a matter of fact Clement dissolved the order from solicitude for the welfare of Christendom, by a bull of March 22, 1312, which was solemnly announced to the council on April 3. During this announcement Philip sat at his right hand. On May 2 the valuable property of the dissolved order was transferred to the Hospitallers, though Philip retained a considerable portion for himself. In the sequel the Grand Master, James of Molay, and the provincial head, Gui of Normandy, were burnt at Paris (March 18, 1313), after fifty-four members of the order had suffered a similar death on May 12, 1310, because they had recanted the admissions extorted under torture. At the time of its prosperity, about 1260, this great order is said to have numbered some sixteen to twenty thousand members; these were now imprisoned, or perished in misery, took refuge in monasteries, or joined the Hospitallers. Their stately palace near Paris, the Temple, in which they had long been imprisoned, and from which four hundred and eighty years later a French king was to make his last earthly progress, remained in the royal possession.

A common sense of guilt bound Clement the more closely to Philip, until their almost simultaneous deaths came upon them as a just punishment; Clement died on April 20, 1314, and Philip on November 29, at the age of forty-six. Fourteen years later the male line of the true Capets was extinct.

8. RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

A GENERAL survey of the eight centuries of French history extending from Chlodwig (Clovis) to Philip IV confirms the general principle that history displays no unbroken advance, but proceeds by flux and reflux. The great events of history follow one another like the links of a chain. Chlodwig had founded a French uniform state and placed the royal power upon a firm basis; these achievements fell to pieces under his weaker successors. Upon the ruins of the broken empire the strong rulers of the Pippin family began to construct and to extend the work of Chlodwig. Under Charles the Great the Frankish monarchy became a world power, crushing or confining all who attempted to oppose its universal ecclesiastical and secular influence. The foundations of this edifice were by no means immutable; the power of the rising feudal nobility was by no means broken, the papacy declined to adopt a subordinate position except under compulsion, and dangerous enemies were watching upon the frontiers. The unity of the state was rather external than inherent, and fell to pieces when weaker hands grasped the sceptre.

A. THE FINAL RESULTS OF THE REIGN OF PHILIP IV

THE Capets found the French state diminished in extent and far weaker in power than under the Carolingian domination. They began their work where the ancestors of Charles the Great had begun, and the objects of Charles were attained by Philip IV, though to a more restricted extent and in the face of a more vigorous opposition. The feudal nobility had been crushed, and the great fiefs were either in his immediate possession, or were united to his power and subjected to his will by marriage connections and diplomatic arrangements. The Church was even more subordinate to him than to Charles the Great, and the spiritual influence which the Church had been able to exert, under Charles, upon all political matters of ecclesiastical importance had now been overthrown by the clever and worldly wise jurist. In Italy Philip ruled by means of the papal party and his Neapolitan connections, so far as the general disruption of the Italian states and city republics permitted the exercise of any general influence. He was also able to interfere to the advantage of France in the factions of the German Empire.

His monarchy, however, lacked that fundamental basis of every monarchical state, — a standing army. In times of war he was invariably forced to rely upon the good will of the feudal lords, who had not yet been definitely crushed. He had provided for his state a uniform system of law and of finance; he had made the right of coinage a royal monopoly, and misused it in times of need by debasing the currency; he had modelled the Estates General until they formed a power subordinate to his will. The bureaucracy was entirely at his disposal, the nobility, clergy, and citizens offered a ready obedience, and even the refractory towns of Flanders eventually agreed to an arrangement in Philip's favour. He had crushed all divergence from the faith with merciless severity, and had even begun a general persecution of the Jews to replenish his impoverished treasury. Yet, in spite of this display of power, his want of an army under his own control deprived him of the strongest guarantee for an absolute monarchy. This deficiency was the more

dangerous, as the power of England, with one foot firmly planted in France, threatened the frontiers of his empire.

At the same time the means by which he secured his political ends were not merely those of force, as in the case of Charles the Great, but were also immoral and treacherous. He shrank from nothing, especially if financial embarrassments were in question. The responsibility of his crimes most often fell upon his advisers, though it must not be forgotten that shortly before his death he pointed to himself "as the cause of his evil counsel" (*ipsemet causa mali consilii sui*). During his persecution of the Jews he not only confiscated the possessions of the imprisoned capitalists, but also forced their debtors to pay what was owing. His disgraceful prosecution of the Templar order was inspired primarily by his pecuniary embarrassments. He was continually attempting surprises and deceptions; witness his constant depreciation of the coinage and consequent repudiation of the state debt, or the liquidation of the war indemnity of Flanders, which he raised to the highest possible figure with the help of his accomplice, Nogaret. Combining treachery and despotism, though a strict adherent of the faith of his age, he had shown himself not only a second Pilate to the papacy and the Church, as the Ghibelline Dante named him, but also a second Herod. The papacy never recovered from the period of its "Babylonish captivity" until long after its return to the shores of the Tiber, far from the kingdom of France. In consequence, the French kings and the rights of the Gallican church always enjoyed special consideration, however strict the authority at Rome, and the despotism of Louis XIV was no less a burden upon the Church, four centuries later, than the absolutism of Philip IV. It must be admitted that the republican heirs of the proud kings have inherited this privileged position at the present day.

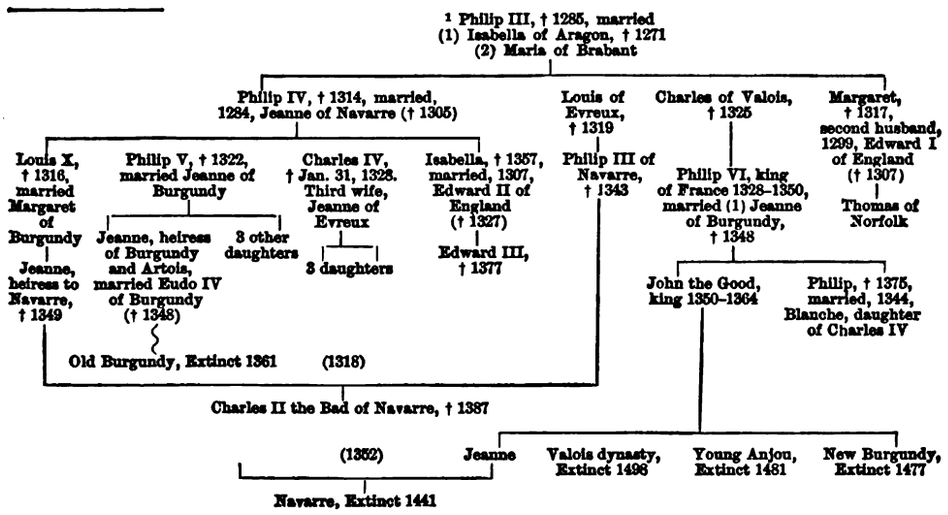
B. The Extinction of the True Capets

The inheritance of Philip IV was subject to the influence of a no less malignant fate than the empire of Charles the Great. His successors were weak men who ruled but a short time, and were incapable of offering effective opposition to the process of dissolution. The three sons of Philip the Fair reigned less than fourteen years together; they were all consecrated by one and the same archbishop of Rheims. Immediately upon his father's death the eldest son, Louis X (1314–1316), was forced to begin the struggle with the refractory nobles. The federation of nobles demanded that the encroachments of the royal jurisdiction should be abolished, that military service should not be demanded for foreign expeditions, and in general that their old privileges should be restored. Their chief demand was for the prosecution of several unpopular counsellors of the late king. Enguerrand de Marigny (p. 188) in particular paid heavily for his fidelity to Philip. He was hanged as a sorcerer, since he appealed to the orders of his former master when called upon to account for his conduct of office. Other advisers and tools of Philip suffered punishment more or less severe, such as deprivation of office, confiscation of property, torture, and imprisonment. Generally speaking, the disobedient nobility were able to secure their demands from the helpless king, who was deprived of his best supports.

Fortunately the threatened monarchy found a valuable support in the rising

towns, which were now invested with many privileges and rights; by the abolition of serfdom upon the crown demesnes, and by the attempt to facilitate the commutation of servile dues upon the estates of nobles the crown secured the fidelity of the lower and oppressed classes. A fact of especial importance for the continuance of the dynasty and the unity of the constitution was a law passed under Philip V (1316–1322), which was published on January 19, 1317, proclaiming the incapability of the female line to inherit the crown; this was done to exclude the claims of Jeanne, the daughter of the prematurely deceased Louis X.[1] Thus individual were sacrificed to constitutional rights in the interests of political unity. This law, which was confirmed by the Pope, provided an excuse and an occasion for the outbreak of the Hundred Years' War with England; but in the factions and succession disputes of the following ages it remained the one firm point amid the political confusion. Its natural consequence was to secure the reversion of territories to the state and the ruling family. Philip V pursued upon the whole the domestic policy of his far-sighted father. Against the nobility who were striving to secure their old position he raised the bulwark of a strong citizen class, of the Parlement, and the legal profession; he excluded the clergy from the highest court of justice. He also turned for support to the growing class of poor freemen, formed of those who had bought their freedom from serfdom and slavery. He consolidated his power by means of frequent national assemblies, in which representatives of the towns could make themselves heard, by increasing and organising his demesnes, by an upright and reliable administration, and by keeping within all possible bounds feudal lawlessness and despotism.

However, he never attained the unlimited absolutism of his father. Still less was this the case with his younger brother Charles IV, who was constantly involved in difficulties of foreign policy during a reign of barely six years (1322–1328). He interfered in the affairs and factions of Flanders and England; in 1314 he even aimed at the crown of the Empire, uniting with the Hapsburg party against the Wittelsbachs (Lewis of Bavaria), and he secured adherents among the German electors by bribery. He increased the territories of the crown in the south of France



at the expense of England (1327, acquisition of the Agénois), but his financial resources were shattered, and he was obliged to take refuge in the burdensome devices of increased customs and imposts, and in the depreciation of the coinage.

The line of the Valois, which in April, 1327, replaced the older Capets (cf. the genealogical table on page 215), suffered severely from a revival of feudalism and an increase of internal disruption. These dangers arising at the moment when England's armies were now at the doors of France brought the French kingdom to the point of disruption during the Hundred Years' War (cf. Vol. VII, pp. 158 to 162 and 202).

VI

THE WESTERN DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIANITY

By PROFESSOR DR. WILHELM WALTHER

1. THE FOUNDATION OF MEDIÆVAL CHRISTIANITY

A. The Western Church after the Great Migrations

THE roaring waves of the great migrations beat upon a twofold wall; the Roman Empire collapsed before their onslaught, but the Christian Church, though severely damaged, was able to survive the catastrophe. Even while the Teutonic nations in the vigour of their youth were dividing the empire as the spoil of victory, the Teutons were learning to bow the knee in reverence before the Church. It was no longer the Church of old, glorious in its pure belief and in its divine love. It had received into itself the heathen masses, and with them much of their heathen spirit. The faith which was to unite the individual with God had been degraded to the point of law; and the universal tie of love had been interpreted as obedience to the heads of the Church. But by reason of its very modifications, Christianity was probably more capable of appeal to these rough nations, as it was less in contradiction with their modes of thought and their natural sympathies. The strength of that antagonism in which every heathen stood to Christianity was further broken in the case of these Teutonic nations by the fact that the migration had torn them from their native soil. The figures of their own gods grew pale when they found themselves surrounded by other mountains, streams, and groves than those in which their native gods had hitherto lived. There was a third fact that facilitated the reception of Christianity by the Teutons, notwithstanding their entire hostility to the Roman Empire. When they came into contact with the Christian Church in larger numbers, there existed two absolutely opposed forms of Christianity, the Orthodox and the Arian creeds. In the imperial church orthodoxy won the day, and the Arians were regarded as enemies (cf. Vol. IV, p. 196). Hence it was possible for the Teutonic nationalities to accept Christianity and yet to retain their hostility to the Roman Empire; it was thus Arian Christianity which they accepted.

So early as the third century Christianity had been preached even among the Goths, who dwelt on the shores of the Black Sea, by Christian prisoners. A Gothic bishop was present at the council of Nicæa in 325. About thirty-five years later the Gothic bishop Ulfilas, who had been consecrated in Constantinople, reduced the language of his people to writing and gave them a translation of the Bible. He worked among them for decades, continuously spreading the Arian form of Christianity. When they began their devastating eastern march under Alaric they plundered and ravaged the remnants of heathenism, but spared and reverenced the

Christian sanctuaries. The three days' plunder of Rome in 410 was concluded by a solemn procession in honour of the sacred vessels of the Church, which the victors had discovered in a hiding-place. From the Visigoths Christianity passed in its Arian form to the Ostrogoths, Vandals, Burgundians, Suevi, and Langobards.

The first of these wandering nationalities to receive the Catholic faith in its pure form was that of the Franks. Chlodwig (Clovis) had extended the Frankish dominion from the north to the Loire. The heathen conquerors felt that the Christianity and the civilization of the Romans whom they had conquered had given them an intellectual superiority. The king chose a Catholic Christian as his wife, and she was allowed to have her children baptised; eventually she succeeded herself in converting her husband "to the Catholic law." At the Christmas festival of 496 he received baptism at Rheims, together with several thousands of his people, in great solemnity. It must be remembered that this was the nation which was to take a leading part in the mediæval world. The Bishop of Vienne was correct in his prophecy, when, in his congratulations to the king on his baptism, he spoke of Chlodwig's action as ensuring the triumph of Christianity over heathenism, and of Catholicism over Arianism. The fierce life and death struggle through which the Christianity of the Græco-Roman world had passed would be avoided in this instance, as Christianity had begun by conquering the Teutonic world. The question, however, remained whether Christianity would not excite struggles of another nature, whether these facile converts would bow to the law of the Church; and the Church could demand no less, now that it had become a legalised educational force. Above all, would the rulers who had opened Christianity to the masses by their own conversion and their appreciation of the Church, consider that this action had given them rights superior to the Church? It was these rulers who erected sacred buildings and provided revenues for the officiating clergy. Would they not be inclined to consider, upon Teutonic principles, such churches as their own property and the bestowal of ecclesiastical offices to the clergy as their right? And would the Church admit these claims if they were advanced? Would the Church extend her powers beyond her true limits, and claim supremacy in the political sphere in order to make the interference of laymen in ecclesiastical affairs an impossibility?

For the moment the Church was so entirely occupied by the task of inducing these tumultuous and warlike nations to adopt a friendly attitude towards Christianity, that these high objects were left out of sight. If we attempt to gain an idea of the ecclesiastical conditions prevailing in the West at the moment when the migratory peoples came to a halt, some light is thrown upon the situation by the life and work of the most important Roman bishop of that century. Gregory I belonged to a senatorial family and had been prætor in Rome. He was, however, persuaded that the honour and the emoluments of his position turned his heart to worldly things, and he therefore decided to renounce the world. He expended the large property which he had inherited from his father in the adornment of monasteries, and entered one that he had founded in his own house. By his zealous self-mortification he shattered his health, but this was a matter beyond his consideration. This was the side of Christianity of those ages which filled with reverential awe the wild nations, who were dominated by sensual passions. When, however, the Roman bishop of the time summoned Gregory from his monastery and sent him to Constantinople as his agent, Gregory obeyed, though with

an aching heart. Even at that stage of Christianity blind submission to the orders of ecclesiastical superiors was regarded as the highest virtue. When he was nominated Pope, Gregory did his best to decline this high dignity. The life of contemplation seemed to him the only life worth living, and he shrank from the gigantic tasks which awaited him as the occupant of Peter's chair.

At that time the political position of a Roman bishop was extremely difficult. Rome was subject to the rule of the distant Greek emperor, who was, however, too weak to protect the city from the menaces of the wild Lombards. These barbarians appeared before the walls of Rome in 592, and the exarch of Ravenna could send no help. To protect the town from destruction, Gregory found himself obliged to conclude peace with the enemy. The emperor abused him for his simplicity, and the exarch broke the peace. Once again the enemy appeared before the city. From the treasures of the Church Gregory paid a heavy ransom to avert the sack of Rome. It was his business to see that the troops received their pay, and that the fortifications of the town remained efficient; he ransomed prisoners of war and fed the poor. His resources were provided by the rich estates which the Roman church possessed, not only throughout the whole of Italy, but also in Dalmatia, Gaul, and northern Africa. These were presents to St. Peter, the "*patrimonium Petri*," which had enormously increased in the course of centuries, and were largely provided by the last representatives of the Roman nobility, who were anxious to know that their names would be recorded at least in heaven, when they were near extinction upon earth. Gregory husbanded this rich source of income with the greatest care. Hence it naturally followed that the Popes could not confine their efforts to purely spiritual activity; they also became politicians, and were honoured as territorial princes in central Italy; this was the beginning of the "temporal power."

Gregory had formed a noble conception of his spiritual supremacy; he called himself the servant of God's servants. The words of Christ, "Who among you will be the greatest, let him be the servant of all," were understood by him to mean that the spiritual office was employed in the service of others. He did not, however, conclude from this text that every bishop should serve others, and that the wanderer must follow the man who showed him the right path; he made it his duty to serve all bishops, and he then made it their duty to obey himself. He thus retained the old theory that the Bishop of Rome was master, though master in service, of all other bishops. Hence, too, his zealous efforts to bring the quarrels of the universal church before his tribunal for decision. For this reason he was greatly angered by the action of the bishop of Constantinople in styling himself an "œcumenical" bishop. In Gregory's opinion, only the Bishop of Rome could have "œcumenical" importance in the Church. When Gregory used every leverage to abolish that title, he considered himself the champion of a great principle and of an ordinance of Christ that was necessary for the maintenance of the Church.

Equally difficult were his relations with the Gallic church; as the Franks had become Christians without a struggle, they saw no advantage in struggling to remain Christians. Their reckless selfishness, their aggressive nature, which drew the sword on every occasion, their want of control, and their sexual immorality were faults which neither prince nor subject, neither clergy nor laity, attempted to limit. Strong and persevering indeed must be the work that could deepen the religious life of this nation and transform its morality. The task was, however,

infinitely more difficult for the reason that, in Frankish opinion, the church of the country was subject to the secular rulers of the country, rulers whose morality was nothing less than scandalous. Often enough they appointed bishops at their own will and pleasure, and sold ecclesiastical offices as they pleased, in many cases to laymen. The Bishop of Rome was honoured as a successor of the Prince of the Apostles and as the guardian of the unity of the faith; but he was not generally regarded as the ruling head of all churches, the Gallic church included. At the same time this nation was not beyond all hope of reformation; the Franks clearly showed a consciousness of their religious deficiencies. Hence the obvious policy for the Pope was to bear with what could not be altered, to cherish and to extend the organisation of the Church, in order that a comprehensive influence might be exerted upon the whole nation. It was in this way that Gregory attempted to influence the Gallican church. He opened correspondence with the rulers of the Frankish state and with individual bishops, but he did not speak as lord of the Church. He was well aware that he could only gain advantage here by representations and advice. Many have been unable to understand how he could send such flattering letters to the "Frankish fury" Brunhilde, praising her "Christian life" and her "love of divine service;" but this Frankish woman gave him many things of which the Frankish church was in need. She built churches and endowed monasteries, begging the Pope to send her relics and privileges for the latter; she was "full of reverence for the servants of the Church" and "overwhelmed them with honour." With this Gregory remained satisfied when he could secure no more, when he was unable to put an end to simony and to the appointment of laymen as bishops, or when he could not secure the convocation of synods to stop abuses. It was first necessary to build the houses in which this rough nation was to be educated, and not until then could the process of education begin.

The greatest and most fruitful work which he undertook was the foundation of the Anglo-Saxon church. Wherever these Teutonic invaders had secured the mastery in England they had destroyed Roman civilization and almost every trace of the old British Christianity. In 596 Gregory sent the abbot Augustine to England with forty Benedictine monks. In the following year some ten thousand Anglo-Saxons were baptised, and King Ethelbert of Kent a few years later. The Pope directed this mission upon comprehensive principles, with a sure hand and a set purpose; here again he followed out his principle of leaving to the future all that could not be secured in the present. He contented himself for the moment with the actual foundation of the Church. He ordered his evangelists not to outrage the feelings of the heathen by destroying their temples, but to facilitate the conversion of the people by changing the temples into Christian churches, to place relics where the images of the gods had stood, and to transform heathen sacrifices into Christian festivals for the honour of God and his saints.

In his care for the monastic system, Gregory was also looking to the future. The monasteries had suffered severely in the storms of the great migrations. Benedict of Nursia had founded the monastery of Monte Cassino in Campania, and had given the monks the famous rule known by his name, which was framed by a wise process of selection from several of the existing monastic rules. In the year 580 the monastery was destroyed by the Lombards and the monks fled to Rome; Gregory then recognised that their rule was more likely than any other to meet

with general approval. He therefore placed them in the monasteries which he himself had founded, and his powerful protection secured them victory in every case. It was clear to him that monks and nuns could only devote themselves to the life of contemplation in peace if the monasteries were secured against all molestation by secular and ecclesiastical lords. Formerly efforts had been made to subjugate the monks to the bishops that they might not lead unspiritual lives; but this apprehension had passed away, and Gregory therefore sought to make them independent of the episcopal power.

Of great future importance were the changes in divine worship, and especially in church singing, which have hitherto been ascribed to Gregory. The mode of singing long customary at divine worship was popularised and subjected to strict rules by Bishop Ambrosius of Milan (died 397). Unfortunately we know too little of the nature of this music to understand the reasons which made later changes appear desirable. Probably the supposition is correct that the earlier style of singing was on the one hand too difficult for the uneducated clergy of that age, and was moreover little calculated to impress the barbarous masses and to become an educative force. In consequence the number of tones was diminished and melodies were simplified, effeminate modulations and changes of time being excluded. In this way ecclesiastical singing acquired a powerful solemnity, and a deeply mysterious character. The "Gregorian chant" proved triumphant over all other styles in the West and has survived to the present day. Even in Milan, where the old Ambrosian liturgy is still retained, the style of singing has gradually conformed to the Roman use in course of time. It must be said that modern investigations have at least made it doubtful whether, or how far, these new regulations are justly attributable to Gregory.

Gregory's writings also exercised a great influence. His "Pastoral Rule," which attempted to make the clergy the educators of the people, was so highly prized by posterity that every Frankish bishop on his consecration bound himself to observe the principles of this book. His "Dialogues" were, if possible, more popular; but these were glorifications of the monastic heroes of Italy, and impressed the masses who had been converted to the Church by their numerous stories of miracles, dreams, and apparitions, which would only influence uncultured and superstitious minds. All his writings, indeed, were composed with reference to such minds. For this reason no other father of the Western world has been so zealously studied. He laid the foundation of ecclesiastical teaching in the Middle Ages. He was a pupil of the great Augustine, but in his attempts to popularise his teaching he lowered the whole spirit of his system. To his example was chiefly due the importance attached to the intercession of saints in the mediæval church, to the penances necessary to avert punishment for sin, and to the sacrifice of the mass, which was also offered for souls in purgatory. To his influence we may ascribe the fact that the lower motive of fear is a central point of mediæval Christianity, and is but slightly modified by hope and cheerfulness, that Christian repentance becomes fear of punishment, and is exerted only to escape punishment. Gregory provided a bridge of transition from the old period to the new, from Græco-Roman to Romano-Teutonic Christianity. He handed on, however, only that modified form of Christianity which was in vogue before his time; the deeper principles, though they survived in his own heart, were not emphasised in the new period. Christianity was degraded that it might be the more easily effectual among nations in

a low stage of civilization, and the possibility of its elevation to its former height remained an open question.

B. Boniface and Charles the Great (from about 715 to 814)

Boniface has been called the apostle of the Germans. This title gives him too much credit, and also fails to express his full importance. Others before his time had planted Christianity in Germany, and it is not only Germany that stands indebted to him. When the Anglo-Saxon church, which Gregory had founded, extended northwards it came into contact with the Iro-Scottish church, which regarded as its founder St. Patrick, a saint who had left Roman Britain for Ireland about 435. This Irish church had remained in complete isolation, and had retained certain special characteristics of the earlier period; in particular, it lacked that hierarchical organisation which had been developed among the newer churches. It was entirely overpowered by the northward advance of the Anglo-Saxon church. But before this date it rendered great services to the Continent; it sent the first preachers of Christianity to Germany. In Germany the Christian church had already made a beginning; remnants of the Christianity of the Roman period had been preserved in the former province of Noricum, while Arian influence had extended to Bavaria and Thuringia. Catholic Christianity might have been introduced here and there by Frankish immigrants; but of missionaries proper the Irish-Scots were the first. We cannot indeed write a history of their work, for but few are known to us by name out of the large numbers who laboured on this difficult soil, and what we hear of them is rather legend than history. Moreover, their achievements were somewhat scanty. The preaching of the gospel was not their primary object; they were anxious rather to secure the respect of the wild heathen for the humility and self-renunciation of the ascetic lives which they led in their miserable cells or in the forbidding monasteries which they had founded, and to induce the surrounding people to make a similar renunciation of the world. They suffered, too, from a defect for which neither their fervent belief nor their moral seriousness could compensate; they knew nothing of organisation. Individual converts they certainly gained, but they were unable to found a church which could survive and extend its influence by organised activity.

The qualities which they lacked were possessed in the fullest measure by the Anglo-Saxon church, which had been founded directly from Rome. From this church Winfried, who had been named Boniface by the Pope, started in 715 for Friesland, whither the Anglo-Saxon Willibrord had set out twenty-five years previously. When Boniface met with no success in this difficult country, he made a pilgrimage to Rome and secured the right of missionary work from the Pope. From this point we trace a remarkable distraction of aims in his career. He had no doubt that his foundations could exist only in close connection with the Roman papacy, but in his holy enthusiasm his real object was to lead as many heathen as possible to the living God, and his chief desire was to gain a martyr's death in his work. The Pope, on the other hand, considered it of supreme importance that there should be no Christians who did not recognise his own supremacy. Hence he attempted to quench the fiery zeal of the bold missionary and to make him a pioneer of papal supremacy. After Boniface had preached Christianity in Hesse

with great success, and had destroyed all that was not purely Roman in Thuringia, he returned to Rome to be sent out by the Pope to the heathen Saxons. The Pope, however, desired first to see the Bavarian and Alamannic churches subject to the Roman chair. Boniface reluctantly obeyed. In Bavaria he organised four bishoprics, carried out the delimitation of their dioceses and founded monasteries, visited the clergy and purged their ranks of unworthy members. The same organised power was exerted in Thuringia and Hesse, until the German church was firmly incorporated with that hierarchical system which centred in Rome. Boniface, who by this time was sixty-five years of age, hoped now to begin his missionary work among the wild Saxons, and again was forced to delay.

The Frankish church was on the point of dissolution. Owing to the economic development of the Frankish state, the bishops had become territorial magnates, while their higher education had secured for them an important part in political life. Hence they were involved in constant struggles with the nobles for the supremacy, and in the course of these each party attempted to secure the largest number of episcopal sees for itself. The secular authorities presented or sold ecclesiastical positions to their friends, who naturally cared nothing for the spiritual welfare of their people. In this way the property of the Church was expended, and ecclesiastical organisation trodden under foot; the clergy were scattered, the monasteries were homes of immorality, and the people were relapsing into heathendom. At that moment Charles Martel died (741). He had employed with the utmost ruthlessness the property of the Church, and the presentation of bishoprics as a means to found his supremacy. His successor, Carlmann (Karlman), immediately resolved "to restore the piety of the Church, which had ceased to exist for some seventy years." For this gigantic task he summoned Boniface, and invited him to hold a reforming synod, the "first Teutonic council" (742). So averse were the Frankish clergy to a reformation that only six bishops appeared. This, however, was rather a benefit than otherwise. It was now possible, unhindered by opposition, to adopt the most sweeping canons, which were issued by Carlmann as his own decrees, and immediately received legal force. The fact that Boniface devoted all his strength to this work of reform is evidence of his great self-renunciation. The work, however, was not carried out as he would have wished; for Carlmann was by no means inclined to abandon any of his rights of supremacy over the Church. It was he, indeed, who convoked the synods. The synods, however, were not to issue resolutions, but to offer advice. He then determined the questions at issue, and it was he who appointed bishops, including the archbishop Boniface.

With even greater independence did Pippin begin his work, when he in his turn resolved upon the reformation of his church. Here Boniface was employed merely as an adviser. He was able, however, to inspire the clergy with a spirit that allowed him confidently to expect that which was unattainable in the present. This was clear at the last synod which he held (747). It was attended by many priests, deacons, and suffragan bishops, and by thirteen bishops. They agreed that the archbishop or metropolitan should have disciplinary power over the bishops, and should occupy a position intermediary between themselves and the Pope. All signed this declaration: "We have resolved to maintain our subjection to the Roman Church to the end of our lives, and in every way to follow the commands of Peter, that we may be numbered among the sheep intrusted to his care." These resolutions were, however, far from becoming the constitutional basis of the Frank-

ish church, for in practice the princes were still its heads. The future, however, was decided, not by legal texts, but by the prevailing spirit of brotherly community. When Winfried had first united them with Rome, these same clergy desired anything rather than subjection to the papacy, and the fact that they now showed a real enthusiasm for the papal supremacy was a splendid result of his labours. The wide extent to which the veneration of the papal chair had become operative was manifested by the fact that Pippin could not assume the crown without the Pope's consent. A closer connection between Rome and the Frankish Empire was also secured by the fact that Pope Stephen II visited Frankland in 752, asked for Pippin's help against the Lombards, solemnly anointed Pippin and his two sons, and received the assistance he required. This success must have repaid the aged Boniface for the many disappointments which he had suffered. He longed only for one thing more, that he might be allowed to conclude his valuable life as a missionary and a martyr. In the spring of 754 he again set out for Friesland, and in June of the following year he was killed by the heathen.

The work begun by Pippin and Boniface was completed independently by Charles the Great (see the plate facing page 78). It seemed as if this superhuman character had ascended the throne with a programme ready in his hand, of which one point after another was realised, with no weakness or hesitation.

The Frankish state had now entered into a new relationship with Rome and the papacy. Pippin had become the protector of the districts which he had transferred to the Pope, and questions might arise as to the rights and duties which this position involved. Charles made his way without difficulty. The Lombard kingdom, against the aggrandisement of which the Pope had sought Frankish help, became part of Charles' Frankish kingdom, and Rome a city within it. The Pope became his subject, and as a secular prince was merely a Frankish vassal. He was obliged to learn a language of which he had previously been ignorant. The king "ordered" and the Pope "fulfilled the royal will."

What, then, were the results of this incorporation of the old imperial city of Rome with the Frankish state? The final act of the new system was the imperial coronation of 800, which had been hanging in the balance since 797. Charles would no doubt have preferred to assume the imperial crown himself rather than to receive it from the Pope, and from one guilty of such grievous offences as Leo III. But he wished to be Emperor at any cost. Only now in the eyes of contemporaries was Western Europe united under his person. It was a unity far removed from the later theory which regarded empire and papacy as separate forces. Charles was in his own opinion master of God's empire, the supreme unity of church and state. On the death of Pippin there were some who regarded the Frankish church as a member of the universal church, and were willing to place it under the Pope's supremacy. Others wished to maintain it as an independent national church, subject to the Frankish king, and to reverence the Pope merely as the head of all Christians. Charles extended the Frankish church under his supremacy that it might be the imperial church, the empire of God upon earth, in which it was the Pope's part to teach, and his to govern. Thus the unity which Boniface had desired was attained, though by different methods than he had proposed; the whole of the Western church reverenced the same Emperor as their ruler and the same bishop as their teacher. It was a magnificent idea; that it was not impossibly magnificent was proved by the events of the age. Far from sighing

under this theocratic supremacy, the Church rejoiced; far from suffering loss, she enjoyed brilliant prosperity. The succeeding age was to show whether such a kingdom, uniting the secular and the spiritual powers, could succeed under other conditions, or whether it was only possible under Charles the Great, who cared alike for church and state, and was fully conscious of the needs of both, who pursued his high purposes, whether secular or religious, with indefatigable activity and invincible persistence, and never aroused opposition by misuse of his power or by weak concession, but was inspired by the lofty conviction that his supremacy was derived from God, and that he must wield it in God's service.

Thus the Popes were thrown into the background, and Charles interfered directly in the domestic ecclesiastical affairs of the papal patrimony. There was, however, no pettifogging rivalry in his interference, and he considerably raised the prestige of Rome in the Frankish church. He regarded the Roman church as the guardian of apostolic tradition, and its bishop as the supreme pastor of Christianity, for which reason the regulations of Rome were to be obeyed throughout the churches of the Empire. He, however, was the man who secured this obedience. He appointed bishops or confirmed their nomination, and his laws appeared in the collections of canon law side by side with papal laws and the canons of councils. He it was who convoked church synods, and confirmed or extended their conclusions as he considered wise. Doctrinal disputes he settled himself after consultation with his imperial assemblies, deciding even against the Pope in cases of necessity; for if this teacher of Christianity inflicted injury upon God's kingdom, then it was the business of God's regent, the Emperor, to protect his kingdom. Such was the case in the quarrel concerning the veneration of images. At the council of Nicæa in 787, Pope Hadrian II and the Byzantine empress Irene had again legalised the veneration of images. Charles decided against them. He argued that the iconoclasm which had formerly been popular in the East, and the veneration of images which was now commanded, were alike boundless folly. Images might be permitted to remind worshippers of the Scripture story or for decorative purposes, but there was no necessity for them, and their veneration might inflict no small harm upon spiritual progress. Charles therefore instructed the Pope to reverse this decision. At the synod of Frankfort (794), in the presence of two papal legates, it was resolved "by all bishops and priests, in virtue of their apostolic authority, and at the command of our pious master, the Emperor Charles, and in the presence of our gracious master himself," to prohibit the veneration or worship of images, and to condemn all who should agree with the conclusions of the Greek synod. The Pope did not venture to protest.

The reform begun by Boniface within the Church was continued by Charles with brilliant success, but here again the objects and methods of the two men were divergent. Boniface was anxious to educate the people, but only so long as they lived within the Church and were subject to it. Hence he was particularly anxious to create a powerful hierarchy. Charles desired to educate mankind as a whole, for all its tasks, for membership of the kingdom of God. The ideal before his eyes seems to have been the formation of independent character, and hence education held so important a place in his scheme. Naturally the education of the clergy was of first importance. But as the advanced schools of which he was the founder provided a learned education both for his own children and for many youths of the first families of the empire, so also the laity were to have their

share of consideration in other schools. Indeed his ultimate object must have been national education; for the children, at any rate, an attempt was made to introduce a general system of school attendance; and it was arranged that the children of the poor should be supported by small contributions during their school lives.

Divine service also was not merely to be the outward expression of religious usage, but was to do something for the individual. Hence Charles made preaching in the vernacular the central point of the service, and ordered that a sermon should be preached in every parish church on every Sunday and saint's day. That part of the service which was said by memory was not to be used mechanically, but with understanding. So much is shown by the German commentaries upon the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, which still remain to us. An attempt was made to form a German Bible. Some fragments still survive of the German translation of St. Matthew's Gospel made at that time, which show a real power of penetrating the meaning of the Scriptures. Charles earnestly urged upon his clergy their duty of caring for souls, and, above all, of hearing confessions. It then seemed that the old ecclesiastical system of penance, which had disappeared in the storms of the last century, could no longer be revived. The penalty for open offences consisted in exclusion from the communion of the Church, while readmission was only to be secured by humble atonement, all of which presupposed the fact that communion with the Church should be regarded as a valuable privilege by the individual. At the present moment the clergy were dealing with masses who had not yet acquired love or appreciation for the Church. As they attached little or no importance to church membership, it would be impossible to force them to buy this privilege at the expense of a heavy penance. The Irish saint, Columba, who had attempted from about 584 to reform the degenerate Frankish church, had endeavoured to influence individual souls by introducing the practice of private confession to the priest. He had drawn up a Penitential, which was to instruct the clergy in this very difficult task. This institution was now revived. It is, however, a sign of his deep appreciation of religious conditions that Charles, who demanded a knowledge of the Christian verities from every one of his subjects, did not make confession compulsory. In his eyes it was only valuable when voluntarily performed. Theologians of that age, however, were the more vigorous in insisting upon the great blessings of confession. They taught that every sin could be forgiven if the sinner made the sacrifice of confession to the priest. While we must not forget the grievous dangers involved by the institution of confession, it was one which, at any rate, exerted an educative influence upon the people; which aroused a consciousness of the individual's responsibility to God, and of the necessity for forgiveness.

Finally Charles completed the projects of Boniface for the conversion of the heathen, but once again by wholly different methods; on more than one occasion it is obvious that the missionaries were supported by the master of God's kingdom upon earth. Even such missionaries as Liudger, who belonged to a Frisian family, could threaten his compatriots in his preaching with "a strong, clever, and fierce king, who would devastate all with fire and sword, and as an avenger of the wrath of God," if his hearers "did not change their godless hearts and amend their ways." The conversion of the Saxons was secured at the price of such appalling struggles that Charles would certainly have been obliged to confine his efforts to defending his own dominions against these threatening neighbours, had he not been

inspired by the idea of the theocratic king who should make his master's enemies the footstool of his feet. After thirty years of struggle he was able to add this last of the Teutonic tribes to the Church. When he ended his energetic life on January 28, 814, the Gospels were placed upon his knees, a fragment of the true cross was laid upon his head, and his sword was girded about his loins. The unity he had attempted to create was soon to be divided, for there is no symbol which can combine the sword and the gospel.

Many disputes have arisen concerning the achievements produced by his regulations, his advice, and his punishments. There is no doubt that many of his projects were far too great for his age. We observe from the first traces of an attempt personally and independently to appropriate the teaching of Christianity. Two works were composed for the "unlearned," which are to be regarded as due to the impulse given by Charles, although they did not appear until the following period; the first is the Low Saxon edition of the Bible story, known to us, since 1894, not only by the "Heiland," reproduced from the New Testament, but also by certain fragments from the Old Testament, belonging to the same school, if not the work of the same translator, and by the epic poem "The Christ," composed by the monk Otfried. The sacred story is given a Teutonic dress. The scene is the land of Germany, and Christ is the king of heaven, the powerful God who helps his own. He fights on behalf of his followers, conquering the powers of darkness by his death and resurrection. He teaches us what works we must perform to be his friends. To his faithful servants he gives those gifts which he has secured by his conflict as an everlasting reward. Christianity thus represented is a considerable abbreviation of the original, but it is also more than a mere reproduction of the teaching of others, inspired as it is by the spirit of personal religion. The work of Otfried increases our regret that the independence of religious life expressed in these works was soon to be overpowered by the growth of church organisation. Indeed even in his book the prescribed theological formulæ and the monastic spirit with its renunciation of the world are predominant features. To the "Heiland" the world is still that beautiful sphere in which the German spirit can delight, whereas in the "Christ" it is a world of misery, crying for love. Centuries passed before a second movement towards an individualist Christianity appeared.

C. The Church after the Disruption of the Kingdom of God (about 814–955)

Charles' kingdom of God was a unity which could not be maintained by his "pious" son Louis; it was broken into a plurality of nations. All who had the welfare of the Church at heart would naturally strive to preserve this unity, in spite of political disruption. The present task before the Church, the education of these half-civilized nations, could only be performed if it were hindered by no boundaries of nationality, if its power were everywhere the same and acting by uniform means. Long ago the papacy had regarded itself as the centre of the universal Church, standing far above all political change. But how could these aspirations be fulfilled? It was impossible that church and state should advance upon separate paths, continually thwarting one another for the reason that their

boundaries were conterminous. The idea which Charles the Great had so brilliantly realised was too splendid and too illuminating to admit this final possibility. The object now before the Church must be a new kingdom of God, with the Pope at its head. The emperor Charles had formed a kingdom of God and obliged the Church to serve him in its own sphere; the kingdoms of the world were now to serve the Popes for the same object. Not until this ideal was realised would peace and harmony reign, though it was not likely that the transformation would be completed without severe struggles. The theories of Charles had met with unanimous support, because they were in harmony with the views already prevailing in the Frankish church, that the church of the country should be subject to the ruler of the land. The Pope's idea overthrew these traditions, proposing, as it did, to secure the contrary object, the supremacy of the Church over secular princes. Hence the great struggle was inevitable, and no less inevitable was a return to the theories of Charles; but as long as the whole ideal of the kingdom of God upon earth was not surrendered, the struggle would continue until the Church attained her goal.

The question then arose, who would support the papacy in this conflict. Even under Lewis the Pious we can observe the terrible division which separated the friends of church and state. When the emperor's sons, for the second time, took up arms against their father, the Pope is also to be found in the camp of the rebels. The bishops were divided in their attitude. Some there were who consoled their conscience with the theory that the Pope acted as Christ's representative, on behalf of the peace of the Church; and to this extent the emperor was also bound to obedience to the papacy. Others gathered round their emperor, and sent a document to the Pope in which they reminded him of his oath of fealty, and declared that they would refuse him their fellowship should he decline submission to his master. The Pope himself was overthrown. But those Frankish prelates who regarded the papacy as the sole guarantee for the unity of the Church advanced a number of claims on behalf of papal authority, which revived the courage of the Pope. In the Pope was centred all authority and the supreme power of the apostle Peter; it was for him to judge, and to be judged of none. This theory becomes more definite and general among the west Frankish bishops when the actual division of the empire had taken place. There was an anxiety to see the Church and its bishops secured against the secular princes, and to make the Church a great and independent power; further, in order to secure general recognition for these views, the boldest and most far-reaching of all forgeries was performed. The new regulations devised under new circumstances to secure the prosperity of the Church were given the stamp of primitive laws. Three of these forgeries were produced. The first two, the so-called "Capitula of Angilram" and the "Collection of Capitularies of Benedict Levita," are pieces of bungling; but the third, "The Pseudoisidorian Decretals," was a magnificent piece of effrontery. This collection of ecclesiastical law, ascribed to Isidore of Seville (died 636) but concocted within the Frankish Empire, was increased by a number of false decretals, which were dated as belonging to the first Roman bishops. Nearly one hundred forged papal letters were inserted in the collection, apart from other well-known pieces of the same kind. Of these latter, one was the "Donation of Constantine," probably fabricated in the time of Pippin and already cited against him; the document asserted that the emperor Constantine, when

healed of leprosy by Bishop Sylvester of Rome, arranged that the bishop should be supreme over all priests in the world, that his chair should be superior to the emperor's throne, that senatorial honour and consular rank should be given to the clergy who served the Roman church, and that they should in consequence have the right of decorating their horses with white trappings. When the Pope in his humility declined to wear the golden crown, the emperor served him as a squire, holding the bridle of his horse, and promised him the possession of all the provinces in Italy and the northern districts, transferring his own capital from Rome to Byzantium. Thus, what the emperor was to be henceforward in the East, the Pope was to be in the West in virtue of Constantine's Donation.

In the case of the newly forged decretals we must distinguish between their intention and their actual influence. The object was the elevation, not so much of the papal as of the episcopal power. It was declared that according to the apostle Paul no secular court had jurisdiction over a priest. Only the provincial synod could proceed against a bishop; neither the laity nor the inferior clergy could be admitted to the proceedings as plaintiffs or witnesses, though seventy-two witnesses were demanded. That the forcible expulsion of a bishop might be made impossible, it was provided that no charges against a bishop should be considered until he had been completely restored to his rights and property. In order to preserve the episcopal power against secular violence, principles were announced concerning the papacy which made it the "head of the whole world;" the papal chair was invested with a right of final decision in all ecclesiastical matters. Only the Pope could summon a synod, and all questions of difficulty must be submitted to him.

The world at large was unaware of the fraud, and these falsifications thus actually contributed to give the papacy an unexampled elevation in the eyes of the public. We have a fine example here of the Nemesis of history. To secure a desired standpoint for themselves the clergy assigned an immoral ascendancy to the papacy. But the Popes then used their superiority for the subjugation also of the clergy, and their yoke was heavier than that which lay princes had formerly imposed, nor could any treachery or deceit avail to shake it off.

The first Pope who appealed to these False Decretals as though they were recognised documents was Nicholas I (858–867). He may be called the first mediæval Pope. He was also the first Pope who was not only consecrated but also crowned upon his accession; for he was the first to assume supremacy over the princes of the nations, in order to facilitate the exercise of his supremacy over the Church, and for this purpose he declared himself lord of the united kingdom of God upon earth. In his opinion the Christian Church was based upon the papacy; upon the existence of the papacy depended not only the religious, but also the social and political, order of the world. Within the Church the Pope was an absolute monarch; his word was God's word, his action God's action. The synods could only execute the decrees of the Pope, while the bishops were merely his commissioners; "their capacity is to be measured by their subordination to the papal chair." The Emperor and all other princes are concerned only with secular affairs. Hence there can be no secular judgment of the clergy, and secular laws can never bar ecclesiastical rights. Should the contradiction occur, secular law is thereby proved unsound, for even in purely political matters the princes were bound to fulfil the Pope's orders. To the Pope all the rulers of the earth must bow down. Hence a king who governed

badly, in the Pope's judgment, was not a lawful prince, but a tyrant against whom revolt was obligatory. And above all things the Emperor must never forget that his crown was given him by the Pope.

Nicholas ruled in full accordance with this theory. Emperors or kings, bishops or archbishops, might attempt to maintain independence of ideas or position, opposition might arise from the East or from the West, his own legates might prove incompetent to preserve his supremacy, but never did he diverge a hair's-breadth from his principles. His victories were by no means invariably brilliant, but he always maintained his claims to be a ruler by divine right.

In accordance with these principles his successors devoted their attention to limiting the imperial power. Eventually they were able to confer the mighty crown of Charles the Great upon a Carolingian vassal, a duke of Spoleto. They had failed to consider that if the "protector" was no longer master his protection would disappear, though it was especially needed against the defiant Roman aristocracy, who were anxious to secure the temporal supremacy of the papacy. The rapid degeneration of the papacy became plain when it was no longer subject to the political and moral influence of the Teutonic nationality. In the eighteen years between 896 and 914 no less than thirteen Popes were overthrown.

John X then ascended the chair of St. Peter. As a deacon he had often been sent to Rome from Ravenna, where Theodora, the wife of a senator, had chosen him as her lover. In order to keep him about her person she secured his election as Pope. Another woman, by name Marozzia, succeeded in throwing him into prison. She had a "spiritual son," as she called him, by an earlier Pope, and this man she raised to the papal chair in 931. Her "secular son," Alberic, governed the city as Patricius. She offered her hand to the treacherous and voluptuous prince Hugo of Provence, who came to Rome hoping to secure the imperial crown through his wife. Their marriage was celebrated in the castle of St. Angelo, but Alberic, fearing for his position and his life as a result of this connection, roused the people to arms. The bridal couple were forced to let themselves down from the castle by a rope, and Alberic, who was appointed Senator of the Romans, imprisoned his mother. After a reign of twenty-two years, when he felt the approach of death, he convened in St. Peter's church a meeting of the ecclesiastical and secular magnates of Rome to recognise his son as the heir to his temporal power and as the future successor to the papacy. Hence in no long time (955) this youth of fifteen years was able to unite the spiritual and temporal powers. This John XII "loved," as an old chronicle states, "a multitude of women." His life was passed in hunting, play, and drunkenness. He is said to have consecrated a deacon in the stable, after offering a libation to the ancient gods at a dinner.

The results that occurred were only to be expected when the papal crown became the plaything, not only of the nobles, but also of their mistresses. The influence of the papacy upon the Church outside the walls of Rome became practically non-existent, and every national church went its own way. None the less these miserable or scandalous creatures of wild factions or fair women did not hesitate to issue proclamations in the unctuous and lofty style of their predecessors. John X, who had been raised to the papacy by his concubine, did not hesitate to scold an archbishop, who was famous for his faithful devotion to duty, because he had conferred the gifts of the Holy Spirit as though they were earthly property upon an unworthy recipient. Again, in a letter to another archbishop, he could

boast of his personal prowess in battle and could speak of his inexpressible grief to hear of scandals from different parts of the world, by which he could not but be pained, as the cares of the whole world were incumbent upon him. As the news of the appalling degeneration of the papacy gradually spread abroad, the reverence for sacred things was bound to diminish.

In Italy, where the papacy was before the eyes of the people, a rapid decay of religious life became obvious in this very period. The traditional ceremonies were indeed continued. This task being the sole reason for the existence of the clergy, the taste for education and science gradually but inevitably deserted them, and the ignorance of the Roman clergy became a byword among other nations. To the assertion of French bishops that science was practically unknown in Rome, the papal legate could reply: "The representatives of Peter and their scholars will have neither Plato nor Virgil for their masters, or any other philosophic cattle. Peter did not know everything, and yet he became the doorkeeper of heaven."

Together with this self-satisfied ignorance we may observe another tendency which turned to heathen authors for that satisfaction which had been previously found in religion. It was not the great and noble thoughts that were admired in these authors, but their heathenism and the shortcomings of their culture. Through enthusiasm for them and through appealing to their example, the more educated clergy degenerated into actual barbarism. The truest worldly wisdom was the unbridled enjoyment of life. Not only the laity, but Popes, bishops, and the clergy followed this tendency unashamed; even the centres of renunciation, the monasteries, were carried away by the movement. In Santa Maria di Farfa the monks poisoned their abbot, fought together, divided the various properties of the monastery, took wives, reared up families, and plunged into a voluptuous life. The holy vestments for the mass were turned into clothes for their concubines; bracelets and earrings were made from the altar vessels. The Christianity of Italy was on the point of extinction if no external help were forthcoming.

Among the Teutons the new faith had been received with deep feeling and religious seriousness. Here we may observe among the bishops a zealous desire to influence the people for their good, the spirit which supported the False Decretals, and the ideas of supremacy entertained by a Nicholas; humble submission to, and veneration of, the Church was their object.

The sound system of education initiated by Charles the Great and his scholars was a barrier against that thaumaturgic spirit which had passed from the Græco-Roman world to the Frankish kingdom, and had become associated with heathen superstition. This tendency was able to develop unchecked under the successors of Charles the Great. It was most zealously forwarded by the Church, which was anxious to secure the reverence of the people as the possessor of divine power and the guardian against all the powers of darkness. Every church and every monastery therefore attempted to gain possession of some relic. It seemed impossible to impress the rude minds of the people more deeply than by showing some supernatural power proceeding from these remnants of decay. The more preposterous the character assigned to these treasures, the greater their value. In one monastery was displayed at that time a piece of the cradle in which Christ had lain and the candle which had burnt at His birth, a piece of the wood of which Peter had wished to make three tabernacles upon the Mount of Transfiguration, and the milk of the Virgin Mary. It must be said that the number of relics offered for sale

increased so enormously that apprehensions of possible deceit began to arise. In those cases an attempt was made by a three days' fast to induce God to prove the genuineness of the saint's body by a miracle. The celebrations held upon the translations of relics resembled triumphal processions. The bands that joined the procession increased at every stage of the journey; for the holy relic might perform a miracle at any and every moment upon the way. If no other miracle were to be seen, it often happened that after a heavy night's rain the heaven grew splendidly clear upon the morning when the relic was to resume its journey.

There was, however, something even greater than these relics of the saints; for the Church in her services had Christ her Lord present in person. The abbot Radbertus taught that in the mass the bread and wine were changed into the body and blood of Christ by the words of the priest, and that in consequence blood was often to be seen upon the host, or that a lamb might be seen upon the altar. Great was the power that had been given to the Church; the simplest person, when once the Church had made him a priest, could perform this highest of all miracles, and bring down the lofty King of Heaven from on high. With what reverential awe must the people have celebrated divine service when at any moment Christ might show to the eyes of those present the mystery concealed beneath the forms of bread and wine.

As a matter of fact the attempt to withdraw the people from their faith in the old gods proved unsuccessful. They might indeed be persuaded to praise God the Father Almighty, and to renounce the devil and all his works; but they retained a firm conviction of the powers of those demoniacal spirits who filled the world. There was no surer means of securing the reverence and obedience of the masses to the Church, than by representing the Church as triumphant over the dark powers of evil spirits. Hence the people were taught to obtain consecration for the house in which they lived, for the spring from which they drank, for the bread which they ate, for the orchard and the field from which they gained their harvest. The first ears of corn, the first apples, the first grapes, eggs, cheeses, and meat were brought to the Church, that the blessing of the Church might preserve all from harm. It was thought well to say a blessing upon the dogs when the cattle were driven to the pasture, upon the bees when they left their hive, upon caterpillars and sicknesses, that they might pass away. The Church failed to appreciate the danger that the ignorant population might modify these Christian uses and formulæ to the form of their old heathen magical rites, that the old heathen superstition might merely assume a veneer of Christianity. She also disregarded the danger that such action might cause Christianity to be regarded as nothing but a means of protecting mankind from earthly misfortunes. Deeper minds must have hoped that a more spiritual conception of Christianity would take root in the future. Many centuries passed before this time came, and when it arrived, these distorted ideas were so firmly established that they have never been entirely extirpated.

The confessional was an institution that developed in the same direction. Every one had now to come to confession. If all were not conscious of their sins, the priest was obliged to begin an examination and to address the penitent in such terms as these: "Perhaps you do not remember all that you have done; I will therefore question you. Have you committed murder?" The result was inevitable; the conscience was certainly awakened to what was forbidden by God, but

in such a way that people learned to regard their own sins without sorrow or shame. The sense of penitence that transforms mankind was hindered, if not entirely destroyed, by this questioning, for the reason that such examination aimed merely at inducing men to confess the sins they had committed; that is, to confess where true shame would forbid their utterance. A knowledge of evil was thus produced, which, far from improving, rather deadened the conscience. The theory was that the penance imposed upon the sinner would deter him from a repetition of the offence, and therefore improve him. But as the acknowledgment of sin, at which such confession aimed, brought no inward change, confessors found themselves obliged to modify the weight of their penances, because "in these times the zeal for penance is no longer what it was." A man, for instance, who might have been condemned by the old rules to bread and water for a year, was now commanded to fast in this manner only for one day in the week. Even so little as this often proved unattainable. Thus the time of penance was abbreviated, and the deficiency was filled by the saying of psalms and other prayers. Or money might be paid in lieu of penance; and churches and priests were also included in the "pious purposes" for which such money was given. "The weakness of the penitent" was so far considered that performance of penance by a third party was permitted. Priests and monks were especially competent to act thus as proxies, and were rewarded with money by the penitent whom they thus relieved of his duties. Such a proceeding inevitably fostered the theory that man could buy back his sins from the Church, and that all he needed was to offer the Church his blind obedience.

D. The Salvation of the Church by Germany (955–1050)

When Alberic was ruling over Rome, religion in Italy had sunk to such a pitch that this farseeing prince recognised the immediate necessity of a change. No help could be expected from the degenerate papacy, and he therefore appealed to the Cluniac monks. This order had been founded on Romance soil in Burgundy about 910, and was originally intended merely to reform the degenerate monastic system by the reintroduction of a strict Benedictine rule. It was obvious, however, that the reasons for the decay of the orders were to be found in the fact that they were not entirely independent of the temporal or episcopal powers. Hence it was thought well that the Pope alone should have authority over the Cluniacs. At an earlier period individual monasteries had existed in isolation, and had consequently lost much of their power of resistance to foreign influence; all were now to form a congregation conducted upon uniform principles, living according to the rule of the Cluniac movement. From these beginnings naturally developed the great influence which this order exercised upon the history of the Church. If the Pope were to be the sole head of the order, and if only harm could be expected from the secular power, it was necessary to secure that no ecclesiastical power should have any influence in the Church except the Pope. At that period it was impossible to conceive any separation between the spiritual and secular spheres of the state, so that this order became the champion of the papal programme as put forward by Nicholas I.

These zealous brethren were summoned by Alberic in 936, and in many cases

they succeeded in arousing a sense of religion and a desire for improvement even in the papal court. This party, which was disgusted at the appalling prevalence of immorality, probably inspired the despatch of that embassy which asked the German king, Otto I, for help. Otto came to Italy, but declined to interfere in the government of the Church. He was only anxious to secure the secular subjection of the Pope to his own authority, and thus to remove any obstacle to the execution of his political plans. Hence when he was crowned emperor in 962 he left the Pope the secular power over Rome, but this he could only exercise in subordination to the emperor; in consequence no Pope could be hereafter consecrated until he had sworn allegiance to the emperor. The Pope, however, by his conspiracy with the emperor's enemy, Berengar, to whose sons he threw open the gates of the town, forced Otto to go further than he had intended. John even instigated the wild Hungarians to invade Germany, that Otto might be obliged to leave Italy. When the emperor marched upon Rome John fled, and declined to appear when summoned to answer for his actions. The emperor, therefore, held at Rome a synod, over which it should have been the duty of the Pope to preside; and in accordance with the wishes of the people and clergy he deposed the unworthy John, and appointed Leo VI. Roman faithlessness obliged him once more to sit in judgment upon a Pope. The Romans had recalled the miserable John, and Leo was forced to flee. John then lost his life in the pursuit of a love intrigue, and Benedict V was appointed to succeed him. Otto returned, overpowered the revolt, replaced Leo in the papal chair, and condemned the opposition Pope to exile from Italy.

Immediately after Otto's death desperate party struggles broke out in Rome; the prestige and influence of the papacy disappeared entirely. In France, where the voice of the Pope had often been represented as that of God, the indignation excited by these disgraceful and protracted scandals was unbounded; men spoke without hesitation of the "human monster full of disgrace, empty of all knowledge of divine or human things, but none the less claiming supremacy over the priests of God;" they referred to the Pope as "the Antichrist, sitting in the temple of God, and acting as though he were God." They considered the advisability of separation from the Roman church as prophesied by the apostle. It was Germany that came to the rescue of the papacy at the time of its deepest degradation. A synod consisting almost entirely of Germans broke the strength of the strong French opposition. German Emperors gave German Popes to the Church and assisted in the work of its reformation.

Gregory V (formerly Bruno, the son of the Duke of Carinthia), a cousin of Otto III, was the first German Pope; he was distinguished both for his intellectual powers and his strong character, and was firmly resolved to raise the Church from the depths to which it had fallen. Otto III, who was crowned emperor by the new Pope in 996, regarded himself as the head of Christendom. His theory was that the Pope should advance the general welfare, in subordination to himself, as one of the magnates of the empire. If synods were held, the Emperor presided, taking the advice of the Pope and of those who were present. He issued "orders" to the Pope, while papal decisions were revised by him. It was a renewal of the theories of Charles the Great, provoked by the moral bankruptcy of an independent papacy. On the death of Gregory, Otto bestowed the papal chair upon his former teacher, the famous scholar, Gerbert (Sylvester II, 999–1003). An open breach was only prevented by the close friendship uniting these two Popes with the Emperor;

for the divergence of opinions concerning the due position of the papacy was bound to lead to some rupture. After the deaths of Otto and Gerbert, the papacy again became a plaything in the hands of the Roman nobility, and lost all influence in consequence. In 1012 two rival Popes were in existence; one of these applied to the German king, Henry II, who recognised his adversary Benedict VIII as Pope. In conjunction with Benedict, Henry attempted to reform the Church, but once again it was the emperor who took the initiative. Henry's high respect for the Church and his rich presents gained him the title of saint, but he insisted that the Pope should address him as "lord," and he appointed or deposed bishops. He was no less anxious than the Cluniac monks for monastic reform, but this he strove to secure by methods of his own. He wished to make the monks models of self-renunciation and piety, but still the servants of the papacy. He fought with the Pope against simony and the concubinage of the clergy. His object, however, was not to release the bishops and clergy from all connection with secular affairs, but to purify the spiritual office of its vices. The Church was in fact reformed, but the real reformer was the Emperor, not the Pope. Strangely enough we hear of no general objection to the theocratic position thus occupied by the empire. In the cathedral of Mainz the archbishop could say to the new king, Conrad II, "Thou hast reached the highest dignity, thou art the representative of Christ," and in German circles this saying met with cheerful approval.

Conrad II ruled the Church as his predecessors had done, but not with the same consciousness of duties imposed by his position, or with the same warm interest in ecclesiastical reform, though the necessity for this had again become imperative. Pope Benedict IX was a boy of twelve years old, but was distinguished for vices which are almost incredible at so early an age. When the Romans proposed to put an end to his excesses, Conrad proceeded to protect him, and Benedict for years was able to plague Rome by his tyranny and immorality. When the state of affairs became intolerable, he was driven out, and a new Pope; Sylvester III, was chosen. Eventually, however, Benedict's party won the day; he was able to return and continue his shameless life. A well-meaning man, who was anxious to free the Church from this disgrace, bought the papacy from him, and placed himself upon the apostolic chair; this was Gregory VI. Naturally such a character as Benedict IX did not feel himself bound by the contract of sale, but continued to regard himself as the successor of Peter. Thus there existed at one and the same time three Popes, all in mutual opposition. In vain the best of them, Gregory, attempted to draw Rome and the Church from the depths of her iniquity. Once again Germany brought help. A synod assembled in Rome, though without a summons from any Pope; it begged Henry III to save the Church, and not in vain. The view of Charles the Great and Otto III, who had regarded the emperor as priest and king, were also shared by Henry; inspired by honest piety, he devoted all his powers to the reform of the Church.

The state of affairs was indeed appalling. The example given by Rome and its bishops had found imitators far and wide. As might had for so long been right in Rome, a general tendency had arisen throughout France and Germany to disregard human and divine right, and to seize any advantage that could be grasped. There was no security for private property, while robbery and bloodshed were the order of the day. The practice of prosecuting private quarrels had risen to boundless excess. The Christian world had now learned from the papacy to regard the

spiritual calling as a distinction which guaranteed earthly success. Simony had become general. Any one who desired an ecclesiastical office was prepared to pay for this source of revenue, while every patron was anxious to make capital out of these privileges; at the same time, there was not the smallest consciousness of the contemptible nature of this practice. Even the "saint" Henry II had shown no hesitation in accepting money from the applicants who demanded ecclesiastical posts.

In France, the Cluniac monks (cf. above, p. 233) had succeeded by strenuous efforts in securing the observance of the Truce of God, which at any rate gave a short breathing space between incessant feuds and quarrels. In Germany, Henry III secured even greater results. By example, requests, and orders he forced the nobles to respect the general Land-peace which he had proclaimed; he then declared war upon simony. He had no intention of surrendering his right to fill up vacant bishoprics, nor did any one demand so much of him; it was not until a later date that public opinion ventured to brand this as simony. He renounced all profit, however, which might accrue to him in consequence of these rights. On his pilgrimage to Rome he held a synod at Pavia, and uttered these impressive words to the audience, who had all secured their ecclesiastical offices by purchase: "From the Pope to the doorkeeper, every ecclesiastical rank is stained by this spiritual robbery." So deep an impression was made upon those present that they begged him for mercy and forgiveness, in fear that they would all lose their posts. A general order was then issued that henceforward no spiritual office or dignity was to be acquired by purchase.

The next task was the salvation of the papacy, which was now claimed by three coexistent Popes. This schism was ended in 1046 by the synods of Sutri and of Rome. All the Popes were deposed, and Henry invited the Romans to choose a new one. They replied: "Where the royal majesty is present, our rights of election do not exist." The German bishop, Suidger of Bamberg, was presented to the papal chair, under the title of Clement II. From his hand Henry received the imperial crown. The Romans conferred upon their Emperor the patrician power, and with it the right of appointing the Pope. So great was the joy at the services which the Emperor had performed for the Church, that the strongest ecclesiastics showed no indignation at the cession of these high rights to the Emperor, but regarded his powers as a divine reward for his efforts in "snatching the Church from the jaws of the insatiable dragon." The time was to come when a papal election would be declared accursed if conducted by other powers than those of the Church; but it was necessary also to provide that this new manner of election should make the advance of immorality impossible. Would that such men as the papal nominees of Henry III had invariably been appointed! His next appointments were the Germans, Poppo of Brixen (Damasus II), Bruno of Toul (Leo IX), and Gebhard of Eichstätt (Victor II). Under the Emperor's orders they co-operated with him in the task of church reform.

The revival of the imperial power and the reformation of the Church was accompanied at that time by a resumption of missionary activity, which had been almost entirely dormant since the death of Charles the Great. The indefatigable Anskar had carried the standard of Christianity into Denmark and Sweden, and founded the bishopric of Hamburg in 833. His work, however, was so inadequately supported by the weak Lewis the Pious, that the final results were very

scanty. However, when Henry I had conquered the Danes, freedom of preaching for Christian missionaries was made a condition of peace, and under the powerful protection of Otto I it was possible to organise four bishoprics among this nation. In the year 1026 we find the Danish king, Knut the Great, on a pilgrimage to Rome, making a vow that he would atone for the follies of his youth by the prudence of his maturer years.

By the mere defence of his frontiers against the wild Wends, Henry I also contributed to the subjugation of these enemies of German existence. Otto I completed his work, not only extending the frontiers of his empire, but also beginning the conversion of this people by the foundation of the bishoprics of Brandenburg, Havelberg, and also Oldenburg in the land of the Obotrites. In Bohemia a struggle for predominance had long been raging between the Græco-Moravian, the Germano-Roman, and the heathen factions. Henry I advanced as far as Prague and secured the recognition of German supremacy; Wenzel, who belonged to the German-Roman party, became master of the country (see figures 1 and 2 of the plate in Vol. V, "Bohemian, Moravian, and Silesian Princes of the Middle Ages"). He was afterwards treacherously murdered by his brother Boleslav, and the German priests were driven from the country; Otto I then made Bohemia a part of the empire, and founded a bishop's see in Prague (950). The Poles also recognised the German supremacy from 963, and the bishopric of Posen was founded for their benefit. The Hungarian church was also organised. The prince of Hungary, Stephen II, married a sister of the future German king, Henry II, and became a Christian. In the year 1000 Gran became a bishopric and Stephen was made king. Attempts were made from Germany to spread Christianity in Russia and Prussia, though without success.

With this revival of missionary zeal, marked as it is by a somewhat secular and political character, we may observe also a renewal of intellectual activity, though not immediately obvious in the theological sphere. The famous poem "Waltharius," composed by Ekkehard of St. Gall about 927, heralded a new epoch in literature. In a short time theology made a tentative advance. Notker Labeo of St. Gall (d. 1022) composed a number of translations and commentaries on the books of the Bible in a language chiefly German; we still possess his commentary on the Psalms. William, the abbot of Ebersbach in Bavaria, compiled his famous commentary on the Song of Solomon. In France the master of the cathedral school of Rheims, Gerbert, afterwards Pope Sylvester II, was a famous figure.

It is, however, remarkable to observe the peaceful manner in which these two tendencies co-operated, while aiming at a revival of religious influence; there was the imperial tendency based upon the theories of Charles the Great, and the papal tendency, originating with the Cluniac reforms. The condition of the Church cried so loudly for improvement that help was accepted from any quarter, no matter what the nature of its ultimate object. Even religious movements wholly foreign to the German nationality commanded the respect of Germans, provided that they implied the renunciation of the prevailing godless spirit. It perhaps was a consequence of Cluniac influence in Italy that many, in horror of the immorality of the age, abandoned the world and took refuge in asceticism to atone for the sins of their contemporaries. Romuald, who belonged to the family of the dukes of Ravenna, founded the hermit order of the Camaldulenses (1018). The holy Nilus lived as a hermit in lower Italy, clothed in a black goatskin, going bareheaded

and barefooted, and eating nothing but a fragment of bread every few days. Peter Damiani practised self-mortification by psalm-singing, an expiation which relieved the sinners of the world from centuries of penance; his friend Dominic, as a result of incessant practice, was able to rain blows upon his back with such incredible rapidity that he did penance for a century in six days. Romuald, like Nilus, was visited by the emperor Otto III and revered as an angel of God. In the garb of a penitent, the powerful emperor prostrated himself before the hermit, and lay beside him upon his hard rush couch; it seemed that he would gladly have remained with Romuald as a humble monastic brother.

Such facts teach us that the momentary supremacy of the German over the Roman church was but external, based upon the degeneracy of the latter, and that the spirit of the German church was entirely Roman. This spirit, if carried to its logical consequence, leads to the theories of Nicholas I (858–867; see above, p. 229). The papacy and the Roman church were saved by the German emperors. The return which Rome made for this rescue from the slough of despond was a revival of its claim to the blind obedience of all human beings, the emperor included.

2. THE ELEVATION OF THE PAPACY AND THE RISE OF THE INDEPENDENT RELIGIOUS SPIRIT

A. The Church upon the Path to Secular Supremacy (1050–1179)

(*a*) *The Struggle for Political Power.* — When Bishop Bruno of Toul entered his palace at Rome, after being nominated by the Emperor to the Holy See, he announced to the clergy and the people that he had come to them at the Emperor's desire, but would gladly return to his own country if he were not confirmed in the papal chair by their free election. Hildebrand, who was entirely inspired by the Cluniac spirit, had been willing to accompany him to Rome, only upon the condition that he should not regard himself as Pope by imperial appointment, but should also seek legal election in Rome. In this way Leo IX became Pope on February 12, 1049. Further developments entirely corresponded with this beginning; Hildebrand became the adviser and guide of the Popes until he himself secured that dignity.

His objects were the logical continuation of the theories of Nicholas I. The Pope was the head of the Universal Church, and the clergy in every land must therefore be his subordinates. The secular princes were also bound to serve him, as the body serves the soul. It was an intolerable distortion of the system proclaimed by God if princes were to have any power over the Church, — if, for instance, they were able to give away ecclesiastical offices or to appoint Popes. They received their powers solely from the Church, as the moon derives its light from the sun; the Pope was thus the representative of Christ upon earth.

Hildebrand was well aware that the practical application of these theories would provoke a fearful conflict, and he therefore prepared indefatigably for the struggle. The chief necessity was to revive the prestige of the papacy. Leo X travelled throughout Christendom in person, holding synods, consecrating churches, pro-

nouncing decisions, and giving blessings. To restore the reputation of the clergy, the struggle against simony and ecclesiastical immorality was renewed. Upon the accession of Henry IV, who was a minor, Hildebrand ventured to reorganise the method of electing to the papal chair. The Lateran council under Nicholas II ordained in 1059 that the purely ecclesiastical college of the Roman cardinals should elect the Pope. The question then arose as to what became of the chartered imperial rights; and upon this subject a sentence was added, which was such a masterpiece of diplomacy that it is difficult even at the present day to say exactly what it means, — "without prejudice to the respect due to our beloved son Henry." Money, however was needed for the war, and Hildebrand therefore reorganised the finances of the Roman church. As he needed allies, he invested the princes of the wild Normans, who had constantly been excommunicated, with wide districts of Italy, which naturally were not his to give, and made them swear allegiance in these terms: "I will help thee to retain secure and honourable possession of the papacy, the land of St. Peter, and the princely power." In northern Italy he entered into an alliance with the Pataria, a revolutionary movement directed against nobles and clergy, and with their help broke down the resistance of the powerful Archbishop Theobald of Milan, so that henceforward "the obstinate cattle of Lombardy" were the vassals, not of Germany, but of Rome.

At length he ascended the papal chair as Gregory VII on April 22, 1073, and it was then possible to begin the struggle for the unlimited freedom and supremacy of the Church. He declared his sole intention to be the extirpation of simony. But by simony he understood, not only the selling, but also the conferment, of an ecclesiastical office by a temporal lord. At the same time the appointment of a bishop was by no means a purely ecclesiastical matter. Since the days of Otto I the episcopacy was also a purely secular office, involving all the rights and duties of a secular prince. Hence it was not likely that the secular power would immediately release from their feudal obligations these secular lords exercising territorial rights, merely because they were clergy or bishops; it was even less likely that they would be quickly surrendered to another power and to the sole supremacy of the Pope. There would be few subjects and but little influence remaining to secular sovereigns if these bishops received their power from the Pope, and not from the king. If Gregory wished to secure that the bishops should receive their offices from himself alone, there was but one possibility open, — the bishops must resign all secular power and supremacy and become mere ecclesiastics. This simple idea, however, did not occur to him, for he was anxious that the bishops should remain princes. In his view, the Church required wealth and power to rule as she should. Even as she possessed the papal states in Italy, and could make the Normans her vassals, so should every bishop possess some secular power with which to serve the papacy and to defy the secular ruler, if occasion arose; for this reason, again, no ecclesiastic should take the oath of fealty to a secular lord.

Such a struggle would have been hopeless if opened by a weaker man than Gregory VII, who was blindly enthusiastic for the justice of his aims, and would have beheld the ruin of the world unmoved, provided that his own objects were retained thereby. This victory he hoped to secure through the magical power of the words spoken to Peter, "What thou loosest on earth shall be loosed in heaven." Gregory considered that this promise enabled him to depose kings, to relieve subjects of their oath of fealty, to decide all quarrels as he would, "to take from any

and to give to any the possessions of all men, to make illegality legal, and legality eternal wrong." These means, indeed, made it possible to continue the struggle between the empire and the papacy for more than thirty years; it was a struggle which entirely paralysed Germany, and for a long time secured the predominance of the Romance peoples in Europe, while it also brought terrible pressure to bear upon consciences. Henry IV was reduced to beg for absolution for three days as a penitent at Canossa (1077). These means, however, did not secure victory for the Pope, and Gregory was reduced to an exile's death (see the plate facing this page, "Pope Gregory VII, the Emperor Henry IV, and the anti-Pope Clement").

Gregory's ideas, however, were steadily disseminated by the Cluniacs, both elsewhere and in Germany, where Hirsau in the Black Forest had become a central point of this tendency. The extent of the papal prestige could be seen in the fact that Urban II placed himself at the head of the Romance countries to liberate the Holy Land from the hands of the infidels, and induced thousands to cry, "It is God's will," at the Council of Clermont (1095); it is evidenced by the half-million of crusaders who set out for the Holy Sepulchre with the Pope's blessing, and by the Pope's ability to declare the newly acquired kingdom, with its capital of Jerusalem, an ecclesiastical fief. It must be said that the struggle between Pope and Emperor was steadily renewed. Henry V, whom the Pope had chosen and raised to the throne against his father's opposition, had no intention of showing his gratitude for this infidelity by blind obedience. Eventually peace was concluded by the Concordat of Worms (1122). The temporal possessions and powers of the bishops were differentiated from their ecclesiastical office; the latter was conferred by the Church through consecration, and the former by the emperor through investiture with the sceptre. Thus the Church and the State were placed upon an equality; henceforward ecclesiastical supremacy was the sole prerogative of the Pope, and the emperor had nothing to do with ecclesiastical affairs. But it was questionable whether this peace could be anything more than an armistice, whether all future German emperors would agree to this complete surrender of the theories of Charles the Great and Otto III, and whether Rome would be contented with what she had gained. The demands of the papacy were far more comprehensive; not only was the Church to be entirely free from temporal power, but she was also to be a universal and world-wide ruler. When Gregory and his helpers had once proposed this ideal as a solution of all difficulties, and had secured for it a wide acceptance, the Concordat of Worms could never imply a final peace.

The succeeding events seemed as though intended to demonstrate to the papacy the folly of these aspirations to world-wide power. The papacy could not even maintain its authority in Rome, or secure itself from self-destruction, without the help of Germany. That purely ecclesiastical corporation which had been intrusted with the papal elections in order that a decision might be inspired by the spirit of God and not by that of the world, was unable to agree. The Cardinals' College presented Christianity with two Popes in the year 1130. The rivals waged a bloody conflict for the supremacy; and on two occasions the German emperor, Lothar, was obliged to appear in Italy to secure the preponderance of Innocent II. Lothar's victory confirmed the Romans in their convictions that the imperial aspirations of the papacy deprived them of peace, and that peace could only be restored if the Church abandoned this struggle for wealth and power and returned to her original poverty, while the people took political power into their own hands. It was impossible,

POPE GREGORY VII.; THE EMPEROR HENRY IV. AND HIS ANTI-POPE, CLEMENT III.

(From miniatures in two MSS. of the twelfth century)

EXPLANATION OF THE MINIATURES OVERLEAF

Left: Pope Gregory VII. Miniature from the "Vita sancti Gregorii VII Pontificis" of Paulus Bernriedensis (Foundation library at Heiligenkreuz near Baden in Lower Austria, in the second volume of a twelfth century *legendarium* originally in four volumes: cf. J. M. Watterich, "Pontificum Romanorum vitæ," I, 474).

Right: The Emperor Henry IV and his opposition Pope Clement (III; formerly Wibert of Ravenna); expulsion, banishment, and death of Gregory VII. Miniature from the Chronicon of Otto von Freising (University library of Jena: cf. "Monumenta Germaniæ historica," Abt. Scriptores, Vol. XX, 246).

First Picture (left above): Henry IV and Wibert (Guibertus of Ravenna), appointed Pope after the deposition of Gregory VII.

Second Picture (right above): The expulsion of Gregory VII.

Third Picture (left below): Gregory VII in banishment, admired by his cardinals for his constancy. Holding up a candle, he is said to have declared, "As I blow out this light, even so will Henry be extinguished."

Fourth Picture (right below): Death of Gregory VII (1085); the three hexameters inscribed round the picture run as follows: —

En fidei scisma. Fit papa priore manente.	Behold the schism of the faith. A Pope is made while the former remains.
Devovet expulsus clerum cum rege furente.	The expelled Pope curses the clergy and the raving king.
Hic exul legi paret mutabilis evi.	Here the exile submits to the law of the changeful world.

By the same contemporary hand are also written the following words: Heinricus IV — Guibertus — Gregorius VII (twice) — Gregorius VII moritur (dies).

in view of the past, to feel reverence for papal authority; Gregory VII and his friends had constantly supported, and indeed instigated, revolt and revolution. With burning words Arnold of Brescia preached, in his native town, the life of poverty led by Jesus and His apostles, asserting that wealth and worldly power in the hands of the clergy were nothing more than sin. The movement broke out in Rome itself, under Eugenius III (1145–1153). The secular power was to be taken from the Pope and intrusted to the hands of the Roman senate, while the papal state was to be made a Roman republic. It was not, as before, the constant disturbances of the nobles, but the people, that inflicted this deadly blow upon the Pope. Arnold of Brescia came to Rome. He swore fidelity to the Roman senate and the republic, and fulminated against the ambition of the clergy and the Pope, who was no shepherd of souls, but a man of blood, and the torturer of the Church. The Pope could find no other means of safety than the recognition of the Roman republic.

Even these bitter experiences failed to bring the papacy to its senses, and beyond the frontiers of Italy it continued to claim supreme sovereignty. In order to complete the organization of a brilliant crusade in 1147, the Pope did not hesitate to interfere with private property, and trampled underfoot the imperial rights in reference to episcopal appointments. The Decretum of Gratian, the great ecclesiastical law-book, was compiled under this Pope, and in it the claims of the papacy, which had been so often and fiercely disputed, were represented as legally established. It was no wonder that the great Hohenstauffen, Frederic I, made a further attempt to crush these papal ambitions for supremacy. "From whom has the Emperor his dignity, if not from the Pope?" was the question asked by the papal legate, Roland of Siena. Frederic replied, "By means of the Empire God has raised the Church to be the head of the world. Thus standing at the head of the world, the Church is attempting to destroy the papacy. This is to us intolerable, for we owe our crown only to the gift of God." In the year 1159 the College of Cardinals had again elected two Popes, and Frederic, as German Emperor, then claimed to decide the legality of the election. Alexander III, his old enemy, Roland, against whom he decided, was recognised by France, Spain, and England, and the German bishops felt as though cut off from the rest of Christendom. The defeat of Legnano, which the defiance of Henry the Lion inflicted upon him in 1176, forced the Emperor to the unwelcome step of concluding peace with Alexander (1177). The supremacy of the German church was gone for ever.

At the same moment, the prestige of the papacy was greatly advanced by a second victory. Henry II of England proposed to govern the church of his country in the old fashion, and issued the Constitutions of Clarendon to limit the privileges and jurisdiction of the English clergy. Thomas Becket had been appointed Archbishop of Canterbury by Henry in 1162, and swore obedience to the Constitutions. Afterwards, however, he did public penance for his oath, and was solemnly released by Alexander. He then proceeded to excommunicate all bishops who should obey the Constitutions; and a few knights considered that they were doing the king a service by murdering this indomitable opponent (1170). The Pope declared Thomas a saint, as a martyr to his cause (1172). The king was forced, by popular opinion and by his sons, to undergo a humiliating penance at the grave of the man who had thwarted his plans (1174).

Thus the papacy had broken down the resistance of the Teutonic nations; and, when it had reached the zenith of its power, Alexander III convoked a brilliant

third Lateran council in 1179. The council decided among other points that the clergy could never be brought before a secular court, that church property should be taxed only with the consent of the bishop and clergy, and only in extraordinary cases; these innovations were intended to separate the Church from political life, and to preserve its wealth unimpaired.

(*b*) *The Rise of Religious Individualism.*—While the Church thus rises to supreme power under its head, the papacy, a new series of events provoked the question, whether it would invariably succeed in maintaining its predominance in religious thought, which was its peculiar sphere. The signs of a revival of religious individualism began to increase.

Since the Franco-Germanic world had become outwardly Christian, the work of religion had for centuries consisted merely in driving back the remnants of heathenism, and in securing a general outward adoption of Christian doctrine. Even during the time when literary impulse found expression in religious work, as under Charles the Great, such work consisted essentially in the mere repetition of early church tradition. Occasionally some slight indication of an independent appropriation of Christian teaching appeared, as in the "Heiland," but the complete assimilation of this great inheritance was yet very far distant, and any such flashes speedily disappeared. During the eleventh century, however, new characteristics come to light. It is as though a child, as yet capable only of imitation, had become a boy, able to ask himself questions upon what he was taught, or upon the difficulties he felt. Until the year 1000 Christianity was essentially corporate, but after that date it becomes personal. Its manifestations are of very various character. In one case we find as it were a boy who consciously attempts to break away from the guardianship of his parents; in another case, one who does not renounce their leading, but would at the same time advance upon paths of his own; again, one who consciously follows his parents' lead for the first time. The common element is, however, in every case the commencement of personal religious feeling. Its development in the Teutonic world follows the reverse order of that visible in the old church. In the beginning the circle had widened from the individual believer to the national church. In the Middle Ages the national church is the beginning, and the gradual progress to individual belief the conclusion.

The first tendency observable within this process of development does not shrink from revolt against the Church. From the beginning of the eleventh century heretics constantly reappear; they are found in the dioceses of Châlons, Liège, Arras, Orléans, Turin, the Netherlands, in Brittany, and in Goslar. Especially in southern France did Peter of Bruys inveigh against the Church and all its institutions, asserting the true Church to exist within the heart of the believer. At last, on a strict fast day, he made a heap of shattered crucifixes, upon which he cooked meat. For this he was thrown into the flames by a raging mob (1137). His place is taken by the monk Henry and his "Petrobrussians," whose efforts were so successful that St. Bernard was forced to confess, "the churches are without people, and the people without priests." Unusually widely disseminated were the Cathari, who rejected the Old Testament, the sacraments, pictures, crosses, and relics. Petrus Waldus was inspired by nothing but a spirit of revolt against the Church, when fear for his salvation led him to give up all his property, to study the Bible, and to found a union in 1177, the members of which were to renounce

the world and private property, and to go throughout the country preaching repentance. However, the religious independence attained by himself and his friends enabled them, when the archbishop prohibited their preaching, to appeal to the Bible text that people should fear God rather than men; they were so wholly out of sympathy with the Roman spirit that their appeal to the third Lateran council (*supra*, p. 242) was rejected, while their strength enabled them to disregard this supreme decision.

A second tendency becomes more clearly obvious in the opposition of Berengar of Tours to the views of Radbertus, which had gradually gained a universal acceptance. Radbertus held that the bread and wine of the Communion were transformed into Christ's body and blood. Berengar asserted that only truth could prevail in the Church, but that truth was not secured by ecclesiastical office or a church council, and here his anti-Roman spirit is manifest. He further asserted that whatever was unintelligible to reason was impossible, and he also acted as though he considered common sense his own peculiar possession. This is nothing more than the first appearance of the aberrations, often repeated at a later period, which are caused by the desire for religious independence. These first principles, however, proclaimed him a dangerous opponent of Roman teaching. It is remarkable that Berengar's doctrine of the Holy Communion met with the approval of Cardinal Hildebrand, who attempted to protect him from his fanatical opponents. When, however, the Roman synod condemned the freethinker as a heretic in 1079, Pope Gregory VII immediately sacrificed his own convictions. The condemned man attempted to appeal to a conversation which he had held with the Pope a short time previously. The Pope ordered him in a voice of thunder to fall to the ground and confess his error. The truths actually considered as such by the Church were less important to the imperialist ideas of the papacy than the necessity of uniformity upon questions of belief.

The fate of this man who had attacked the existing doctrine at one point only must have induced others to conceal their special opinions. Many erroneous views on church doctrine existed, as is shown by the next scholar who was unable to silence his independence, the great dialectician, Peter Abelard. He regretted that so many rejected the Christian teaching, and was yet more repelled by its defenders who demanded simple submission to church authority. He therefore declared that what could not be proved could not be accepted, and attempted in consequence to demonstrate the truth of Christianity, rejecting as wrong or unimportant all that his reason could not grasp. His opposition to church doctrine was generally concealed. For instance, in his dialogue between a philosopher, a Jew, and a Christian, he compared the different religions together, but carefully avoided the inevitable inference from his investigations that the substratum of truth in heathenism, Judaism, and Christianity was ultimately identical. He also was expelled from the Church by the council of Sens (1141).

A third tendency is manifested by those who remained faithful to the Church and her doctrine, but either in theory or practice displayed a personal conviction previously unknown. In the early Church sin was generally considered an irremediable defect, and the chief question therefore was in what manner this defect could be remedied, and how the strength of virtue could be imparted to the sinner. When the Teutonic spirit began personally to grapple with Christian truth, the results acquired were wholly different. The "Heiland" represented God as the

great and benevolent lord of the heavens, to whom mankind owed obedience. Sin was now conceived as a debt to God, and, according to Teutonic views, such a debt necessitated expiation and atonement. Upon such theories is based the famous work of the scholastic Anselm of Canterbury, "Why did God become Man?" (*Cur Deus Homo?* 1198). Man cannot make atonement for his sins; the burden of his unfaithfulness is too great. Hence God became man in Christ, and this divine Man performed what no mere man could do, and voluntarily gave his blameless life to wipe out our debt. As this attempt had been inspired by a personal feeling of guilt, so, too, the sense of personal forgiveness might arise. These are new lines of thought foreign to Rome.

The mystical Bernard of Clairvaux makes the same attempt by other methods. Hitherto fear had been announced even among the Teutons as the normal attitude of the Christian towards God; but Bernard makes love the centre of his theory,— the love of God which condescends to man, and the love of man which can rise to God. In prayerful joy his looks and thoughts hang upon the Christ as the sacrifice of love: "All hail, thou bleeding Head!" His desire is to show love of Christ, not only for what He did for us, but also for the sake of the Man who could do so much. In correspondence with this mystical interpretation, the actual progress of the world is represented as a second manifestation of the love of God. What freedom and what independence did the individual Christian gain through such beliefs! Bernard is also in agreement with the ideal of ecclesiastical supremacy, and regards the Pope as the head of Christendom. When the struggle broke out again between Pope and Emperor he helped the papacy to victory. With no clear consciousness of the inconsistency, he ascribed claims of supremacy to those who were bound to God by love. In consequence he was himself able to intervene in all ecclesiastical movements, and could even offer serious advice and stern exhortation to the Pope. This new tendency he communicated to the order which his initiative made influential, that of the Cistercians, which he entered in 1115 with thirty companions. In contrast to the Cluniacs, who had already become worldly minded, in spite of their original seriousness, these monks were to live in the strictest renunciation. Quiet contemplation and busy effort, both inspired equally by the love of Jesus, were to fill their lives. Bernard also attempted to bring the laity into this sanctuary. The institution of a lay brotherhood, which already existed in embryo, was further developed in this order.

At that time arose a large number of orders pursuing different objects. These were so many manifestations of the awakening spirit of religious individualism. The religious community of Grammont, founded by Stephen of Thiers, was to follow no human rule but the threefold law of the gospel,— poverty, humility, and patience. Bruno of Köln attempted to surpass the strictness of all previous orders in his foundation of the Chartreuse, which he planted in an almost uninhabitable mountain gorge. To this retreat he was driven by indignation at the unspiritual character of the Church. The Carthusians were even denied the consolation of conversation. When the preacher of the crusade, Robert of Abrissel, had roused the enthusiasm of large numbers of men and women, who were incapable of crusading effort, he united them in the order of Fontévraud, in which enthusiasm for the Holy Land was replaced by enthusiastic veneration for the Virgin Mary. Lay brethren who served in the hospital connected with the monastery combined to form Hospital Orders, among which that of St. Antonius was best known.

From crusading enthusiasm rose the knightly orders of the Templars, the Knights of St. John, and the Teutonic Knights, in whom German chivalry was combined with Catholic monasticism and the service of Christian love. As the mysticism of Bernard found the highest flight of faith in the most humble and self-sacrificing love of Christ, so these orders regarded the most distinguished proof of knighthood as the service of pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre, the help of the sick and miserable, — a further proof that the fundamental ideas of Christianity were being reconceived. The Premonstratensians attempted to raise the secular clergy from their degradation, and thus to improve their spiritual efficacy among the people.

At such a period the expansive powers of the Church inevitably resumed activity. They may also have contributed to the crusades. The Church sent Saint Vicelin to long work among the Wends of Holstein, a labour carried out with unspeakable trouble and constant disappointment. The Church raised a crusade against the Abodrites of Mecklenburg, and when this effort proved abortive, inspired the Cistercian monk, Berno, to sow the seed of Christianity with unwearying effort upon this hard ground. The Church again induced Bishop Otto of Bamberg to undertake his missionary journeys to Pomerania.

The problem then arose whether the hierarchy would interpret these as the signs of a new period. Would they join the movement towards personal religion and recognise that movement as largely a protest against their methods and their aims? Or would they continue to regard the outward sovereignty of the world as their supreme object, and thus for ever lose the opportunity of leadership in their true religious sphere?

B. The Temporal Supremacy of the Church (1179–1294)

Once again it seemed as though supreme power was to fall, not to the papacy but to the empire. Henry VI (1190–1197), a son of the great Barbarossa, became master of the whole of Italy. Homage was done to him by England, Cyprus, Armenia, and Antioch; the Greek Empire and the Mohammedan princes of North Africa paid him tribute. Westward he proposed to extend his supremacy over France and Spain, eastward over Syria and Palestine; his achievements and plans were then suddenly destroyed by death, and a few months later the papal chair was occupied by a man who seemed designed for imperial rule; this was Innocent III. His intellect was as keen as his will was powerful, while his foresight was not inferior to his tenacity; he never hesitated in the pursuit of his objects and he showed no fastidiousness in his choice of means. His imperialism was inspired by no common ambition or selfishness; he had no love for the world, nor desire for power as an end in itself. His thorough mediæval piety led him to despise the world and to renounce its joys; and if he sought supremacy, it was because the consciousness of his responsibilities impelled him to give the miseries of the world some show of godliness. He succeeded where Gregory VII had failed, and where Alexander III had been only half successful. Innocent was indeed a favourite of fortune.

The widow of Henry VI feared that her son, who was only three years old, could not retain possession of his Sicilian inheritance without some powerful ally. She therefore accepted the kingdom as a papal fief and made the Pope guardian of her

son. After her death Innocent wrote to the boy that he might thank the Lord who had given him a better father in place of his earthly parent, and a better mother, namely, the motherly care of the Church. When the Germans desired a man at the head of the empire, some electing Otto of Brunswick and others Philip of Suabia, the Pope declared that as he had the right of conferring the imperial crown, he was also bound to scrutinise the election of a German king, and, in the case of a doubtful election, to decide whether one of the rivals or a third should receive the crown. He declared in favour of Otto, and his legates proclaimed the excommunication of Otto's opponent. Innocent's position became desperate as Philip's power steadily increased. However, the murder of this opponent extricated the Pope from a difficult situation (1208). But now Otto, though previously compliant, attempted to recover the ecclesiastical rights which he had surrendered to secure the crown. Innocent excommunicated him, and relieved his subjects of their oath of allegiance. Frederic, the son of Henry VI, who was now a youth, promised the Pope all that he desired, and Innocent therefore placed Frederic on the throne (1212). Thus the proud family of the Hohenstauffen became subject to the papal chair.

Philip Augustus of France had divorced his wife Ingeborg, and married Agnes of Meran, the daughter of a German duke. The Pope laid the whole of France under an interdict, declaring to his legate that the affair, if properly conducted, would redound to the credit of the apostolic chair. France was forced to yield, and the king to make an outward show of submission. Upon the death of his beloved Agnes he was deeply grieved by the illegitimacy attaching to her children, and the Pope then declared them legitimate, exercising his power by way of consent, as he had formerly shown it in refusal. King Alfonso IX of Leon also experienced the power of the Pope on his marriage with his niece. King Sancho I of Portugal, who had defied an archbishop, was reduced to obedience. King Pedro II of Aragon voluntarily declared his kingdom to be a papal fief. The Bulgarian prince Kalojoannes (cf. Vol. V, p. 333) petitioned Innocent to grant him a crown. The Pope decided cases in Hungary, Sweden, and Norway. In England a dispute had broken out concerning the appointment of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Innocent declared the two elections to be null and void, summoned the electors to Rome, and forced them to appoint a third candidate, his friend Stephen Langton. Furious at this interference King John of England swore by the teeth of God that he would hang Langton as soon as he set foot upon English soil. Innocent drew his usual weapon; he laid the kingdom under an interdict, the king under excommunication and deposition, and finally assigned his country to the king of France, promising great benefits to the latter and to his army, such as had formerly been assured to the crusaders. John Lackland then crawled to the foot of the cross, and, not content with yielding the point in dispute, surrendered his land to the Holy See, to receive it again as a papal fief. The promises made to the French king naturally no longer held good; Philip would never give so much as had been obtained from John. The princes were as puppets in the hand of the Pope. He was able to triumph even over the Greek church, which had proved so refractory towards the successor of St. Peter. The host of the fourth crusade conquered Constantinople and founded the Latin Empire in 1204; and Innocent could rejoice that, after the destruction of the golden calves, Israel had returned to Judah.

These victories of the papacy over the temporal powers were accompanied by an extension of its ecclesiastical prerogatives. Ecclesiastical legislation which had formerly belonged to the synods fell more and more into the hands of the Pope. He decided individual questions of administration and right, while lawyers who had been trained in Roman jurisprudence instructed the Pope to regard every papal decision as a precedent of binding force in future cases.

Innocent completely severed the old ties which had united the German church and the crown. Otto, and afterwards Frederick, had sacrificed all their ecclesiastical rights in order to secure the crown. They renounced the regalities and the "*Jus Spoliorum*," and left Rome entirely free to receive appeals and issue citations; they gave to cathedral chapters the exclusive right of electing bishops, and recognised the canonical objections which the Pope raised to such elections. Hence Innocent was able to exercise an unquestioned right of scrutiny and confirmation in the case of episcopal elections. He was able to establish the rule that if he rejected an election as uncanonical, application must be made to him for a second candidate (postulation), and that when rival candidates were elected, the decision should lie with him. In consequence it was possible for him to concede to these requests, or make his own appointments conditional upon such promises as the oath of obedience to the Pope. Nor was it only over the bishoprics that his power extended. For a considerable time previously the Popes had been in the habit of recommending candidates more or less definitely to individual bishops for posts in their gift. Innocent claimed this right as one founded upon "the plenitude of the ecclesiastical power" (the right of provision), and extended his claims to include the power of disposing of the reversionary interest to posts not yet vacant (right of expectation). Formerly candidates for ecclesiastical office were obliged to make payments to the secular lords as owners of the churches in question; now that this "simoniacal" practice was abolished, they were obliged to pay the Pope. The difference between the two institutions consisted solely in the fact that dues had now to be paid upon all business communications with the Curia, and that in certain cases these reached an extraordinary height, but were no longer known as simony. Clerical freedom from taxation, with its consequent and entire independence of political life, was regarded by Innocent as insufficiently secured by the arrangements of Alexander III. Innocent announced that exceptional and voluntary contributions of the clergy to the expenses of the state required papal permission before payment. On the other hand, he claimed the right of taxing the whole of Christendom for his own purposes, and actually used this right in support of a crusade.

Innocent displayed to the eyes of the world his unexampled power and supreme dominion on the occasion of his great Lateran council (1215). More than four hundred bishops had accepted his invitation, together with eight hundred abbots, many princes, lords, and ambassadors from kings and republics. In the midst of this brilliant assembly the Pope occupied the throne as the representative of God upon earth, in splendour such as Rome never beheld before or since. After his death, in 1216, the struggle for the supremacy broke out again between the Hohenstauffen and the papacy, and the result was that Conradin, the last of the Hohenstauffen, ended his life upon the scaffold (1268).

The missionary activity of the Church was in proportion to its supreme power. For this age the peaceful preaching of Christianity seemed too slow a process.

Crusades were organised against the heathen Livonians, and the order of the Knights of the Sword was founded in Riga, to crush any opposition to the church. The conversion of Prussia was accompanied by massacres, and appeals were made for the help of the Teutonic Order. This appalling struggle continued for fifty years, annihilated a large proportion of the rightful owners of the country, and ended with the supremacy of the Teutonic Order over Prussia.

The intellectual weapons of science were employed with equal vigour in the service of the Church. Ecclesiastical science may be compared with those Gothic piles which then arose, which seem to remove their stone material from the influence of gravitation, forcing it to rise majestically on high, though with full solidity and coherence; so also ecclesiastical science was combined and built into systems, into that scholasticism which comprehended all human thought and knowledge, all speculation and contemplation, within a magnificent system intended to protect church doctrine from doubt or opposition. It seemed impossible that the world should doubt when such a system showed the necessity or the rationality of all that the Church would have men believe. "See," cries Richard of Saint Victor, "how easily the intellect can prove that the Godhead must be a plurality of persons, neither more nor less than three in number." Another thinks it possible to prove the doctrines of the Church by strict logical treatment, even to such as do not recognise its authority, — to Jews, Mohammedans, and heretics. This science also proved, by the mouth of the famous Thomas of Aquino (d. 1274), that salvation was only to be found in the Church from her priests and sacraments, beneath the shadow of the Pope. The Pope decides the nature of church doctrine. He is above all princes, and as the governor of Christ can depose them and relieve all subjects of their allegiance. Otto of Freising writes at this date: "The kingdom of Christ seems at the present time to have received almost all the things promised to it, with the exception of immortality."

Now, however, that the Church had attained these long-standing ambitions, we have to ask, what was the nature of its inner life? The question may be answered by examining the decrees passed in that famous Lateran council. The council considered that it was necessary to draw up a confession of faith, and to enforce measures of the utmost cruelty for the extermination of the countless heretics who had appeared in the Church. It considered the decree inevitable that every man who had not confessed his sins to a priest at least once a year should be excluded from the Church, and given dishonourable burial after death. Though the Church can rule the world, she steadily loses her hold upon souls. Though imagining that all is subject to her as a matter of faith, her faith is yet rejected. This is more than a chance coincidence. The foundation of faith begins to shake beneath the superincumbent structure of temporal power. The claims of the apostolic power and of its servants have become presumptuous, the manner of their assertion too often intolerable, and the proofs adduced too threadbare.

The people turned in numbers to the heretics, who desired no earthly supremacy and no earthly riches. The apostles of the Cathari and the wandering preachers of the Waldenses led a truly apostolic life of humility and poverty. In southern France, where the Cathari were generally known as Albigenses, from the little town of Albi, the princes and lords of the country belonged to their congregation almost without exception. In this quarter the Church had been almost supplanted by the sectaries; these same enemies of ecclesiasticism had overrun

Italy, and were predominant in Spain and in the Netherlands. About the middle of the twelfth century Bernard of Clairvaux, and other devoted servants of the Church, had spoken in favour of a method that should "bring back the wicked to repentance by patience and long suffering," and not by the sword. Such characters as Innocent III could not possibly doubt that, as the Church was certainly called to rule the world, her opponents could claim no right of existence. His legate, Arnold of Cîteaux, was sent to France, and summoned the king and nobility to a crusade against the heretics (1208). Thousands were slain by this army, and in the single town of Béziers twenty thousand are said to have perished in one day. In 1215 the heretics were by no means exterminated, and the Lateran council therefore issued a decree that all temporal lords should purify their lands of heresy on pain of excommunication and deposition, and that episcopal commissaries were to examine and to exterminate heretics. The world-wide power of the Church was unable to exist without the Inquisition.

Not only the Church as such, but Christianity itself, was menaced by a different movement, which appeared sporadically; this was a tendency to freethought widely disseminated especially among the educated classes. The origin of the tendency is not far to seek. There is no greater menace to the power of faith than the use of it by its chief exponents to support interests purely secular, especially when, as in that age, the Church based all belief upon authority, and made doubt of her authority a sin of infidelity, while upon the other side a yearning for independent religious conviction had arisen in many minds. In high-sounding religious phrases the Popes had excommunicated prince after prince, had preached on one day the duty of revolt against an Emperor, and on the next the necessity of rebellion against his opponent, with a persistence that aroused suspicion. The scholastic philosophers had attempted to make the creeds an acceptable system, but those appeals to reason which they brought forward could only bring conviction to minds still convinced of ecclesiastical authority. Eventually a host of new impressions overwhelmed men's minds. The crusades had brought a knowledge of the East, and the West had learnt to know the "infidel" Mohammedans. It was observed with surprise that they were by no means morally bad, and were, in this respect, even more to be respected than many Christians. Hence it seemed possible that the uniqueness of Christianity existed solely in the imagination of the Church. The different religions appeared like identical rings, the owners of which were merely foolish in regarding each his own as the only genuine example. More was learned of the philosophy of the "heathen" Aristotle, and study produced admiration. The works of the Arabian philosophers became known, especially those of Averroes (d. 1198), and the systems of the Jewish philosophers which had arisen under their influence. In consequence, questions hitherto unknown came into prominence and shattered the traditional beliefs.

At the university of Paris this tendency to free thought was openly manifested. So early as 1207 Amalric of Bena was obliged to renounce heresies of this nature; and, as he was supposed to have derived them from Aristotle, Innocent III prohibited the study of this great philosopher's scientific works. In the year 1240 the bishop and chancellor of Paris were obliged to oppose the teaching of Averroes, which had made its way to the university. Averroes had taught that while religion was indispensable for the masses, it could only represent supreme truth in symbolical form, whereas philosophy possessed such truth in its purity. Philosophical teachers

attacked theological truths, and, when called to account, proceeded to explain that heresy was an ecclesiastical conception, but that philosophy had no connection with the Church, and that religion need not be taught to students, as it existed only for the lower classes. Under the protection of this theory the teaching that God created the world out of nothing was explained to be sheer nonsense. Organic life had developed from inorganic matter. The world was governed, not by God, but rather by a rational necessity, or by chance. Attacks were also directed against the ethical system which had hitherto held the field. The monastic theory was unnatural, and genuine morality was not impaired by the influence of material life. The shortness of life should rather teach men the enjoyments of its benefits. The satisfaction, for instance, of the sexual instincts was in any case a moral desire, and the strictness of the marriage laws was senseless prejudice.

A further centre of freethought would perhaps hardly have been discovered, had not a renewed struggle between Pope and emperor brought it before our eyes. Frederic II, who had grown up as the ward of the Pope, and had been educated as a blindly devoted son of the Church, learnt to despise both Pope and Church. He regarded the different religions as so many conflicting theories of equal truth or falsehood, and was accustomed to mock at Christian doctrine with confidential friends. The epigram about the three impostors, — Moses, Christ, and Mohammed, — which is ascribed to him by his enemies, may not be historical, but his life clearly showed the laxity of his religious views. It was a matter of total indifference to him whether a man was a Mohammedan, Jew, or Christian. He chose Arabs as his high officials, carried about a harem in the Mohammedan style, and studied the philosophy of Averroes by preference.

The Church had now to deal with these premonitions of the downfall of Christianity. She began by drawing the reins tighter and insisting upon Easter confession to secure the ecclesiastical control of every individual. The same council made the doctrine of transubstantiation a dogma. For the glorification of this miracle performed by the Church the festival of Corpus Christi was instituted (1264). The Church ordered that the sacrament should be adored by all whom the priest might meet in the street when he was bearing it. In the Communion the cup was reserved more and more for the priests. The Church, however, made no inquiries into actual belief, demanding only submission. Innocent III had laid down that the confession of true faith was not a primary necessity, but only the admission of readiness to agree with the doctrine of the Church, and that this "implicit" belief existed in cases where a man's belief might be erroneous, if he were not aware of the error. What more could the Church do to make actual faith superfluous and to exterminate real Christianity?

The Church, however, was unable to annihilate Christianity; the real religious sense of a true personal belief had been too widely awakened. At this moment such believers became conscious of the necessity for a religious revival.

It was in the year 1209 that Giovanni Bernardone, better known as Francis of Assisi, heard at mass the lesson from St. Matthew's Gospel (chap. x, verses 7–10), which relates how Jesus sent out his disciples to preach the gospel, without gold or silver, without shoes or staff. Deeply moved, he abandoned his possessions, and announced to others the peace which he had found in poverty and in trust in God. His complete renunciation of the world, his fiery love for God and man, made a tremendous impression at that moment. A number of associates like minded with

himself gathered round him; these he sent out "to preach to mankind peace and repentance for the forgiveness of sins." For their benefit he drew up a rule upon the principles which Jesus had laid down for His apostles. He attempted to secure its confirmation by the Pope, but Innocent felt that the spirit of Petrus Waldus was working here. He feared that a refusal might drive this fiery enthusiast into opposition, as had happened in the case of Waldus. He resolved to wait a while before confirming the rule, but gave the missionaries permission to continue their labours. Within a few years the brethren of Francis penetrated into one country after another, and inspired a movement of mighty power. Many who were unable themselves to travel and preach repentance formed in 1221 the fraternity known as the "Brothers of the Repentance of St. Francis;" these were the Tertiaries, the third order, corresponding to the female order (the Clare Sisters), founded in 1212 or 1224.

Francis was a true son of his Church, and diverged from its doctrine in no single point. His object, however, was not to unite men with the Church, but to lead them to personal holiness. He did not even desire to found an order; the union which he founded was only a means to an end, and was intended to help his object of planting Christian humility by his example in all hearts wherever possible. The movement, thus working for religious independence, might be a considerable menace to the Church, unless it were organised and confined within ecclesiastical boundaries. The danger was recognised by Cardinal Ugolino, afterwards Pope Gregory IX; he succeeded in making the free union an order with a novitiate, with irrevocable vows, and with a chief elected by a general chapter. Convents now arose in different countries; the brothers devoted themselves to preaching and to the spiritual care of the people. To increase their competency for this purpose they founded schools, and Franciscans soon occupied professorial chairs in Paris and Oxford. The papacy, now fully secularised, attempted to unite the order firmly to itself, and therefore granted it great privileges; in consequence, the order acquired wealth. All this was opposed to the theory of the founder, who in his enthusiasm for poverty and frugality regarded beggary as an honour. The result was violent quarrels within the order concerning this change of the old rule. We cannot, however, assert that it would have been more efficacious if a lack of organisation and property had laid it open to every chance influence.

In any case the influence of the Franciscan order has been infinite. Some of its numbers attempted to use German as a literary language, desiring, like David of Augsburg (d. 1271), to disseminate among the people that mystical piety once the special monopoly of scholars. Others by popular and stirring sermons succeeded in turning misguided humanity from dead ecclesiasticism to a real reformation of life. Berthold of Regensburg (d. 1272) travelled from Switzerland to Thuringia, from Alsace to Moravia, attracting everywhere congregations so vast that no church could contain the multitude of his hearers. Many marched with him for days from place to place, in order to hear a repetition of his earnest warnings. Under the influence of his words deadly enemies embraced one another, mockers began to pray, and many restored their unrighteous gains to those they had defrauded.

Almost at the same time a second mendicant order arose, founded by St. Dominic; its object was to bring back by preaching and spiritual care the heretics alienated from the Church. This order also founded a female branch and a lay brotherhood of penitents. To it Gregory IX intrusted those special inquisitorial courts which he instituted for the extirpation of infidelity (1232).

Previous to 1179 we have seen the movement of personal religion among the more intellectual classes within the Church; that movement had now extended to include the people. The following period sees a further movement towards the liberation of this personal Christianity from blind submission to the hierarchical system, and in this work the papacy was an involuntary helper.

3. THE DECLINE OF THE PAPAL POWER AND THE INDICATIONS OF A NEW PERIOD

A. The Decline of the Papacy and the Exile at Avignon (1294–1377)

In the year 1294 the papal chair was occupied by Boniface VIII. He was a man of great boldness, of extraordinary diplomatic cunning, and remarkable for his passionate recklessness. When Philip IV (the Fair) of France proposed, on his own initiative, to tax church property, in order to carry on war against England, the Pope threatened with excommunication and interdict, in his Bull *Clericis laicos* (1296), all who should pay or exact ecclesiastical contributions without his permission. The king revenged himself by prohibiting "the exportation of precious metal from the country." It was impossible for the Pope to dispense with his income from France, and he therefore proceeded to explain away the force of his bull. Philip considered that so compliant a Pope was a suitable arbitrator to decide his quarrel with England. Boniface, however, decided as the supreme judge upon earth, and against the king, who thereupon declined to submit, and burnt this bull at his court. Boniface, recognising that a decisive struggle was now inevitable, resolved both to advance his prestige and to fill his purse. He issued a decree of jubilee for the year 1300, proclaiming that all who should visit the Church of St. Peter in Rome during that year, for confession of sin and penance, should receive "the most plenary absolution of all their sins." The result showed with what general confidence the papal supremacy was still regarded. The streets of Rome were not wide enough to contain the masses of the believers who flocked to the city, and many were crushed in the throng. Enormous sums flowed into the Pope's treasury.

In full confidence of victory, he sent a French bishop to Philip, by whom the king considered himself so insulted that he imprisoned the envoy and accused him of high treason. The Pope replied by a prohibition, forbidding the king to exact any taxes from the Church, and by the Bull *Ausculta fili* (1301), which contained the claim, "God has placed us above kings and kingdoms." Philip replied, "Your illustrious stupidity should know that in secular matters we are subject to no one." In order to secure the national support he summoned to the States General not only the deputies of the nobility and clergy, but also those of the towns; and the consciousness of nationality was now so vigorous throughout the nation that the assembly solemnly declared the French kingdom independent of the Pope. Carried away by the tide of his passion, Boniface, in 1302, issued the memorable Bull, *Unam sanctam*, an open proclamation of the papal theory regarding the Church and the temporal power. "When the apostles said, See, here are two swords, that is to say, within the Church, the Lord did not reply, It is too many, but It is enough. Hence there are two swords in the power of the Church, the ecclesiastical and the

secular. The one is to be used for the Church and the other by the Church; the one by the hand of the priest, the other by the hand of kings and warriors, but at the order and permission of the priest. . . . By the evidence of truth the spiritual power must include the secular and judge it when it is evil. Should the supreme spiritual power go astray, it will be judged by God alone, and cannot be judged by man. . . . Moreover, we declare, assert, determine, and proclaim that submission to the bishop of Rome is absolutely necessary for all men to salvation."

When the French nation and the clergy supported their king, the Pope laid an interdict upon France, and removed the whole clergy of the country from their office. He prepared a bull threatening the king with excommunication and deposition, and relieving his subjects of their oath. On the day, however, before the solemn proclamation of this bull, the king's emissaries made their way to Anagni, the Pope's summer residence, and took him prisoner, that he might be brought before a court. The inhabitants of the town set him free some days afterwards. but the experience had broken his health, and a few months afterwards he died, No one moved a finger to save the honour of the papacy. Dante wrote: "The Church of Rome falls into the mire because the double honour and the double rule confounded within her defile herself and her dignity." In France the national excitement continued; the nation was not content to defend the king's procedure with the pen. For Philip's justification the Pope, whom death had taken from the struggle, was to be prosecuted by a general council. The enemy, though defiant before, had lost their heads in their excitement at the sudden fall of this bold Pope. His successor used every conceivable means to pacify the king, and upon his death in the following year the cardinals expended no less than ten months in the choice of a successor. Eventually the French party, who looked for safety in compliance, won the day, and a French archbishop was chosen. He resisted the requests of the Italian cardinals; and, instead of proceeding to Rome to ascend the chair of St. Peter, he remained in France. In the year 1309 he took up his residence in Avignon.

The seventy years' exile of the papacy now begins. It was a voluntary exile: the Popes and cardinals preferred to live under French protection. But a profound impression was made upon the Christianity of that age by the fact that the Popes no longer resided in Rome. It must be remembered that the proof of the Roman bishop's superiority to all bishops and of his supremacy over all secular beings centred in the fact that this bishop occupied the chair of Peter. It might be supposed that the tradition of Peter's occupation of the Roman chair for twenty-five years was a fable invented to convince mankind of the papal claims. Because Peter had been bishop of Rome, the Pope must be all that Peter had been. In the eyes of those who believed that the evidence of papal primacy was provided by the biblical texts, the papacy and Rome were indivisible. If Popes could reside elsewhere, they must themselves have lost their belief in the superiority granted by Christ and handed down by the apostle princes. It was not likely that the common people would believe it, and the idea emerged that the papacy did not exist by right divine.

The absence of the papal Curia from Rome also produced a second effect. The revenues accruing from the States of the Church became uncertain, and in some respects ceased entirely. New taxes became necessary, and within fifteen years the French kings paid no less than three and a half millions of guldens. This

French papacy, however, generally preferred splendour and luxury to economy, and some new sources of income had therefore to be provided. In the first place, more must be paid by the countless numbers who applied to the Curia for dispensations, privileges, and powers of every kind. With most astonishing dexterity the papal rights were extended to include patronage and ecclesiastical appointment, and enormous sums were demanded for institutions or confirmations. Special sources of revenue were also reserved to the Curia, such as the property left by a bishop at his death, the income of vacant livings until their reoccupation, the first year's income of any benefice which amounted to more than four and twenty guldens. Many archbishops were obliged to pay ten thousand guldens for their confirmation, and during one year the Curia exacted more than one hundred and seventy-five thousand guldens from the archbishopric of Mainz, — more than £500,000 of our money. Such blood-sucking was bound to arouse discontent with the papacy, and still more with the unworthy methods which were often employed to extort the largest possible sum. It happened, for instance, that a man might have paid to secure the reversion of a post, but a second candidate offered more than the first and received the assurance of preference, while the first thus lost his money. The poet Petrarch published a terrible indictment of the condition of the papal court. "All hopes are based on money, for money is heaven opened, and for money is Christ sold. The hopes of a future life are regarded as a fable, and the teaching of hell as a fairy tale. Unbridled sinfulness passes as nobility and lofty freedom. The more shameful a life, the greater its fame. These greybeards plunge into shame as if their whole reputation consisted in gorging, drinking, and in the disgrace which follows on such vices, and this is known not only to me, but to the nation also." In addition to these facts the Pope residing near France was by no means free. The world was already aware of the extent to which this power, which claimed to bind and to loose all others, was itself in bonds to the French monarchy, to such an extent, indeed, that it could not even protect the rich and powerful order of Templars from the king's avarice. The Pope indeed forbade the continuance of the prosecution of the Templars, which had been begun with the prison and the rack. But he was even forced publicly to declare that the king had proceeded against the Templars, not for selfish motives, but in pure zeal for the Church, and was finally forced to pronounce the dissolution of this unfortunate order (cf. p. 212).

The part which the papacy played in this revolting transaction was the more likely to lower its prestige, when it boldly proceeded to assert its old claims to predominance against other princes, and thereby plunged the whole of Germany into unspeakable misery. In the year 1314 took place the double election of Lewis of Bavaria and Frederic of Austria. Pope John XXII declined to regard either as the legitimate sovereign until he had given his papal decision. When Lewis took his adversary prisoner, John forbade any member of the German Empire to give obedience or support to the "usurper." The king's counter declaration that his position entirely depended upon the choice of the electors was answered by the Pope with excommunication; when the king appealed to a general council, an interdict was proclaimed on all persons and districts which should remain faithful to Lewis.

During this struggle, which brought unspeakable confusion to men's consciences, many personalities appeared in opposition to the Pope, whom no one would have expected to find against him. Though the Franciscans now possessed

and enjoyed great property, they wished to retain their reputation of complete poverty in contrast to other orders. They therefore declared that they held the property of the order only in usufruct, and that the right of ownership belonged to the Pope, while they solemnly proclaimed the opinion that their models, Christ and His apostles, held no rights of ownership in their common possessions. This assertion, which aroused the envy of the Dominicans, was condemned by the Pope. The chief of the order, Cesena, and the great scholar of the order, Occam, protested against this decision and fled to the German king, Lewis. They accused the Pope of heresy, and their friends publicly preached that John was no Pope but a heretic. As they enjoyed the prestige of apostolic poverty, their words found special reverence among the people. In the end the order gave in its submission; but these years of bitter conflict undermined the papal prestige to the most dangerous degree.

No small impression was made upon higher circles by the fact that clever authors attempted to reduce the Church and the papacy to their proper sphere, and that the boldness of their attempts increased. Marsiglio of Padua declared in his *Defensor pacis* that the papacy was the chief disturber of the peace, through its interference with constitutional rights; that the supremacy lay, not with the Church, but with the nation or with the ruler of its choice, and that this extended over the servants of the Church. The Church was not the hierarchy, but the Christian nation represented in councils. An even greater impression than that produced by these radical theories of natural right was made by the writings of the Franciscan, William of Occam. He broke the ground for the coming revolution in the Church by his teaching that the creed and the welfare of the Church are the supreme law. Hence in cases of necessity the traditional order of the Church must give place to a new organisation. Hence also every prince and the most simple layman, if only possessed of the true faith, can acquire extensive rights over the Church. Neither the hierarchy nor the papacy is secure against downfall; on the contrary, true faith confers the right of argument with the Church. Hence a council, though by no means infallible, is competent to sit in judgment upon the Pope.

These ideas are closely connected with the new tendency of theological thought, and this again runs parallel with the development of the papacy. As the supremacy of the Church in political life disappears, so also does that confidence with which it claimed to rule public opinion through ecclesiastical science. A revolt against intellectual tyranny becomes manifest. The schoolman, John Duns Scotus (d. 1308), asserted that there was no logical proof for the existence of God or for the Trinity. His pupil, the above-mentioned Occam (d. 1347), differentiated between natural and religious knowledge, between science and faith, and thereby prepared the downfall of the scholastic system. He definitely rejected that realism which had dominated science during the period of ecclesiastical supremacy either sought or secured. Universals had been considered as the only reality, and the individual had been thrown into the background. Hence that general conception, the Church, had been regarded as the reality, while the individual and the detailed decisions of human laws and of Christian morality were regarded as unjustifiable when such a view seemed likely to promote the welfare of the whole, that is, the Church. After the time of Occam, nominalism revives, which teaches that the universal is only a mere name or *nomen* or abstraction. The only reality is the

individual thing. Hence the individual believer may be of greater importance than the hierarchy which represents the whole Church, and the papacy is thus conditioned by the individuals who form the Church.

We must not forget that, during the fourteenth century, Popes constantly secured obedience in political questions by placing wide districts under an interdict for long years at a time; in this way they made it impossible for the Church to satisfy such religious instincts as still survived in the people, and the religious consequences of this procedure are perfectly obvious. If the religious spirit did not disappear entirely, it steadily broke away from ecclesiastical authority and struggled for independence. It was no mere coincidence that exactly at that time a desire for vernacular translations of the Bible arose among the people. This was a need that had already been experienced by the heretics divided from the Church. To a question of the bishop of Metz Innocent III had replied that attempts on the part of the laity to interpret the Scriptures were culpable presumption; in order, however, not to alienate such men from the Church by excessive strictness, they might be left with the Bible translations in their hands, provided they were not thereby seduced to a lack of reverence for the apostolic chair. In Metz, the translations of the Bible were thereupon confiscated and burnt; and a series of councils prohibited the publication of the Bible or of any theological books in the vernacular. Now that the prestige of the papacy was sunk to a low ebb, men began to look for some other basis even within the Church. With the desire for personal faith arose also a popular tendency to draw immediately upon that source of truth which Occam had praised as a supreme authority. In the most varied districts men proceeded to translate the whole Bible, or individual books of it, into the vernacular tongues (see the plate facing this page, "Christ on the Road to Calvary;" cf. below, p. 260). In the year 1369 the emperor Charles IV prohibited "all books in the vernacular dealing with holy Scripture," but was unable to prevent the satisfaction of this desire when once it had been felt.

The individualist tendency of Christianity is also evidenced by the widespread spirit of mysticism in the fourteenth century and by the new manner in which it was put forward. Notwithstanding the horror felt by strict churchmen of religious writings in any other language than Latin, which was intelligible only to scholars, souls were now led to communion with God by means of the vernacular tongues. Abstracted from outward things, absorbed in self-contemplation, the soul was to find God and to rejoice in His presence. Such was the teaching of the profound master Ekkehard of Hochheim near Gotha (d. 1327); "God's being is to be our life." Summoned before the Inquisition, he was forced to declare his renunciation of those errors ascribed to him. Such, too, was the teaching of the influential preacher, John Tauler of Strasburg (d. 1361), who continued to preach although the Pope had interdicted him. His teaching was followed by the pupil of Ekkehard, Henry Suso of Überlingen. These men did not attempt to contradict church doctrine, but they involuntarily represented the Church as superfluous, and this view received greater emphasis from those who possessed any theological training and drew their spiritual nourishment from these mystical writings. As a substitute for that communion which they missed in the Church, they formed associations, calling themselves "the friends of God," and regarding themselves as the only true Christians, who might hope by their prayers to avert the judgment threatening the Church.

CHRIST ON THE WAY TO CALVARY

THE extremely valuable manuscript of the Bible (MS. membr. I, 11) of the ducal library at Gotha contains, in addition to the picture here reproduced, a large number of miniatures, the artistic value of which is, however, widely divergent. The achievements of the first illuminator, who immortalised himself in this work, are deplorably bad; those of the second are more tolerable; while the work of the third is in part so perfect, that its complete publication seems highly desirable. This third artist is Matthias Gerung of Nördlingen, a pupil of Hans Burgkmair. He was commissioned in the years 1530–1532 by Ottheinrich of the Palatinate to complete the illustration of this New Testament manuscript, which belongs to an earlier period, the two previous illustrators having filled the spaces left by the scribe only so far as folio 61. Accordingly, he executed no less than one hundred and sixteen illustrations distinguished for the brilliancy of their colouring; their size varies in proportion to the space at his disposal, the largest being twenty-five centimetres square. The German text of this New Testament is the work of several translators, the first of whom dates before 1350. It is impossible to say with certainty when the copy was completed; we incline to think about 1450. The text beneath the miniature is Luke xxiii, 33 and 38; the words here wanting are above the picture in the second column of the manuscript.

Und nach dem als sy kame[n] an die stat die da haizzt calvarie: da kräutzigten sy in [. . . | . . .] kriechischen pûchstabe[n] und lateinischen und ebreyschen. Der ist künig der iuden. Aber [. . .

London: Wm Heinemann. Printed by the Bibliographisches Institut, Leipzig. *New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.*

CHRIST ON THE WAY TO CALVARY. MINIATURE BY MATTHIAS GERUNG OF NORDLINGEN (ABOUT 1530), IN A GERMAN TRANSLATION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

(From the original MS. in the Ducal Library at Gotha.)

Microfilm

In the monasteries of nuns a similar visionary tendency became obvious. The famous Margaret Ebner, in the monastery of Medingen near Donauwörth, described the manifestations vouchsafed to her, and continued a zealous correspondence with her spiritual friend, Henry of Nördlingen. By their efforts the "spiritual manifestations of grace" of St. Mechthildis were published in the High German language. This mysticism found acceptance, as may easily be understood, among many of those men and women who had been given separate houses to secure their social position, in which they worked, or from which they went out to work, for their daily life, the so-called Beghins and Beghards. Possibly the first foundations of these unions on the lower Rhine (about 1180) may have been inspired by a religious idea of renunciation. In any case these half-monastic unions of pious souls, removed from the strict discipline of the monastery, ran the danger of becoming conventicles and of cherishing a mystical piety more or less repugnant to the Church. Hence the Church found it advisable to take proceedings against them more than once.

The desire for Christian liberty and freedom from authority rose to open hostility to the Church in the sect of the "free spirit." From the outset of the thirteenth century a strange fusion of freethinking and enthusiasm had existed in France, and now began to grow with great rapidity. The theory was that the free spirit of man knew no superior authority: man was God, even as Christ was. His actions were performed as a result of inward divine freedom, which hence raised him above all rules and prescriptions. Work was not fitting for him, and all belonged to him, so that he might take what he would. These mystics wandered in bands, making life insecure by their translation of these principles into practice. The sect was especially numerous in Switzerland, and on the Rhine as far as Köln; they also appeared in upper Italy and Bohemia. They were persecuted by the Church which merely confirmed their opposition; nor could the Church alleviate this malady, being herself sick unto death.

B. The Schism and the Reform Council (about 1377–1449)

The friends of the Church began with greater impetuosity to demand the return of the papacy to the chair of St. Peter; and at length Gregory XI re-entered Rome in the year 1377. After his death in the following year a new election brought yet greater misery upon the Church than the exile of the papacy had produced. The newly appointed Pope proposed to attack the disorders prevailing in the Curia. The French cardinals then left the city and elected a Frenchman, who again took refuge in Avignon, under the ægis of the French king. Two representatives of Christ thus existed in opposition, and the allegiance of the national kingdoms was divided between them. The one cursed the other and all his adherents, so that the whole of Christianity lay under an interdict. Whenever a Pope died, Christianity hoped for the conclusion of the schism; but on every such occasion a new election continued this miserable state of affairs. Even those who cared little for the honour of the Church and the papacy groaned under the results of this disruption. There were two papal Curias to maintain, and their extortions were far more exacting than ever before. A papal official of that period, whose business it was to register the requests sent in to the Curia, wrote, "There is no demand so

unrighteous or absurd that cannot be granted for money." It seemed that the papacy would leave no stone unturned to destroy the proud Gregorian theory of its divine supremacy and its inviolability.

The consequences were inevitable, for the spectacle of two Popes excommunicating one another led men to ask whether there was no higher authority in the Church than the papal power. The world resounded with complaints of papal oppression, and it seemed that the papal power must be limited, and Christianity secured against further malpractices. A general council might possibly bring salvation. The scholars of the Paris university, especially Gerson, vigorously championed this hope of safety.

The immediate necessity, however, was the reformation of the Church in head and members alike. The ecclesiastical and religious conditions which had arisen beneath the guidance of the Church in the last forty or fifty years were absolutely indescribable. The local clergy had degenerated, owing to the sale of spiritual posts to utterly unsuitable candidates, and to the practice of plurality, which made extortion easier. Episcopal organisation was completely shattered, as a steadily increasing number of ecclesiastical institutions and fraternities purchased from the papacy the right of exemption from episcopal supervision and jurisdiction; an increasing number also demanded what they considered to be their rights from the Curia, and secured them if they paid highly enough. For thirty years this miserable schism was endured with all its consequences, until the world gained courage to break with the theories of the last century concerning the unlimited nature of papal supremacy.

In March, 1409, the much-desired council was opened at Pisa. Neither of the Popes were present, and both protested against the illegality of the council. Gerson, however, was able to convince the assembly of the principle that a council could represent the Universal Church, even without the presence of a Pope. For centuries general councils had been nothing more than the Pope's obedient tools; opinion now ventured to ascribe supreme authority to the council. The two Popes were deposed and a new appointment was made (Alexander V). The deposed, however, had no idea of resignation, and each of them enjoyed the support of several princes and peoples. Christianity thus possessed three Popes, a "papal trinity" as the mocking phrase ran, and was broken into three camps. Alexander V prorogued the council for three years in order to make a thorough preparation for the necessary reform, and meanwhile ecclesiastical affairs remained in a state of confusion.

All hopes of a reformation seemed to have gone for ever in the year 1410, when John XXIII became Pope. He had begun his career as a pirate. By the sale of indulgences he had amassed such wealth that he was able to enlist an army, to conquer Bologna, and to rule as a bloody despot and a shameless voluptuary. He was also pointed out as the murderer of his predecessor on the papal throne. The council for which the world was calling was not to be expected from this Pope; and in consequence the old theory was revived that the emperor was the protector of the Church. By a fortunate turn of affairs, John was forced to flee from Rome and take refuge with Sigismund. In his complete helplessness he agreed to a council upon German soil, and this was summoned by Sigismund, as "protector of the Church," for November 1, 1414, at Constance; John's invitation followed.

Thus the council of Constance met as a synod, under a Pope. Relying upon

the large number of Italian bishops dependent upon himself who were present, John attempted to maintain the theory of his inviolability. It was then resolved that the voting should be, not by heads, but by nations; that is, that each one of the four nations present should be regarded as a whole, and that scholars and royal ambassadors should also have seats and votes. In order to deprive the council of its justification for further action, the Pope fled from Constance. The council responded by resolving that it represented the Universal Church upon earth and derived its power immediately from God; that every one, including the Pope, was bound to obey it, and that every one who refused obedience was to be duly punished, whatever might be his rank. John was deposed. One of the two remaining Popes voluntarily resigned, and the third was abandoned by his previous adherents. In this way the schism came to an end.

It was indeed a remarkable change of ecclesiastical theory. Since the third century, when Cyprian had regarded the episcopate as representing the unity of the Church, the councils which incarnated that unity were formed of bishops. In the Western Empire the bishop of Rome had then advanced and made good the claim that the whole Church was incorporated in himself, and that he alone could conduct and confirm synods. Now the council had again asserted its superiority to the Pope, and it was a council formed by no means exclusively by bishops; the princes, as the heads of the laity, had their official votes in it. Individualism thus invaded the theory of church government; but the idea that the whole could command the individual was still as powerful as of yore. This synod demanded with the same decision that blind obedience which the Pope had previously required. Religious toleration was as yet an inconceivable idea. This is only too clearly proved by the decisions of the council of Constance upon the burning doctrinal questions of the day.

From the year 1376 John Wyclif of Oxford had publicly opposed the papacy and its extortions. He had begun the struggle in the interests of his nation, but in the course of it he was led beyond the limits he had proposed. It seemed impossible that a hierarchy, degraded by its lust for worldly honour, wealth, and power, with its Pope in Avignon, or its two or three Popes, could be the Church of God. The Church could only consist of those who were found worthy of eternal salvation, — the predestined. The Popes of the schism showed by their behaviour that they belonged not to the Church of Christ, but to that of Antichrist. It was impossible that the will of such a hierarchy could pass as the law of the Church. "The divine law," the holy Scripture, must decide all, and commands discordant with this law, even if originating with the Pope, were illegal. For this reason Wyclif began his English translation of the Bible in order that the laity might be inspired to correct the evils existing in the Church. On the authority of the Bible he rejected transubstantiation, auricular confession, confirmation, and extreme unction, the worship of saints, images, and relics, the pilgrimages, brotherhoods, and indulgences, and, in particular, the worldly power and possessions of the clergy. According to the Bible, tithes and alms were to be the priest's sole source of maintenance. The king, as the supreme ruler after God, was to take from the clergy all that was not theirs by God's law. To provide for the spiritual needs of the people, Wyclif sent out his "poor priests," who constantly travelled, preaching as opportunity served them; he also sent out laymen, who were given full powers by God himself, but by no bishop. In this way the religious movement rapidly spread.

The University of Oxford was horrified by Wyclif's attacks upon the orthodox doctrine of the sacrament, and forbade such criticism. He was able, however, from his parish of Lutterworth, to influence high and low by the number of his published writings. He ended his days in peace (1384), and it was not until 1399 that the reaction began, with the help of a new ruler placed upon the throne by the superior clergy. In the year 1401 the Inquisition, which had long been dominant upon the Continent, was introduced into England, and exterminated all Wyclif's adherents.

This fire, however, had already lighted a mighty conflagration in Bohemia. A new religious spirit had been aroused in that country by zealous archbishops and by Waldensians and other heretics who had migrated thither. These were reinforced by powerful preachers who fulminated against religious indifference and dead ecclesiasticism, and against the secularisation of the clergy. Of these the chief were Militsch of Kremsier (d. 1347) and Matthias of Janof. The papal schism had induced these latter to arrive at Wyclif's theories independently. They asserted that only the Church of Antichrist had been divided, that the true Church was the community of those predestined to salvation, and had not been influenced by the schism. Matthias also shared the veneration of the English reformer for the Bible; and German Bohemia in that age was zealously occupied with the task of Bible translation. Manuscripts are still in existence which once belonged to the citizens of Prague or Eger. One of these German psalters is not derived from the Latin Vulgate, but is taken, directly or indirectly, from the original Hebrew. In Bohemia was also composed the German Bible, which appeared in fourteen editions after the invention of printing. Another German text exists in the shape of the Wenzel Bible, which is famous for its illustrations, and was composed about 1391 for Wenzel, the Bohemian king and German emperor.[1]

The marriage of the daughter of a Bohemian king with Richard II of England (1382) promoted a vigorous interchange of thought between the universities of Oxford and Prague. Many Bohemian students brought Wyclif's ideas and writings home from England. Master John Huss founded his first lectures (after 1396) upon Wyclif's writings. The leaders in this religious movement were almost exclusively Czechs; thus the whole movement gained a national character. This desire, however, for national independence was primarily anti-Roman, and aimed at liberation from Rome. When King Wenzel desired to induce the Bohemian church to promise subjection to neither of the two disputing Popes, he was supported only by the Czechs and not by the Germans; he therefore determined that the Germans in the university should have only one vote, the Czechs three, and in consequence more than two thousand German teachers and students left the town (1409). Huss now became rector of the university, which was entirely Czech, and his reputation steadily increased, in spite of the many attacks upon him. The archbishop, inspired by the new Pope, Alexander V, now interfered, and burnt more than two hundred volumes of Wyclif's writings in the court of his palace on the Hradschin. He excommunicated Huss and his adherents; and when this measure was answered with scorn, violent measures were taken to place the city under an interdict. The excitement increased, and the efforts of King Wenzel at pacification proved fruitless.

In order to save the honour of the Bohemian church, Sigismund invited Huss to appear personally before the council of Constance, and promised him a safe con-

[1] See the plate, "A Page of the Wenzel Bible," in Vol. VII, p. 151.

duct in his own name and in that of the empire. With foreboding of evil, but ready for death, Huss set forth, and after a few weeks his opponents in Constance were able to take him prisoner, notwithstanding the promise of safe conduct (November, 1414). Sigismund's anger blazed up; he ordered that the prisoner should be immediately released, and threatened to break open the prison. He was told that any measures of his which might hinder the efficacy of the council would result in its immediate dissolution. This he was anxious to avoid at any price; he therefore sacrificed the witness of the truth and his royal word in the cause of the reforms which he hoped from the council. Thus it was possible to proceed with the accusation of heresy; and the fate of Huss was decided (May, 1414) when the council issued their condemnation of Wyclif. The trial of Huss brought out the deep difference between himself and the fathers of the council to an extent of which he was himself hardly conscious. He asserted that he could not recant until he had been convinced of the erroneous nature of his doctrine. He was told that a recantation would lay no blame on him, but upon the superiors who demanded it from him. The main point of difference was the question, whether a man had a conscience of his own, or whether he should allow his conscience to be ruled by other men and by the Church. Huss thought differently from the council; he had an independent personal conviction of religious faith, and this he rated higher than his life. Though he was no profound thinker, no pioneer of a new doctrine, and in some respects inferior to Wyclif, this fact has made him the hero of a new epoch and a martyr. The men who, led by Gerson, had been the most violent opponents of the unlimited power of the papacy, and most anxious for a so-called reformation, did not hesitate until they had silenced for ever this exponent of a true reformation. On July 6, 1415, he perished at the stake, a fate shared by Jerome of Prague in 1416.

The judges of Huss made a great mistake when they thought that these tokens of strong Catholicism would enable them the more certainly to secure a permanent reformation. The appointment of a new Pope was delayed, as they feared that attempts at reformation might be thus frustrated. However, through the influence of political powers, the Italians and cardinals who were opposed to reform succeeded in carrying out a papal election. The friends of reform thought somewhat had been achieved when the new Pope was pledged to carry out the reforms and to reassemble the council after a definite period, which was first fixed at five years. Pope Martin V, who was chosen in November, 1417, was a prudent and kindly character. He saw that every nation had its own special views upon the subject of reform, which were generally conditioned by the nature of its immediate dependence upon Rome. This fact he was able to explain to the council. He induced them to abandon as impossible any promulgation of general principles, and to rest contented with separate concordats for each nation. These concordats consisted in fair promises on the side of the Pope and in the abolition of certain flagrant abuses. In some cases they secured the papacy in the possession of new privileges. Moreover, by the decree of the council they were concluded not permanently, but only for five years. The council was dissolved in April, 1418, and an actual reformation was as far distant as ever.

The old disgraceful practices soon resumed their prevalence at the papal Curia. After two years, a German from Rome wrote, "Every action of the court at Rome is cheating, greed, and pride;" and another wrote, "Livings are sold in Rome as

publicly as pigs at market." The general hopes were set upon the council to be summoned after five years. The Pope convoked it in 1424 at Pavia, transferred it to Siena before proceedings began, and dissolved it speedily. Christendom felt itself cheated; the indignation of the lower clergy and the people increased. Pope Eugene IV was obliged to promise to summon a council at Basle in 1431.

The first step of this council was to invite the adherents of Huss to Basle for negotiations. The martyrdom of Constance had roused the Bohemian movement to wild fanaticism, the outward sign of which was the demand of the cup for the laity in the Communion service. Wenzel expelled the priests who dispensed the Communion in both kinds (*sub utraque specie*, hence known as Utraquists); they then fled to a mountain, which they called Tabor, and the people flocked to them in bands of excited enthusiasts to prepare for battle by receiving the Communion. A social movement was amalgamated with that for religious reform. An end was to be made of all tyranny, and a furious storm broke upon the churches and monasteries. At the desire of Sigismund, Martin V summoned the whole of Christendom to battle with these heretics. But the crusading army sent against them was utterly defeated, and the Hussite armies devastated the neighbouring territories with fire and sword. Their invincibility made them the terror of the West; and a fresh crusading army, accompanied by the cardinal, who had been appointed president of the council at Basle, was annihilated. Christianity breathed a sigh of relief when the more moderate of the Hussites professed their readiness to negotiate with the council.

The Pope, however, was irritated that the council should attempt to conclude an independent peace with the heretics whose destruction he had demanded, and thus to claim the government of the Church. He therefore dissolved the council, which, however, referred with great decision to the principle that a general council was supreme even over the Pope. The council passed the most sweeping measures for the limitation of the papal power. In 1433 they concluded peace with the Bohemians, conceding the four demands which the Hussites had advanced in 1420, though in a mitigated form; these were the cup for the laity, free preaching of the word of God, the reformation of the clergy, and the restoration of the Christian discipline. The Pope was eventually compelled to declare his order of dissolution null and void, in a bull drawn up by the council itself. His legates were forced to swear that they would work for the honour of the council, would submit to its decrees, and would help to secure its triumph. Thus the council triumphed over the Pope.

However, in the consciousness of this triumph the council was unable to act with moderation. It cut off from the papacy most of the existing sources of income, or appropriated them to itself, so that the Pope could reasonably ask how he was to keep up his court for the future in accordance with his dignity, or to pay his many officials. Many, moreover, who had derived their incomes from the former financial position of the papacy were irritated with the council. The council, indeed, seemed determined to appropriate the Pope's position, as it issued dispensations of marriage, granted absolutions and gifts of tithes, interfered in purely secular affairs, and disposed of the electoral dignity against the decision of the emperor. The Greek emperor was at that moment anxious to secure the help of the West in order to save his empire from complete destruction by the infidel,

and for that reason proposed to enter upon negotiations for union with the Western Church; the Pope thus secured the transference of the council to Ferrara on the ground that he desired to spare the Greek ambassadors the task of crossing the Alps. The majority of the synod declined to surrender their freedom of movement by removal to Italy, and finally proposed the deposition of the Pope. The fact, however, that the Pope had secured from the Greeks a recognition of his apostolic supremacy over the whole of Christendom considerably strengthened his prestige; and by concession of every kind he was able to bring one prince after another to his side.

The council of Basle entirely forfeited the general sympathy by its action in electing an anti-Pope, Felix V (1439). It seemed that the result of this council was merely a new schism. Hence the nations attempted to secure the reforms determined at Basle, though they did not break away from the Roman Pope. Felix V voluntarily resigned, and the council was finally dissolved in 1449. All who knew the nature of the papacy were bound to admit that the last remnants of the success of the anti-papal movement would soon disappear. The "reformation" was not inspired by purely religious motives. Though entirely justified, it was chiefly selfish reasons that had inspired its action and hindered its performance. Towards the close of this period, about 1450, a feeling of bitter disappointment was shared by all who had the welfare of the Church at heart. All attempts at improvement had failed, all hopes of a reformation had passed, and the end of the world was thought to be at hand; thus all complained with one voice in bitter disappointment. Every pious soul felt assured that existing conditions could no longer continue.

C. The Widening of the Gulf between the Old and New Religious Spirit (1449–1517)

The papacy had completely defeated the desire for a reformation, whether ecclesiastical or anti-ecclesiastical. It had also lost all sympathy with the religious movement. The process was thus complete which had begun nearly a century before; the papacy was no longer conducted upon one principle, but was guided solely by motives of self-interest, which appealed with varying force to different Popes, for unity of effort disappeared when the principles were swept away. Upon one point only were the Popes agreed, — that a reformation ought to be averted.

Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini had been one of the most successful opponents of the papacy at the council of Basle. As the power of the council dwindled, he became an equally zealous adherent of the papacy (1445). In his new career he steadily gained ecclesiastical honours, until he secured the papal tiara (1458), as Pius II. He wished to revive papal supremacy according to the old models, not, however, with the intentions of such men as Innocent III, who really thought that the only salvation for souls consisted in general submission to Peter; Pius was inspired by purely secular ideas. He was in the position of a prince wishing to revive the departed glory of a crown which he had inherited. It was his destiny to learn that he was aiming at the impossible, and that the general lack of confidence in the papacy was now invincible. He condemned the "accursed abuse

that men should be driven by the spirit of rebellion presumptuously to appeal from the bishop of Rome to a future council," and he found that men revolted from every one of his unpopular rules by means of such appeals. He took the utmost trouble to organise a crusade against the Turks, who had conquered Constantinople in 1453; but Christendom declined to follow him. For the same purpose he founded new orders of knights, but these soon disappeared.

Paul II had signed a document before his election pledging himself to continue the war against the Turks, to maintain strict morality, to convoke a council of reform, and to carry out other measures; when his elevation had made him supreme head of the Church, and had thus given him power to loose whom he would, he immediately released himself from his promises. The Church owed to him the profitable innovation that the jubilee, originally intended to celebrate the outset of every new century, should be celebrated every twenty-five years.

Sixtus IV (1471–1484) did not employ the spiritual weapons of excommunication and interdict to advance his secular aims; but apart from this he was undistinguishable from the ordinary run of immoral and faithless Italian princes. He improved his finances by instituting brothels in Rome, which brought him in a yearly income of eighty thousand ducats. Innocent VIII had so many illegitimate children that popular humour spoke of him as rightly called the father of his country. While he was inspiring Christendom with lofty words to fight against the infidel, he kept in imprisonment an enemy of the Sultan who had fled to the West, instead of placing him at the head of a crusading army, for the simple reason that the Sultan paid him forty thousand dollars a year for this service. His successor in 1492 was Alexander VI (Rod. Lenzuoli Borgia, d. 1503), the father of five illegitimate children, a man whose treachery and cruelty were a byword. Alexander had secured his election by bribery of the cardinals, but his greed extorted their money with such rapidity that they were forced to flee or succumb to his exactions; in either case their treasures came into the Pope's possession. He hoped to subjugate the whole of Italy to his family, and he did not shrink from concluding an alliance with "the hereditary enemy of Christianity" against "the most Christian king" of France.

A further attempt at reformation was ventured. The Dominican friar, Savonarola, created a profound impression in Florence by his preaching of penitence, and succeeded in founding a republic in which God was to be the sole king. His brilliant success afforded some prospect of a purification of the whole Church, and he therefore attacked the well-spring of the evil, Rome, and its disgraceful Pope, Alexander. The Pope consequently excommunicated him and placed Florence under an interdict. In 1498 Savonarola and his most faithful friends were hanged as "persecutors of the holy Church," and their bodies were afterwards burnt. This was a second disappointment. However, in his cell the martyr gained so firm a conviction of evangelical theory that Luther was able to republish the work which he had composed on the eve of execution. Immediately after his death Savonarola's writings were so eagerly printed and read that, in 1501, the Pope considered it necessary to place them on the index in order that that "only such seed should be sown in the vineyard of the Lord of Sabaoth as would provide spiritual food for the souls of the faithful."

Once again the princes gathered courage and demanded a council; complaints of the shameless extortion of the Curia had become too loud and too universal.

The result of these noble efforts was the issue (December, 1516) of the bull *Pastor æternus* at the Lateran council opened in 1512; this document appealed to the infamous bull of Boniface VIII (*Unam sanctam;* cf. p. 252), and asserted, "he who does not hear the representative of Christ shall die the death. The Roman bishop has sole authority over all councils." The ambitions which Christendom had cherished for centuries seemed to be destroyed. Geiler of Kaisersperg (d. 1510) preached "there is no hope of improvement in Christianity, therefore let every man hide his head in a corner and see that he does and keeps God's commandments, that he may obtain salvation."

The same council considered it necessary to pass a resolution forbidding any doubt to be cast upon the immortality of the soul. The spirit of free thought, which had existed among the educated classes of Christianity for nearly three centuries, had reappeared, and was principally manifested in the form of pure enthusiasm for classical antiquity.

In the fourteenth century, the general authority of the Church had collapsed; the spiritual power of its head had been shattered by the exile of the papacy and the schism, and the ecclesiastical science of scholasticism was fading, while the religious spirit became more individual. In Italy at that time men's minds were no longer satisfied by the mediæval ideals of submission to authority and renunciation of the world; they therefore turned to classical antiquity, to the enjoyment of that personal freedom and that appreciation of life which are prominent in those memorials of the past. The new culture, the Renaissance and humanism, advanced steadily, and were carried to the north of the Alps by the councils of Constance and Basle, while the invention of printing facilitated their wider dissemination. A spirit long extinct was thereby revived, the spirit of historical inquiry, especially and naturally into the history of the Church. This was a tendency which was conscious neither of its true impulses nor of its final results, and was for these reasons pursued without preoccupation. Almost all the Popes who ruled in the last decades of the Middle Ages allowed themselves to follow the movement without reserve. No one suspected that they were driving the ship of St. Peter towards the whirlpool of destruction. Yet in this land where humanism orginated, a tendency soon arose which made it an extraordinary danger to the mediæval church and to all true religious spirit. When a church demanded blind credence for its every assertion, and had founded its power upon so many falsifications, its very existence was menaced by men who, like Laurentius Valla (d. 1457), studied the New Testament in the original, and showed the inaccuracy of the Latin Vulgate used by the Church; when he and other investigators showed the falsity of the "Donation of Constantine" on which Popes had based their power for centuries; when he showed by the words of the apostles themselves the fabulous nature of the supposed composition of the "Apostles' Creed" which was generally believed; and when others cast doubts upon the False Decretals, which were the props and foundations of ecclesiastical law as a whole. It was a danger, too, to the prestige of a church which had long been honoured by countless numbers as a teacher provided with infallible power, when ecclesiastical Latin was compared with the language of the ancient authors, and its barbarisms held up to scorn.

The intellectualism of the time, in its enthusiasm for classical literature, entirely adopted this spirit and appropriated the heathen theories of life, with

results that might have been expected, and are especially obvious among the Italian humanists. They secretly renounced their allegiance to the Church and to religion, and abandoned themselves to the most shameless sensuality. In order to avoid any inconvenience that might result from declared infidelity, they announced their readiness "to believe everything that the Church believed;" one of them said jestingly among his friends that he would even believe in a quadruple unity of the Godhead, to avoid a death at the stake. Popes and their servants, in view of such disbelief, had every reason for forbidding doubt upon the immortality of the soul, and for continuing the traditional piety of language in the composition of their decrees, seeing that they derived their living from Christian belief. It may be imagined how appalling were the results of such sayings as were reported of Popes like Leo X, who said, "Truly the myth of Christ has brought in much gain." What, again, were the effects when Christendom read the writings of such a man as Poggio (d. 1459), who lived in close friendship with eight Popes as apostolic privy secretary at the Roman court, and composed the "Facetiæ," which, with incredible frivolity, glorified sensual pleasure, and poured cynical mockery, not only upon individual monks and priests, but also upon the general aversion to common sins. This work was first printed in the Holy City, ran through some twenty-five editions, and was translated into many foreign languages. The author could boast of its circulation in Italy and France, Spain, Germany, and England, and even further. The great majority of the educated classes, who had long been in doubt as to the truth of church doctrine, were now forced to break entirely with Christianity by their acceptance of the general view of life which inspired classical literature. Others, who were not inclined to abandon the faith of their fathers, in spite of their classical enthusiasm, were forced sooner or later to admit the duplicity of their intellectual life; and eventually their beliefs in authority and in the renunciation of the world gave way before the joyfulness of heathenism with its love of life.

In Germany the powers of personal piety were as yet too strong to admit the introduction of so great a change. The leaders of German humanism admired the classics chiefly for their educational influence. But here also is heard the mockery of the representatives of the Church, of the scholastic form in which their doctrines were expounded, and of the monks who had realised the Christian ideal according to mediæval theory. Even in Germany a divergence from the dominant ideas of the Middle Ages appeared in many circles. A solution of their difficulties was to be found, not in submission to authority, but in individual freedom, not in renunciation, but in appreciation of the world. A new theory of life and a new epoch had begun, and religion, which still wore its mediæval dress, had to be remodelled. The danger was lest men should reject religion in their scorn for its tattered garments.

It is not, however, the educated classes alone that make history. Notwithstanding the evils of the Church, the faith of the German nation remained unimpaired, though new views were to be found even among the lower classes. Men came forward to attack particular doctrines of the Church, and others to throw an exaggerated emphasis upon truths which these men had not entirely denied. Some pleaded earnestly for personal and mystical piety; this was to be shown in a practical manner and not expended in speculation, for which the age was too serious and the excitement too intense. They began to form corporations of a

semi-monastic nature, such as the "Brothers and Sisters of the Common Life," an order originated in the Netherlands by Gerhard Groot. In their opinion, poverty and beggary were no longer sacred. They wished to work for their living and to influence others; not to be satisfied with mere ecclesiasticism, but to improve or to produce personal religion. The most famous work of this school, the "Imitation of Christ," by Thomas à Kempis, disregards the whole fabric of the ecclesiastical system, urging that a man should sacrifice all to gain all, and should deny the whole world to win God.

Even among those who still clung to the Church and her institutions, we can observe a peculiar dissatisfaction, which was simply a repetition of the mediæval yearning for religious certainty. Numbers of brotherhoods were founded, which obliged the members to perform an enormous amount of devotional exercises, and enabled them to share an infinite wealth of prayers, almsgiving, masses, dispensations, and services, with the object of securing their personal salvation as far as possible. Crowds thronged to the miraculous images of the saints, to bleeding wafers and to relics, the veneration of which brought full indulgence. Thus on one day no less than one hundred and forty-two thousand pilgrims entered Aix-la-Chapelle. The Church showed the utmost readiness to satisfy the desires of the German people for some guarantee of salvation. Extraordinary miracles were related of sick men healed, of raining of crosses, of nuns marked with the stigmata. Indulgences were issued in increasing numbers. The foreign pilgrims in Rome received an indulgence for fourteen thousand years when the heads of the princes of the apostles and the handkerchief of Veronica were shown. Indulgences were to be procured by visiting certain churches, repeating certain prayers, and by payment of money. Any one who died in the uniform of a Franciscan or with the scapulary of the Carmelites was removed from purgatory to paradise in a short time. The very fact that the Church was obliged continually to increase the extent of these favours proves that the prevailing desire for religious satisfaction and peace could not be satisfied by these measures. This desire is evidenced also by the mass of religious writings which were now spread abroad by the art of printing. Up to the year 1522 appeared fourteen editions of the Bible in High German and four in Low German, many books of sermons, running from twenty to seventy editions, countless works of edification, sometimes of great length, sometimes of contracted form. Especially popular were the books dealing "with the art of making a good death." The desire of life and its enjoyments was powerful at that period, and yet a fear of that which lies beyond the grave was no less real.

The movement of revolt against the Church was also apparent among the pious. The Church made it her duty to oppose by force these premonitions of reform in doctrine. Thus the writings of John of Wesel were condemned to be burnt, and the author was immured in a monastery. A more dangerous portent was the popular contempt for the representatives of the Church and their ideals, and the manifestations of bitter anger against the clergy and monks. If proverbs reflect popular opinion, those of this age are certainly portentous, such as "To keep the house clean, beware of monks, priests, and pigeons;" or "When the devil can find no servants for his purpose, he makes use of a monk;" or, again, "Monks have two hands, one to take and the other to keep." In fact, the morality of the clergy had sunk to so appalling a depth that many, and in particular certain princes, attempted more than once to introduce a moral reformation. The success, how-

ever of these efforts was incredibly scanty, and the certainty that some change was immediately necessary became more universal.

These impulses were connected by a movement of social discontent. As the Church represented the wealthy classes, and as ecclesiastical lords often treated their subordinates with ruthless severity, loud threats were constantly uttered against them. A popular song ran as follows: "I have heard in prophecy that priests will be crushed;" in another song we find, "If no more mass were sung it would be but small loss to me." The heads of religious institutions were soon obliged to apply to the authorities for protection against the people, who sang derisive songs before their dwellings; "They do no good, let us then kill the priests." In the year 1476 it seemed that violence was about to break out. In the village of Niklashausen in the Taubergrunde a shepherd, Hans Böhm, preached with wild enthusiasm against the immorality of the clergy, not sparing the Pope himself. The people came to him in masses from the Hartz Mountains to the Alps, and seventy thousand are said to have listened to his message in one day. In one of his songs, which his followers took home with them, was a passage, "We will complain to the Lord of heaven, Kyrie eleison, that we may not kill the priests, Kyrie eleison." On July 13 thousands of his excited followers were to gather round him with arms; but before he could carry out his attempt at founding a republic free from priests, he was imprisoned, and ended his life at the stake. In the year 1514 a bloody revolt broke out in Würtemberg, raised in the name of Poor Kunz. This was suppressed, but the fire continued to burn in secret, no less ominously.

The Church was utterly incapable of recovering the fidelity of those she had alienated, or of satisfying the desires of her friends. The best that she could give was inadequate to satisfy this age, which disregarded mediæval ideals, and should Christianity fail to adapt itself to new conditions, its complete rejection seemed inevitable.

VII

THE GERMAN COLONISATION OF THE EAST TO THE MIDDLE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

By PROFESSOR DR. RICHARD MAYR

1. THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE GERMANS AND SLAVS TO ABOUT THE YEAR 1050

THE early settlements of the Teutons in prehistoric times lay between the Elbe and the Vistula, the Kelts being their western neighbours (see the map facing p. 131). When the Teutons proposed to migrate westwards and to settle in the Keltic districts to the west of the Rhine, the advance of these barbarians was checked by the fortifications which Julius and Augustus had added to the natural barriers of the Rhine and Danube. Three or four hundred years later the Teutons broke through the Roman frontiers they had often threatened. While the east Teutons were advancing on their path of victory and death amid mighty conflicts, an event hardly less important was in progress on the frontiers of Middle and Eastern Europe, noiselessly and almost unobserved; this was the occupation by Slav races of those districts which the Teutons had abandoned. They entered the empty space between the Vistula and the Elbe, and, crossing this latter river, settled on the Frankish ground of Thuringia. They also seized modern Bohemia, which had been abandoned by the retiring Marcomanni, spread over the Sudetic and Carpathian Mountains, established themselves in Pannonia and Noricum, overran the eastern slopes of the Alps and the districts from the source of the Drave to the Adriatic, with considerable portions of the Baltic peninsula. This Slav migration, which followed the Teutonic migration, was accomplished during the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries. So early as the sixth century their oppressors and pursuers, the Avars, pushed forward along the Theiss and Danube into the territories occupied by the Slavs. To this movement was added immediately afterwards a backward Teutonic wave, and a wedge-like advance of the Magyars at a later date, with the result that the Slavs were permanently divided into a northern and southern group.

The occupation by the Slavs of these wide territories which had belonged to the Teutons brought the two nationalities into relations providing material for endless conflict. Such conflicts broke out to some extent during the reconquest by the Germans of the original Teutonic settlements, but led to no definite result any more than the conflict between the Germans and the Romance peoples of Southwest Europe, with their constant alternations, which were begun by the struggle for territory, supremacy, and material or moral power, and have continued for some fifteen hundred years.

The history of the struggles between the Slav and the Teutonic military forces and civilizations centred round two regions, which must be separated geographically and historically, one to the southeast and one to the northeast. The line of demarcation between these two coincides almost exactly with the frontiers of Bohemia and Moravia. The state of Austria was the result of the conflict in the southeast, and the monarchy of Brandenburg-Prussia was produced by that on the northeast frontier. There is no exaggeration in the opinion of famous histotians like Ranke, von Treitschke, and Lamprecht, who regard this conquest and colonisation as the greatest achievement of the Germans of the Middle Ages, when their history was in part so brilliant and yet so gloomy.

A. The Struggles in the Southeast and Northeast before the Year 920

A movement eastward at the expense of the Slavs began in the seventh and eighth centuries, and emanated from Bavaria, the duchy of the Agilolfings which was but nominally dependent upon the Frankish Merovingians and Carolingians. Availing themselves of the decline of the power of the Avars, the Bavarians extended their influence over the Slavonic Carentanians, the ancestors of the modern Slovenians or Wends of central Austria (Vol. V, p. 283). At the same time Christianity advanced from the Bavarian bishoprics of Salzburg, Regensburg, and Passau over the frontier districts. The country as far as the Enns and the upper Drave was already thrown open to the German nationality, when a far greater power prepared to intervene in the struggle.

After the death of Tassilo, the last of the Agilolfings, Charles the Great began his struggle against the Avars (791), which ended with the destruction of their kingdom in 796 (805). As elsewhere, the Frankish king founded margraviates on the central Danube, apparently two in number, the East Mark including the land on the right bank of the Danube, from the Enns beyond the Vienna Forest and extending southwards to the Drave, and the Mark of Friuli, the land to the south of the Drave, including Istria. Passau, and Salzburg which had been an archbishopric from 798, occupied themselves with converting the inhabitants of the former provinces of Noricum, Rhætia, and Pannonia, who were chiefly heathen; Salzburg and Aquileia obtained metropolitan rights over the conquered districts. Constitutional and ecclesiastical organisation were accompanied by immigration and settlement. Lower Austria and western Hungary, Styria and Carinthia, received the main bulk of their German population between the eighth and ninth centuries. Bavarians and Franks made their settlements side by side with Slav inhabitants and also with Slav colonists (Vol. V, p. 397). The Carolingian system of government by no means aimed at the extermination of the peaceful Slavs who had become Christians; at the same time the inhabitants of the Slav marks continually became dependent upon German territorial lords, and as early as 828 the word "Slav" (*sclavus*) acquired the significance of slave. There was nothing oppressive in this arrangement, as the land was chiefly divided into large estates belonging to ecclesiastical corporations or secular nobles, who appreciated the scattered population at their full value. Thus from the outset the German territories of the Austrian Alps were brought under cultivation, primarily by large territorial lords, and to a less extent by a class of peasantry.

The process of Germanising and Christianising the southeastern frontiers of the German kingdom is connected with the Bavarian campaigns of Charles the Great against the Avars; similarly his Saxon wars brought him into collision with the Elbe Slavs on the northeast. The attacks upon Bohemia occupy an intermediate position. Charles overran this country from the southeast and northwest, until he had made it tributary to himself, though he did not throw it open to German colonisation or to Christianity (805–806). The complicated campaigns against the Elbe Slavs forced the conquered tribes to make a nominal acceptance of Frankish supremacy, but left them in other respects independent and so dangerous that the great organiser founded several frontier counties (the marks of Thuringia, Franconia, and Bohemia), and created a connected line of defence, strengthened by fortresses, along the Elbe, Saale, and the Böhmerwald. Here were situated the frontier marks, in which peaceful intercourse with the Slavs was developed, such as Bardowick, Magdeburg, and Erfurt. In the northwest Saxon, Danish, and Slav territories the frontier of the empire was pushed across the Eider; however, Charles left to the federated tribes of the Abodrites east Holstein or Wagria, which was not conquered until the bloody conflicts of the twelfth century.

After the death of the great emperor (814) his disconnected empire naturally fell to pieces, and the Elbe Slavs, together with those of the south, with the exception of the Carentanians, broke away from French influence. New Slav states were formed, of which the great Moravian kingdom was the most important and the most hostile to the Germans (Vol. V, p. 232). In Moravia and Pannonia the Slavs voluntarily accepted Christianity about 870, without obliging the Germans to make much effort for their conversion. Bohemia and Moravia remained untouched by German influence for another century.

The great Moravian kingdom had been hard pressed by the Emperor Arnulf, and was already in process of dissolution when the southeast German marks of the Carolingian period came to ruin; the Magyars, a Finno-Ugrian people, burst into the district of the Theiss and Danube, and, like the Huns and Avars, ravaged the higher civilization of Europe, the morality and resisting power of which had never sunk so low as at the close of the ninth century, the age of devastation (Vol. V, p. 378). German supremacy was thrown back beyond the Enns; the more accessible districts of the Carolingian Mark became deserted; and the remnants of the colonial population remained scattered in mountain and forest valleys, surviving two generations of this terror. The inhabitants of the Pannonian plains, who were chiefly Slavs, became serfs, and the Slovacks were reduced to pay tribute; only the Slovenians or Carentanians remained free. A protracted frontier war was in process, which brought forth new royal families, and in particular a new Bavarian ducal house (p. 106, note 2).

B. The East German Policy of the Saxon Emperors

The conditions in Saxony were similar. Their conduct of the uninterrupted frontier war against the heathen Elbe Slavs brought the ducal family of the Ludolfings to the front. This house (the Saxon emperors) continued the frontier war, which was imposed upon them by tradition and necessity. The second period of successful struggle against the Elbe Slavs began, and Henry I started by attacking

the Hevelli in 928, with the Saxon army, which had been reorganised for the Magyar war.

(*a*) *The Conditions of the Slav Nationality on the Elbe and Oder.* — At that period the territory of the Slav peoples upon the Elbe and Oder, who have long since disappeared, was bounded on the north by the Baltic Sea and Denmark, on the west by the Saxons and Thuringians, on the south by the Bohemians and the Moravians, and on the east by the Poles and Letts. The Elbe Slavs fell into two groups; those of the Baltic Sea extended from the Baltic to about fifty-two degrees of north latitude. Among these were the Pomeranians, between the Oder and the Vistula; the piratical Ranes on the island of Rügen; the Abodrites or Obotrites, in modern Mecklenburg, in Wagria, in the Altmark, and in the Hanoverian district of the Wends, as far as Lüneburg; the Liutizes (Ljutizes or Wilzes), living between the Baltic and the Havel, and including numerous smaller tribes, such as the Hevelli, Sprevani, Redarii, Tolesani, etc. The second division were the Sorbs, with whom must be included the Lusitzi, Daleminizii, Milziani, etc.[1]

The religion of the Slavs bears unmistakable signs of Indo-Germanic origin (Vol. V, p. 443). Their idolatry centred round an independent priesthood, which was, however, unable to form any national union, such as was effected by the Keltic Druids (p. 146). As Slav heathenism was hard pressed by the Christians, so did the power of the theocracy increase. The servants of the heathen gods restored the ruined temples, and national hostility was accentuated by religious hatred; the Wendish priests were the head and front of that revolt of heathenism against the German power, which remained victorious until the twelfth century. Their most famous sanctuary was at Rethra, perhaps on the lake of Tollense in Mecklenburg; this was the temple of Radigost (Radegast). Slav heathenism survived longest (until 1168) at Rügen in Arkona, where stood the sanctuary of the four-headed Swantewit, surrounded by a high wall.

The economic and social organisation of the Slavs was based upon the household community (*sadruga*, Vol. V, p. 277), characterised by communism and an unlimited monarchical power vested in the elders. When the family corporation grew too extensive, the youngest generation, usually that of great-grandchildren, migrated and settled when possible in the neighbourhood, so that villages arose in course of time. Slav villages generally occupied a circular space and were surrounded by a circular fence. Besides these circular villages, there were also villages with streets. The front of the house looked upon a street, while gardens or cultivated fields extended behind. It is possible, however, that German colonists may have introduced this form of settlement among the Slavs.

Slav civilization rested entirely upon agriculture. But the agriculture practised to the east of the Elbe could not compare with the German three-field system, which had been in force upon free holdings and villein tenements since the time of the Carolingians. It has been rightly said that the victory of the Germans over the Slavs settled on the Elbe and Oder was the victory of the German plough with its mould-board over the Slav harrow plough, which merely scratched the surface of the ground, and was useless as an implement upon heavy soil. Notwithstanding the predominantly agricultural character of Slav civilization, there were native industries

[1] See the list of Slav tribes in the "Bavarian Geographer," Vol. V, p. 435.

which were situated in separate villages, at any rate in the more advanced districts. Thus there were whole villages inhabited only by fishermen, carpenters, millstone makers, wheelwrights, soap-boilers, etc. Settlements comparable to towns were also formed on the sea. There existed a land trade with the east on the one hand, by way of Kief, and through west Europe to the German frontier marks on the other hand. The Slavs also shared in the Baltic trade and piracy, though here they had to compete with the rivalry of the Scandinavian commercial pirates. Hence even in pre-German times there were Baltic towns occupied in trade. Such were the Abodritic Stardgard; Buku, or old Lübeck (Liuvice); also an Abodrite town on the left bank of the Drave; Wollin, at the mouth of the Oder (no doubt the old Julin, the Vineta of the legends and the Jomsburg of the Vikings); also such settlements as Stettin, Kolberg, Dantsic, etc. In all these Slav territories individual families of starosts had secured "ducal" power. Side by side with the classes of free peasants, which were merging into one, existed the class of slaves under the rule of the princes and nobles.

(*b*) *The Advance of the German Nationality (928–1044).* — In the year 928 Henry I attacked the Hevelli and captured their main fortress, Brennaburg (Brandenburg), after pitching his camp on the frozen Havel. "Ice, steel, and hunger, these three brought Brennaburg to her fall." In the same year the king stormed Gana (Jahna), the town of the Daleminzii, and founded the fortress of Meissen on the conquered territory. Here, again, the defeated population were subjected to pillage, while their warriors were put to death and the remainder sold into slavery. When Henry, in 928 and 929, invaded Bohemia, which had been united for a generation under a duke of the Přemyslid house, Wenzel I, the later martyr and patron saint, offered no resistance, but accepted the land as a tributary fief from the hands of the German king (Vol. V, p. 236). Although Bohemia several times shook off the German supremacy, the feudal suzerainty was upon the whole maintained, so that the duchy and the later kingdom became a permanent portion of the empire, and belonged to the German federation until its end (1866). By the further subjection of the Redarii, Abodrites, Wilzes, and Liutizi, all the land on either side of the Elbe as far as the Oder obeyed the first king of the Saxon house. W. von Giesebrecht, in his "History of the German Empire," says: "For centuries German life had flourished between the Elbe and the Oder, but it sprang from a soil every clod of which was soaked with blood. Those were iron times which saw the plantation of German manners, language, and Christianity in these districts; the iron hand of the Saxon lay heavy upon the Wends, and finally crushed them; nor could they be blamed for their murmuring under such a yoke, for their constant revolts against their oppressors, or for their recourse to a struggle of desperation."

The civil wars, which fill the earlier years of Otto I, were accompanied by wars upon the Wends. The successor of Henry I had made over the frontier of the Saale and central Elbe to the Margrave Gero, and the district on the lower Elbe to the Duke Hermann Billung. Gero waged war with fearful vigour and with reckless choice of means. In 939, when informed that the Wends had planned a surprise attack, he invited thirty of their chiefs, made them drunk and killed them. He thus ruled the Slavs to the Havel, as Hermann ruled the Baltic Slavs; but he was constantly supported by the king, and the Wendish wars

of the Saxon period thus assumed a character of imperial enterprise. Between 950 and 970 the Wends were constantly revolting. After the death of Gero in 966 the king divided this district into five marks, from which were gradually formed the Northern Mark, or Old Mark, the Eastern Mark of Lausitz or Saxony, and the Thuringian Mark (Margraviate of Meissen). Otto's wars with his German rivals, the Danes, for the mastery of the North Sea and Baltic territories, and the mark organised in 934 by his father and occupied by the Germans between the Eider and Schlei (afterwards the Mark of Schleswig), are legendary achievements.

Throughout this time German merchants and German missionaries, those historical pioneers of military and constitutional supremacy, had been visiting the marsh and forest districts occupied by the Wends; German missionaries had also come face to face with the obstinate heathenism of Scandinavia. In these frontier territories Christianity did not secure its hold until the ecclesiastical institutions of the Saxon period were established. The bishopric of Hamburg, founded in 831 (an archbishopric after 834 and the seat of St. Ansgar, who first secured the title "Apostle of the North"), was united with Bremen in 847, and remained under the Saxon kings the starting-point for missions to the north. Otto I made the bishoprics of Schleswig, Ripen, and Aarhus, founded in 948, subordinate to the metropolitan see of Bremen. At that time, in 946 and 949, the king founded the first bishoprics upon Wendish soil, Havelberg and Brandenburg, to which the subject Slavs were obliged to pay tithes and tribute. To these must be added the bishopric of Oldenburg in Wagria (east Holstein), known to the Wends as Stargard. In 968 Otto succeeded in his favourite project of making Madgeburg an archbishopric, independent of Mainz; and to this the sees of Havelberg and Brandenburg, Meissen, Merseburg, and Zeitz, were subordinate as suffragan bishoprics (p. 88). Thus Christianity had secured a firm foothold in the marks, and the missions prospered among the refractory Wends.

However, when Otto II was defeated on July 15, 982, by the Saracens in Apulia (p. 89), the Danes and Slavs renewed their attacks (983), and the patient achievements of fifty years' policy collapsed amid this wild disturbance. Havelberg and Brandenburg were destroyed; Hamburg was reduced to ashes; and the Wends returned to the service of their god Gerowitt and the three-headed Triglav, at the places of sacrifice. Tithes and tribute were no longer paid. The German nationality became powerless between the Elbe and the Oder. The only true method of securing Germanisation had not yet been discovered. Germans had entered the fortresses which the Slavs had already built or reconstructed, and German wardens had replaced the Slav castellans or Zupans (Vol. V, p. 277). Only under the shelter of the fortresses had the land been cultivated here and there, and it was impossible for such a colonisation to put out strong roots in the territory east of the Elbe.

Under the regency of Theophano some campaigns against the Wends were undertaken between 986 and 990, but under Adelheid (991–996) the frontier was barely defended. The Emperor Otto III, whose sympathies were wholly foreign, and who was absorbed by the dream of a universal monarchy, was sufficiently ill-advised to diminish German influence in the east. It was at that period that the duchy of Poland emerged from the deep obscurity of the time, and Christianity made its way here under the dukes Misako (Mesko) and Boleslav Chabri (Vol. V, p. 471). About this time Hungary and Russia were also Christianised, while Den-

mark, Norway and Sweden, Iceland and Greenland, followed in the eleventh century. Inspired by sincere reverence for the Bohemian Adalbert, his personal friend, who had been murdered by the heathen Prussians in 997, Otto III made a pilgrimage in the year 1000 to Gnesen, where a memorial was erected to this saintly martyr, whose corpse Boleslav had covered with gold. At the wish of Duke Boleslav and with the Emperor's consent, a special archbishopric for Poland was organised in Gnesen; seven suffragan bishoprics were to be subject to the new metropolitan, including the bishops of Cracow, Breslau, and Kolberg, all to the disadvantage of the metropolitan chair of Magdeburg, to which the Poles had been hitherto subordinate. Only the Bishop of Posen protested against this new organisation of the Polish church and adhered to Magdeburg for the moment. In that same year Hungary was for ever separated from the German church, after Stephen I (Vol. V, p. 379) had made Gran the seat of a primate for the whole kingdom.

From that date Poland and Hungary continued a separate ecclesiastical and political existence, but the Germans never ceased to transmit their own civilization and that of the west to their eastern neighbours. The kingdoms of the Piasts and of the Árpáds resisted German supremacy, which they recognised only under the immediate pressure of German military force; none the less the time approached when German migration no longer trickled, but flowed, into the two countries; after that date agriculture, mining, trade, manufacture, and town life were stamped with German characteristics (Vol. V, pp. 404, 485).

The Saxon Emperors were more successful in the southeastern mark than upon the Wendish frontier; the former had been shattered by the Magyars at the beginning of the tenth century, but had been restored in 995 after the victory on the Lechfeld. Once again the rulers gave large tracts of land to secular nobles, churches, and monasteries; and again a strong German and especially Bavarian immigration began. Like the east Babenberg Mark, the frontier of which had been definitely advanced to the Leitha since the Hungarian wars of the emperor Henry III, so also the Carentanian or Styrian Mark gradually broke away from the Bavarian duchy. In view of the extraordinary independence of these southeastern frontiers and their princes, it was possible at a later period that larger independent states might be developed there.

2. THE SYSTEMATIC COLONISATION OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

In the time of the Salian Emperors the imperial policy paid no special attention to the Slav districts on the Elbe. It attempted only, as Karl Lamprecht says, "so to maintain the balance between the states founded upon Slav soil, in their mutual struggles, that they could no longer menace the dominant positions of the Germans in central Europe." Colonization and missionary activity came to an end. It should have been the task of the territorial princes and bishops to continue the work which the empire had ceased to perform. However, even the Saxon dukes of the family of Billung confined themselves to exacting taxation from the Slavs, but made no attempt to foster colonisation or Christianity. For a short time the archbishopric of Bremen, especially under the ambitious Archbishop

Adalbert (d. 1072) whose diocese included the whole of north Europe, revived the missions to the Slavs; he seems to have been the first to induce the Netherland colonists to bring the peat districts on the Weser under cultivation. He was supported in 1046 by the alliance of the Abodrite prince, Gottschalk, who had voluntarily accepted Christianity. Christianity under the Wends soon made such progress that it was possible to found the bishoprics of Mecklenburg and Ratzeburg. But in a few years the reaction set in. The Liutizi attacked the Abodrites, who reverted to their old gods and obeyed the heathen prince, Kruto, after Gottschalk had been killed in 1066, and Bishop John of Ratzeburg had been sacrificed before the idol Radegast.

No fundamental change took place until the Saxon duke, Lothar of Suplinburg, became German king on August 30, 1125. The Elbe Slavs were again made tributary; the sanctuary of Radegast in Rethra was destroyed; and even the Polish duke, Boleslav III, did homage to the emperor for Pomerania and Rügen. Christianity had secured a hold in Pomerania in 1124; a pious German bishop, Otto of Bamberg, was an apostle of this heathen country (Vol. V, p. 475). "Otto's work," says Wilhelm von Giesebrecht, "was the signal for a fresh expansion of the German nationality towards the northeast, which ended in a permanent settlement." German customs and language crossed the Elbe in force, extended over the wide river-valleys, and advanced towards the shores of the Baltic. These districts at the present day are thoroughly German, and are, indeed, the centre of German strength and power.

A. The Three Great Colonisers

The time had come when the nation was in possession of that superfluous strength which felt the need for conquest and colonisation. The age also brought forth those leading personalities required by every great movement, the heroes of the German expansion beyond the Elbe. These were the Ascanian Albert the Bear (1134–1170), the Schauenburger Adolf II of Holstein (1128–1164), and Henry the Lion (1142–1180, Duke of Saxony; died 1195).

(*a*) *Foreign Events (1134–1180).* — In the year 1134 the Ascanian Albert (of Anhalt), the son of Otto the Rich of Ballenstedt, was invested with the fief of the Saxon Nordmark, a barren and swampy district then inhabited only in the west. There were no actual settlements in the Wendish territory to the east of the Elbe, and only historical claims to this imperial fief. In rapid succession, however, Albert conquered Prignitz, together with Zauche, restored the episcopal chair of Havelberg (1136), and concluded a treaty of inheritance with Pribislav of Brandenburg, so that this district, the later Middle Mark, came into his hands in 1150. The bishopric of Brandenburg was then revived, and it was finally possible for the titular bishops of the marks, who had been driven from their dioceses for a century and a half, to resume residence. Together with Archbishop Wichmann of Magdeburg (1152–1192) the Ascanian now devoted himself to the colonisation of the Slav districts on the Elbe. The conquests of the sword were secured by the work of the ploughshare. As Ranke says, "The sword, the cross, and the plough co-opertated to secure the land on the right of the Elbe for Germany."

The colonisation on the right bank of the Elbe which is most characteristic of Germany originated, however, not in Brandenburg, but further north, in Wagria. Count Adolf II of Holstein, of the family of Schauenburg, had almost exterminated the heathen Slav population of this district in a series of massacres. He then sent out messages to the lower Rhine, to the Flemings and the Dutch, to the effect that all who wanted land might come and would receive arable and pasture land, cattle and fodder, in abundance. The colonists came and settled in small villages. Adolf II also built a town; in the neighbourhood of Buku, which was destroyed in 1138, rose the new town of Lübeck in 1143, which was destined afterwards to secure the supremacy of the Baltic (the *dominium maris baltici*) and the commercial predominance of the whole of northern Europe.

For fifteen years German colonists continued to enter Brandenburg. Since the Wendish revolt of 1157 the property and the rights of the Slav population seem no longer to have been recognised. The Margrave distributed the land, where he did not keep it for himself, to noble lords, chiefly coming from the Altmark, who had helped in the process of conquest, to bishoprics, churches, and monasteries, and also to his ministeriales and knightly adherents. In some cases the Wendish nobles who had submitted were left in possession of their property, and amalgamated with the immigrants to form a new race. Christianity seems to have begun in this quarter with the summons to the colonists from northwest Germany; Bishop Anselm of Havelburg and the Premonstratensian order (p. 189) were transplanted to the mark from the neighbouring town of Magdeburg, where the founder of the order, St. Norbert, had been archbishop in 1126 and had died in 1134. The popular Cistercian order did good service in the colonisation and Germanisation of the northeast (p. 189). The work of Albert the Bear was continued by his successors in those parts of Brandenburg which were acquired about 1260, the Uker Mark and the New Mark, Lebus and Sternberg.

The third of the royal colonisers of the twelfth century was the most powerful of them all; this was Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria (p. 104). Originally he contented himself with the tributes of the Wendish princes, including the Abodrite Niklot. Purely territorial interests induced the Guelf to initiate an aggressive policy against the Elbe Slavs. After the foundation of Lübeck by Adolf II, the customs revenue of Bardowick, the chief commercial town on the lower Elbe, belonging to Henry the Lion, began to dwindle, and the duke, by the right of the strong hand, deprived the count of Schauenburg of his new town (1157–1158). This action redounded to the advantage of the people of Lübeck, for the Guelph overwhelmed this productive source of imposts with privileges. In order to free the town on the Trave from the molestation of Slav pirates, Henry attacked the Abodrite prince, and made his territory, which had hitherto been tributary, a component part of the duchy. Following the example of Albert the Bear, he divided the conquered district among his noble comrades, among squires and knights who had joined in the expedition, and among bishops and monasteries. The three new territorial bishops of Lübeck, Ratzeburg, and Mecklenburg-Schwerin were invested by him personally, and not as were the bishops of Brandenburg by the emperor. In addition to the territory of the Abodrites, the modern Mecklenburg, he also subjugated Pomerania, though the princes, who were already Christians, were not deprived of their power. On the other hand, the Danes overpowered the last refuge of piracy and heathenism, the island of Rügen. In the summer of

1168 King Waldemar I and Bishop Absalon of Roskilde conquered the strong defences of Arkona. A deep impression was made upon the conquered by the action of the Danes, who broke the four-headed idol Swantewit in pieces, and threw it into their camp fire. It was only by secret intrigues that Henry the Lion could secure the cession to himself by the Danes of half of the temple treasures of Arkona and half of the tribute of the island.

(*b*) *The Main Forms of Settlement.* — The colonisation of the lowlands on the right bank of the Elbe displays certain features which recur in the German settlements of Silesia and Prussia, also in Bohemia and Hungary. The margrave, the monastery, the noble, or any one who possessed a superabundance of land, called in colonists, who were chiefly Saxons of the Rhineland, Flemings, and Netherlanders, though here and there central and upper Germans made their appearance. A contractor, known as the *locator*, divided the land appointed to him among the settlers who had come with him, and now became village companions. Again, some Slav township might be divided among the new comers when the former population had been expelled. These new settlements generally took the form of villages with one or more streets (p. 272), according as the houses were built in one or two rows; the land belonging to every house formed a connected strip extending to the wood or marsh. Generally speaking, individual allotments did not exceed the average size of thirty acres (fifteen hectares).

While the German colonists of the Elbe and Oder district had taken possession of the mainland in the twelfth century, and had founded a countless number of villages, the thirteenth century was especially the age of the foundation of towns. The process of Germanisation was not concluded and did not show its full power until the foundation of German towns endowed with German rights (chiefly modelled upon those of Magdeburg). In the founding of towns a general plan was also followed, and we discern an increasing technical power of arranging detail. One or more *locators* stand at the head of the enterprise proposed by ecclesiastical or secular nobles. At a suitable spot, which is already inhabited in part, a market-place is marked out, which is of large size, square and level, and is generally known as the "ringplatz." Spaces are marked off for the council house and exchange, and sites are then measured along the market-place for the settlers; these are neither broad nor deep, in order that as many as possible may share this privileged position. In addition to this, a few parallel streets of approach are marked out, and the whole is surrounded by a circuit wall of considerable strength. In some cases new towns and suburbs are formed, which are united upon occasion with the old town. The *locator* ranks as the mayor of the town, in possession of privileges of every kind. The town annually pays the landowner or territorial lord, after the lapse of the stipulated period of exemption, a lump sum, which is divided among the individual families, and becomes a smaller burden as the wealth of the community increases. Wherever German municipal privileges are introduced, the process of development does not cease until complete independence is secured. The mayor is assisted in his judicial functions by assessors; the affairs of the town are in the hands of a town council, and the mayoralty is finally transferred from the lord of the town to the community. When the community has thus become entirely free, the usual struggle begins between the mercantile patriciate and the industrial classes to secure admission to the council and the state offices. This

stage of development, however, was undergone by every town in the mother country, and reappears in the colonial towns, though in abbreviated form.

Together with the agricultural village and the commercial or manufacturing town settlements, the mining colony forms a third kind of settlement. After the discovery of the silver mines of Freiberg, the half Slav Erzgebirge attracted not only German miners, whose first starting-point seems to have been the Harz Mountains, but also other colonists. These completed the Germanisation of the modern kingdom of Saxony. Such colonies developed codes of their own capable of expansion, and in Moravian Iglau and Bohemian Kuttenberg the mining industry soon formed centres similar to that of Saxon Freiberg.

B. The German Nationality in Silesia

All these institutions which arose upon the old Slav territory are also found in Silesia, which was entered by German colonists at a later date than Brandenburg. Their invasion was directed by the power of the Church and the princes.

In Poland, which was regarded as belonging to Silesia until the thirteenth century, Christianity had become predominant so early as the tenth century. The Polish church retained the traces of its German origin, and in consciousness of this fact an attempt was made to counterbalance German preponderance by the introduction of French clergy. Circumstances, however, brought it about that in the twelfth century not only the Church, but also, and to a greater extent, the ducal power facilitated the general triumph of German nationality throughout Poland, and secured the complete Germanisation of the larger part of Silesia. The dukes enjoyed almost unlimited power and property, while the Church and the growing order of the nobles shared the privileged position of territorial lords. In consequence the peasant class, originally free, gradually dwindled, and was replaced by a disorganised mass of occupants, subject to tribute, burdened by forced service, and bound to the soil. There were no free towns, although we can detect traces of an early Polish town constitution, which bears some similarity to the old Russian town system.

After the time of Boleslav III (d. 1138; Vol. V, p. 476) Poland was broken into petty principalities, and Silesia also acquired a kind of independence. The neighbourhood of Germany, the connection of the dynasts with German princely houses, the influence of German women and mothers, and of princes educated in German schools, secured the advance of the Germans to the central districts of the Oder in the twelfth century. As in Pomerania and Mecklenburg, this movement was a bloodless one, completed under the protection of princes of Slav origin, without the slaughter or expulsion of the non-German previous and present occupants, — a peaceful contrast to certain proceedings in Wagria, Brandenburg, and Prussia. Where the authorities failed to support the movement and the Polish nationality was able to maintain its ground, as in upper Silesia, the Slavs were also left in possession. In the rest of Poland, whither the Germans advanced in the thirteenth century with no less success than in Silesia, an irresistible national reaction took place forthwith.

The peasant colonisation of Silesia by the importation of German immigrants was begun by the German Cistercians, who were first called in by Duke Boleslav

the Long (to Leubus in 1175); these were soon followed by Premonstratensians and Augustinian Canons. The Germans settled in new or old villages (the latter were, however, in ruins) under the same favourable conditions as in Brandenburg. From the first moment the settlements of the tenant peasantry struggling with the swamps and primeval forests formed a salutary contrast to the scattered villages of the Polish serf population, who were both incapable and disinclined to work. It was not surprising that princes, bishops, and lords began to found villages "of German right" both in Greater and Lesser Poland. As Th. Schiemann observes, "The privileges of the German peasant colonies consisted in the fact that they enjoyed immunity from the princely jurisdiction except in criminal cases, while they had free markets, freedom from imposts and military service, and were relieved from the manifold forms of forced service which oppressed the Polish peasant."

Of the Silesian dukes none performed greater service for the Germanisation of the country than Henry I the Bearded (1202–1238). Under him were founded such towns of German right as Neumarkt, Löwenberg, Neisse, Goldberg, Oppeln, Ratibor, etc. Especially after the great invasion of the Mongols and the bloody battle of Liegnitz (April 9, 1241; Vol. II, p. 175) the process of colonising and founding of towns received a greater impulse. At that time Breslau began its development and secured the privilege of Magdeburg in 1261, while Liegnitz, Landshut, Brieg, Glogau, Beuthen, etc., were also prosperous. The duke Henry IV Probus, after the battle of the Marchfield in 1278, received Silesia as a fief from the German king Rudolf I, and thus the political separation of Silesia from Poland was completed. United with Bohemia by the last Přemyslids after 1291, it became in 1327 "feudatory to the crown of St. Wenzel" (Vol. V, p. 243). During the time of Charles IV it was once more prosperous, but upon the whole it remained a mere appendage of that kingdom. As such it passed to the Hapsburgs in 1526, with whom it remained until Frederick II in 1740 asserted the hereditary claims of the Hohenzollerns to Liegnitz, Brieg, Wohlau, and Jägerndorf.

The German element in Silesia suffered no diminution by the union with Bohemia, though its eastern expansion came to an end. The Polish clergy declared against German colonisation in 1260, and from the time of Vladislav I Lokietek (1320–1333) the Polish crown generally displayed a spirit hostile to the Germans. This spirit predominated among the powerful nobility until German influence was entirely broken down under the Jagellons, and the kingdom of the national Polish Schlachta began to decay. At the close of the fourteenth century the general culture of Silesia was at a low ebb; the nobles had degenerated, and were professional robbers; the towns were impoverished, especially the smaller of them, and the peasants were overwhelmed by a stupefying servitude which was very little more tolerable than that of their Polish and Bohemian equals.

3. THE GERMANS IN THE BALTIC TERRITORIES

Henry the Lion seemed to have assured the position of the Germans on the Baltic. The Osterlings, the German Baltic navigators, sailed the sea as far as Gothland and the Gulf of Finland. German factories existed before the end of the

twelfth century in Wisby and in Great Novgorod. The Germans began to vie with the Scandinavians and the Slavs for the possession of a world that had hitherto been inaccessible to them. The ecclesiastical or secular conqueror and coloniser was now joined by the merchant, who had been a somewhat insignificant figure in the expansion of Germany until the end of the twelfth century.

The prospects of further advance suddenly became extremely gloomy; the all-protecting power of Henry the Lion collapsed, and Frederick Barbarossa divided the remnants of the Guelph possessions among his adherents (1181). The barrier was now torn away which had hitherto checked the advance of Danish conquest. The Danish king Waldemar II (1202–1241) overpowered Holstein, forced Mecklenburg and Pomerania to do him homage, brought Lübeck under his supremacy, and received the confirmation of his possession of all lands beyond the Elbe and Elde from the emperor Frederic II, who, at seventeen years of age, had come to Germany (end of 1214). In Esthonia the Danes also established a footing, and from thence they menaced the new Livonian colonies of the Germans. Suddenly, however, fortune changed. Duke Henry the Black of Schwerin captured the Danish king and his eldest son, who bore his name, to satisfy a private quarrel, at the little island of Lyö near Fünen, in May, 1223, and brought them in safe custody to Danneberg. While Waldemar II was confined in the "king's hole," the Germans again secured possession of all the territory to the east of the Elbe with the exception of Rügen. The king, when set free on November 17, 1255, attempted to recover what he had lost by force of arms, but was defeated at the battle of Bornhövede (July 22, 1226). The German imperial forces had no share in this great victory over the Danes. As affairs in the country on the Elbe and the Oder had developed without their interference, so also upon the Baltic coasts the advance of German nationality continued without their help. Their interference as a rule was rather a hindrance than a help, and their lack of interest, upon the whole, proved a benefit.

At the time of Waldemar II a remarkable colonial settlement had been formed upon the shores of the Baltic on the fifty-seventh parallel of north latitude. Nations of foreign tongues inhabited the country south of the Gulf of Finland, — Esthonians, Livonians, Courlander, and Öseles, — who belonged to the Finnish branch of the Mongolian races; to the southwest of them were settled Indo-Germanic peoples, — Letts, Lithuanians, Semgallians, and Prussians. The ethnical characteristics of this region were complicated, even from primitive times, by the infusion of Finnish and Lettish elements and by the influence of Scandinavian immigrants. These races were, without exception, still in a state of barbarism, and none rose to any form of constitutional organisation. Chiefs ruled over small districts protected by wildernesses, stockades, and swamps. Apart from village settlements there were also fortifications of earth and wood which served as a refuge for the population when revenge or the instinct of piracy led to raids upon the country. Town life was unknown. While the Letts were occupied in cattle-breeding and agriculture, and also in hunting, the Finns were fishers and mariners or pirates. The religion of the Finns was allied to Shamanism. As regards the religion of the Letts we know that the old Prussians had a national sanctuary in Romovo, in which the high priest, Kryve-Kryvejto (Vol. V, p. 439), tended the everlasting fire in honour of Perkunas and offered the sacrifices of victory. All the Baltic peoples believed in a life after death, as is clearly shown by the objects found in their tombs.

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries the Baltic districts were repeatedly ravaged by the Russians, who were unable, however, to secure more than a temporary payment of tribute. In the year 1030 the people of Novgorod built the fortress of Vurieff to overawe the district; this was destroyed by the Esthonians thirty years afterwards. The modern Russians have, however, given the old eleventh-century name to the German town of Dorpat, which rose on the same spot.

A. Livonia

(*a*) *The German Settlers.* — It was not, however, fated for the Russians to bring Christianity and the elements of civilization to the Baltic territory; this was the work of the Germans, especially of the Low Germans, who extended their linguistic area to the Gulf of Finland, while it touched the allied district of the Dutch and Flemings on the west. "From the Holy Roman Empire," says Theodor Schiemann, "only one transmaritime colony has proceeded. At the end of the twelfth century and in the first quarter of the thirteenth, upon the eastern shore of the Baltic, without any impulse derived from the initiative of the imperial head or from the Estates of the empire, there arose a constitutional unity which gradually extended from the Memel to the Narova, and was known by the general name of Livonia." It seems that German merchants first came from Gothland (Wisby) to the gulf at the mouth of the Dvina. Sailing up the Dvina they came to Poleck and Witebsk, whence an overland route led to Smolensk in the district of the Dnieper. It was indeed possible to reach Smolensk from Novgorod, but the road was longer, and in Novgorod the Germans were exposed to the hostile rivalry of the Scandinavians, who were older settlers in that town. Thus the Germans, and especially the sailors of Lübeck, gained a trading district free of rivalry by this "passage of the Dvina." They left their country in the spring, pitched their booths on the Dvina in the summer, and returned home in the autumn. Individuals even then began to pass the winter among the Livonians and among the Esthonians.

Missionaries soon ventured to Livonia; among these were the Augustinian canon Meinhard, who built the first stone church at Üxküll, and was consecrated bishop in 1186 by the archbishop of Bremen, Hartwig, and the Cistercian, Theodoric (Dietrich). The Germans gathered about their settlements clearing the forests and setting an example of higher morality to the natives. But neither, Meinhard nor his successor Berthold, who summoned the crusaders into the land and was killed in battle in 1198, were ever more than mere pioneers. After the retreat of the first crusaders the Livonians adopted so threatening an attitude that priests and merchants fled from the country.

At this critical moment the right man appeared to found the predominance of the Germans in the Baltic territories. This was the canon of Bremen, Albert of Buxhövede (also Albert of Appeldern; Vol. V, p. 490), who had been consecrated third bishop of Livonia. Before entering his new sphere of work he secured the favour of the Danish ruler by a personal visit, gained the protectorate of King Philip of Suabia, and was granted a crusading bull by Innocent III. In 1200 he sailed up the Dvina with twenty-three ships to the settlements of Üxküll and Holm, which had been founded by Bishop Meinhard. He chose, however, a

more suitable spot for his residence; at the mouth of the little river Riga, at its confluence with the Dvina, where a considerable bay appeared likely to invite merchants, he began the construction of the town of Riga (1201). In the following year citizen settlers came out from Bremen and Hamburg, and even at the present day the civic shield of Riga combines the armorial bearings of Bremen and Hamburg. The Cistercians soon entered the new monastery built at the mouth of the Dvina (1208). The order of St. Bernard was followed by the Premonstratensians and within a short time, in the extreme northeast, the two spiritual corporations were rivals in the work of colonisation. It was never possible, however, to bring a sufficient number of German peasantry to Livonia and to the territories on the far side of the Niemen; the peasantry would not go by sea, and it was impossible to reach this remote district by land without crossing hostile and inhospitable districts. The German plough was thus unable to conquer Courland, Livonia, and Esthonia as thoroughly as Brandenburg and even Prussia. Hence the difference between the history of this Baltic land and that of the territory between Lübeck and Memel.

(*b*) *The Knights of the Sword.* — The struggle with the Finnish and Lettish peoples did not begin until the moment when the Livonians were regarded as subjugated and baptised (shortly after 1200). An occasional body of crusaders was then no longer enough to guarantee the protection necessary for colonial expansion. Hence about 1202 the knightly order of the Brothers of the Sword was founded by Bishop Albert, and confirmed by the Pope in 1204. This ecclesiastical and military brotherhood was organised upon the same principles as the Templars, the Knights of St. John, and the Teutonic Knights, who had originated in the Holy Land. Like these orders it was divided into three classes, — the priests, the knights, and the serving brothers, — among whom the squires were to be distinguished from the artisans. The uniform of the "Brothers of the Knighthood of Christ in Livonia" consisted of a white coat and cloak to which a red cross was sewn, and beneath it a red sword turned backwards (hence the name "Brothers, or Knights, of the Sword"). On service the heavy armour then in use was naturally worn, though covered with the cloak of the order. At the head of the order was the Master, who was chosen by the Knights from their own class, and all the authorities of the order, the Commanders, Bailiffs, etc., were unconditionally subordinate to him. In important cases the Chapter was summoned, which, however, could only advise and not decide. The number of the Brothers was never great; like the order of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia, they rather formed a kind of official or general staff corps, to officer the local levies and reinforcements of crusaders. The order was chiefly recruited from the north German nobility as long as they remained independent.

Hardly had Bishop Albert been invested by King Philip with Livonia and elevated to the position of an imperial prince (1207) than the order, in return for its services, took a third of all the land that was conquered or was to be conquered hereafter. Forthwith the destructive opposition of the episcopal power began; the bishop wished to secure sole authority in the country while the order was struggling for independence. Innocent III did not wish to institute any new metropolitan power, and decided that the order should pay no other service to the bishopric of Riga, in return for the third part of the land, than that of providing security against the heathen.

Meanwhile the order had advanced to Esthonia (1208), and in about nine years had nominally conquered the country (battle of Fellin, 1217). Among the Livonians and Letts a state of ferment had prevailed for a considerable time, a sign that Christianity and German civilization had gained no real hold of the country. In the year 1218 Livonia was threatened by a great Russian invasion, Bishop Albert then applied in his necessity to Waldemar II of Denmark, who promised help if the Germans undertook to cede to him all the territory he might conquer. To this they agreed, and the Danish king landed in 1219 with his naval and military power at the spot where the town of Reval afterwards arose. A surprise of the Esthonians at the castle of Lindanissa (Lindanes or Lyndanis) was successfully repulsed. It was this battle in which, according to legend, a red flag with a white cross descended from heaven to lead the Danes to conflict. This was the "Danebrog," afterwards the imperial banner of Denmark.

A war between the Danes and Germans for Esthonia was inevitable, as the order of the Sword had by no means surrendered its old claims to this district. For the moment the order made an arrangement with Waldemar in respect to Esthonia, without the knowledge of the bishop, so that the presumptuous Dane now claimed the supremacy of Livonia. This danger united the order, and Bishop Waldemar then renounced his claim to Livonia, for the reason that he had never had that country in his power (1222). In January, 1223, a revolt of the Esthonians broke out; the castles of the order and of the Danes were reduced to ruins, and in May the Count Henry of Schwerin captured the Danish king, who, more than all others of his nation, had threatened the German supremacy of the Baltic (p. 285). The order of the Sword now secured the whole of Danish Esthonia in the course of their struggle with the rebels. More important was the fact that Waldemar's blockade of Lübeck came to an end, so that crusaders, merchants, and knights could advance eastward from this point of Baltic emigration. With their help it was possible to reconquer the castle of Dorpat, which the Russians had taken from the order. The Russians were now reduced to impotence for a considerable period by the outbreak of the Mongol invasion (Vol. V, p. 465). The Germans were thus able to subdue the island of Ösel in a winter campaign across the frozen sea, and to force Christianity upon the inhabitants. "The conquest of Ösel," says Theodor Schiemann, "is an achievement of the greatest importance. Livonia was now entirely secured, the Baltic trade was free, and the coasts of Sweden and Denmark were relieved of the constant scourge which this nest of pirates had invariably proved to these territories and their inhabitants. . . . The subjugation of this piratical state concludes the political foundation of German Livonia, the basis of which was now laid."

Before the death of Bishop Albert (1229) the German king, Henry VII, the son of the emperor Frederic II, had conferred Esthonia upon the Brothers of the Sword as a permanent fief, and permitted the bishop of Riga to coin money and to grant municipal liberties. After the death of this great ecclesiastical prince hard times came upon the land and the order. Waldemar II again secured possession of northern Esthonia, including Reval. The order of the Sword was oppressed by the bishops, who were jealous of its power. It possessed, indeed, a territory of seven hundred and thirty square miles in extent, whereas the five bishoprics of Riga, Dorpat, Ösel, Semgallia, and Courland had only eight hundred and seventy square miles between them. The order therefore applied for union with the Teu-

tonic order, which had meanwhile entered Prussia. Probably the Grand Master, Hermann of Salza, would have refused this request had not the Master of the order of the Sword, Volkwin (Volguin), met his death with fifty knights in battle against the Lithuanians on the Saule (September 22, 1236). Thus under Pope Gregory IX an amalgamation with the Teutonic knights was concluded. The Master, Hermann Balk, came to Livonia and took possession of all the land of the order of the Sword in the name of the Teutonic order. The claims of Denmark and northern Esthonia were recognized for the moment, and it was not until 1346–1347 that this Danish territory passed into the hands of the German order.

B. The Order of Teutonic Knights in Prussia

After the first half of the thirteenth century the fate of colonisation in the northeast, once occupied by a Teutonic and then by a Slavo-Lettish and Finnish population, was in the hands of the Teutonic order. Until the fourteenth century the nation was in process of a development which is reflected in the history of the order no less than the succeeding stagnation and decay. The last of the great knightly orders of the crusading period had originated in a brotherhood of ambulance bearers founded by German pilgrims, especially by merchants during the siege of Acre in 1190. As early as 1198 this brotherhood of hospitallers had been formed into an order of knights on the model of the Templars, except that in the case of those who served the hospitals the organisation of the Knights of St. John was adopted at the outset. The "Knights of the Hospital of St. Mary of Jerusalem" gave a national character to the new order by accepting only scions of the upper German nobility, not excluding knights and therefore citizens who had a knight's standing in their towns. The uniform of the Teutonic knights was a white cloak with a cross; the same emblem was worn on both their surcoats and their caps, while the priests of the order wore a white cowl with a black cross. The centre of the order and the residence of the Grand Master was at Acre until the conquest of that city (1291) by the infidels, although the knights had meanwhile secured extensive possessions in Europe amounting to a connected territory.

As early as 1211 the order had acquired a large sphere of activity in Europe, when Andreas II of Hungary summoned them to Transylvania to fight against the heathen Cumanians, and rewarded them with the Burzenland. The order, however, protected the country from papal influence, declined to recognise the supremacy of the apostolic king, and attempted to gain complete independence, so that the Hungarians, in deep suspicion of these political moves, expelled the German knights (1225; cf. Vol. V, p. 409).

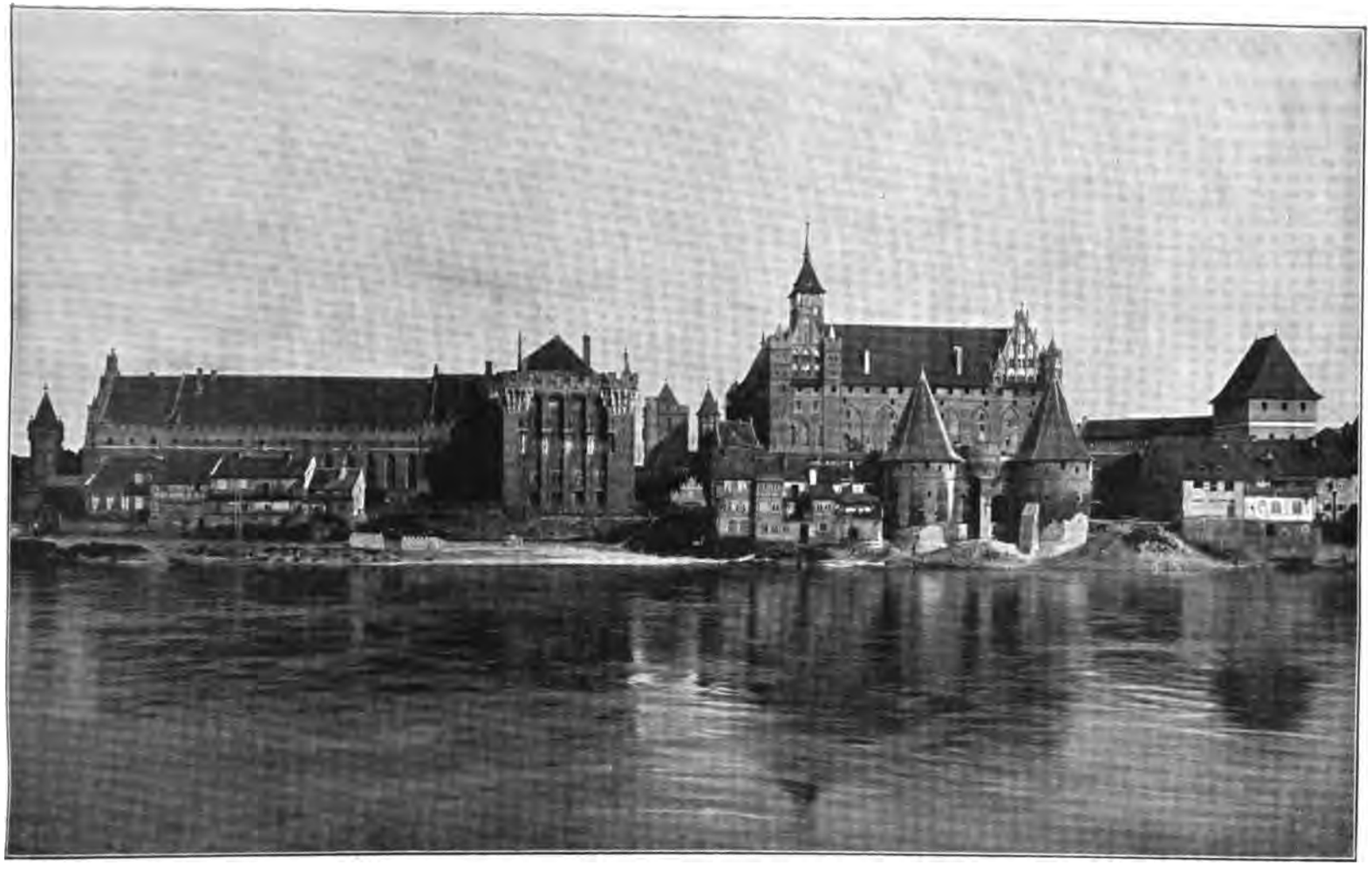
(*a*) *The Expansion of the Order until 1400.* — At that time negotiations were proceeding between the Grand Master, Hermann of Salza, and Conrad of Masovia. This Polish petty prince was also in possession of the land of Kulm, which was devastated by the heathen Prussians. The Cistercian monk, Christian of Oliva, the first titular bishop of Prussia (1215), had undertaken a crusade into the heathen district beyond the Vistula, with the support of the Polish duke, an enterprise which failed (Vol. V, p. 492). When Duke Conrad saw that his own possessions

munication between Prussian and Courland. Thus it was not until the period of decay was at hand that the whole of the Baltic coast from the Leba to the Narva was under the supremacy of the order.

(*b*) *The Organisation of the Territory under the Order during its Period of Prosperity.* — In the course of the fourteenth century the position of the order had been consolidated both in its Prussian and in its Livonian territory. These districts were ruled with an iron hand, while within the order itself a no less stringent discipline prevailed, which educated the scanty but picked troops of the Brothers for the work of government. After the transference of the residence of the Grand Master to Marienburg the system of military bureaucratic rule was brought to completion. The state was well organised both for defence and attack, and was based upon a sound financial system, while the administration was characterised by indefatigable supervision. Committees representing every province of the order met together in the Grand Master's castle at Marienburg. Wonderful stories were current of the treasures which were preserved there, concerning which only the Grand Master and the Trisorer or Tressler (treasurer) could speak with certainty. As the order considered themselves the proprietors of the country by right of conquest, they held large estates in their demesne, and to the products of these were added the revenue in kind and the taxes paid by their subjects. Taxes were first levied in the fifteenth century. A regular income was provided by the regalities; the right of justice and of coinage, forestry and hunting rights, including bee-keeping, the use of watercourses, the market right, etc. The income of the order in money was estimated at £275,000. The large supply of natural products which the order received from their demesnes by way of taxes and dues necessitated the provision of intercourse with foreign markets, and such were found in England, Sweden, and Russia. Apart from amber, other articles of trade were corn, pitch, potash, building timber, wax, etc., though we have no means of learning the value of these exports. The extent of the transmarine interests of the order may be gauged by the fact that this order about 1398 suppressed the ravages of the Vitalien Brothers, an organised band of Baltic pirates, and occupied Gothland and Wisby (cf. Vol. VII, p. 36). This position, which was the key to the Baltic north, was, however, surrendered in 1407 to the king of the Union, Eric VII (XIII).

Next to the order the Church possessed the largest amount of land. In Prussia a third of the territory was subject to ecclesiastical supremacy, which extended over two-thirds of the "Livonias." To prevent the acquisition of supreme power by the Church the order opposed the development of monastic life, and granted full liberty only to the mendicant friars, who possessed no land, who were popular in the towns, and who worked to convert the heathen. Thus in the territories of the order there were only two monasteries of any importance, and these, with the land attached to them, had come under the power of the knights; they were the Cistercian foundations of Oliva and Pelplin in Pomerellen. Knights and monks were at one in their half unconscious and half intentional indifference towards all higher culture. The rule of the order was thus unfavourable to the growth of science and literature and of all the fine arts; the most practical alone, that of architecture, became flourishing.

The relations of the Teutonic order with the bishops were marked by greater



THE CASTLE OF MARIENBURG, FROM THE NOGAT (WEST SIDE)

(From a photograph by F. Schwarz, Marienburg)

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATE OVERLEAF

(Based upon the investigations of Dr. C. Steinbrecht, ecclesiastical surveyor of Marien urg.)

THIS plate, a reproduction of a photograph taken in 1897, shows the famous castle of the order of German knights in its present condition.

The castle was erected about 1280; originally a commandery, it became the residence of the grand master about 1309. About 1340 its plan was established, though additions were made until the end of the fourteenth century, at the time when Gothic architecture was most flourishing. After 1457 it belonged to Poland, and suffered under three centuries of neglect. Upon the first partition of Poland in 1772 it came into the hands of Prussia, and was used for various purposes until the year 1803 put an end to this vandalism, and the work of restoration was begun after the wars of liberation. The first attempts at restoration were not wholly successful; after a considerable interval they were resumed in 1886 with vigour and discretion. In no long time the restoration of this unique specimen of architecture was completed, of which Robert Dohme says: "The Marienburg is to be regarded as the highest achievement of secular architecture in mediæval Germany."

The houses seen in the plate upon the shore of the Nogat are of later origin and must be imagined as non-existent; this remark does not apply to the bridge gate which has been recently restored and shows a double entrance flanked by two massive round towers with roofs running to a point. The bridge which formerly spanned the arm of the Vistula must be imagined to exist.

When the main building has thus been disencumbered, we remain without a prospect of the outer defensive walls, which surrounded it. However, the most important parts of the Marienburg stand before our eyes as they were six hundred years ago.

The long building extending to the left is the central castle; before it and further to the left (north) rose the "Vorburg" (outer castle), of which only a few isolated fragments remain. In the long wing of the central castle lies the knights' hall, supported by granite pillars with starred ceiling; here the grand master presided at festivals and banquets. Towards the Nogat advances a wing of several stories with decorated frontage, the famous palace of the grand master. From the court a flight of steps leads into the outer hall of the main building, and hence into the two beautiful "Remter" (for summer and winter), the usual name of the halls in the castles of the order. Opposite the court are the living-rooms of the grand master. The east side of the central castle (not visible in the picture) contains the guest-chambers and the north side the hospital.

On the right, to the south of the central castle, rises the towering "high castle," a self-contained stronghold, surrounded with walls and a moat. In the gap between the two castles we observe the priests' tower (Pfaffenturm); above the castle itself rises the main tower on the east side, which also served as a watch tower. The "high castle" is built upon the "Parcham," an artificial terrace rising above the moat. The castle, which is almost square and decorated with corner gables, consists of three stories. Especially effective are the two cross-passages of the court placed one above the other. On the ground floor are the watch rooms, kitchens, and cellars, and the chapel of St. Anne, the tomb of the patron of the order. In the north wing of the first floor are the imposing capitol hall and the castle church, the choir of which projects far beyond the line of the wall to the edge of the moat. Outside, the central niche of the choir displays the colossal statue incrusted with coloured mosaic work of Mary, the patroness of the order. The eastern and southern wings contain the dormitories of the knights; westward, on the river, were the rooms of the commander and of the treasurer, the guardian of the silver room, which contained the treasures of the order.

Towards the river lies a square tower, connected with the "high castle" by a passage supported upon vaulting. It is known as the "Herrendansk" (the sewers were called "Dansken"). A stream ran beneath it.

Beyond the picture to the right we must imagine the little town of Marienburg, which occupied less space than the extensive tripartite castle of the order.

difficulty. This was not the case in Prussia itself, as here bishoprics were generally occupied by brethren of the order or by others in sympathy with its views, apart from the fact that the order was immediately subordinate to the Pope, and that no bishop would have ventured to pronounce such a sentence as excommunication upon a member. The case, however, was very different in Livonia, Esthonia, and Ösel where the order was obliged to deal with conditions that had existed before its arrival and which had been complicated by the interference of Rome. Only in Courland and Semgallia, which were conquered for the first time by the order, did ecclesiastical affairs develop as in Prussia. When the order secured the inheritance of the Brothers of the Sword in 1237, Livonia was already occupied by a number of ecclesiastical principalities, of which Riga was the most important. The elevation of Riga to the position of an archbishopric in 1253 made possible the formation of an ecclesiastical state in Livonia. The object of the order was to deprive the Livonian bishops of that temporal power which had been already wrested from the bishops of Courland and Prussia; the result was a series of severe struggles and a permanent state of tension between the opposing forces. At the time of its prosperity in the fourteenth century the order was upon the verge of securing its desire. This was achieved by its connection with the episcopal vassals, who had become politically independent in the Baltic territories and had thus obliged the bishops gradually to concede all the rights of sovereignty to such feudatories as were pledged to military services. The consequence was a corporate development of the vassal class, which was impossible in Prussia and Courland, but was repeated in Esthonia during its subjection to the Danes until 1347. Though the alliance between the order and the episcopal vassals was by no means permanent, it yet provided the order with a possibility of restoring the balance between its own power and that of the bishops.

In Prussia there was also a class of vassals pledged to military service, from which a landed nobility developed; but the order did not divide its supremacy with this class, but rather kept these members at a distance. Only for exceptional reasons was the rule broken that the Prussian or Livonian nobility and their Low German relations were not to be admitted to the brotherhood of the knights. The order drew recruits from upper and central Germany even when the Grand Master had transferred his centre to the north. This exclusive attitude towards the native nobility sowed the seeds of an inward conflict, which assumed a character dangerous to the state of the order in the fifteenth century. During the fourteenth century the German-speaking nobles who had immigrated amalgamated closely with the remnants of the native nobility of Lettish origin, "the Wittungs;" the order conferred upon them the same rights as were enjoyed by the other feudal nobles, as a reward for their faithful submission.

The great mass of the population in the villages and manors enjoyed until the fifteenth century a freedom which was in strong contrast to their later servitude and subordination. Serfdom and oppression were the lot only of the rebels among the Prussian tribes. There was, however, a difference between this happier portion of the Prussians and the German colonial population, in so far as the former were bound to "unlimited" and the latter to "limited" service in war (confined to the defence of the country). At the same time, even the native villages seemed to have secured the privileges of Köln, which gave the German peasant a very desirable amount of freedom and independence. Upon the whole, the rural population

of Prussia and Livonia consisted of tributary peasants, who were mildly treated. They had hereditary rights of ownership to their house and land, and claims to forest, pasture, water, and game, and upon occasion ownership without liability to rent. During the "golden" time under the Grand Master Winrich of Kniprode (1351–1382) there are said to have been some eighteen thousand villages in all the territories of the order.

Prussia was a land of German towns to a greater extent than Brandenburg or even Silesia. From the outset the knights of the order occupied uncultivated territories in alliance with the German citizen class. In the towns of Prussia there was, as formerly in Germany, a municipal aristocracy under whom the towns secured complete independence; here, too, there followed an age of struggle between the aristocratic and industrial classes which never ended, either in the complete supremacy of the one or the entire defeat of the other. The peculiar characteristics of the Prussian and Livonian towns are derived from their attraction to the sea and the tendency to form alliances, which they manifested at an early date. Such alliances were further stimulated by Russian carrying trade in districts where they had a common interest in securing the exclusion of all rivals. Thus there were alliances of Prussian towns (Danzig, Elbing, Königsberg, Kulm, Thorn, Braunsberg) and Livonian towns (Riga, Dorpat, Reval, Fellin, Pernau, Wolmar, Wenden), like the alliance of the Wendish towns at the head of which was Lübeck, until all these unions were eventually absorbed by the great and general alliance of the Hansa, to which also the Prussian and Livonian towns belonged, though they did not abandon their narrower objects and confederations. It was then found that the general interests of the Hansa and the special aims of Prussia and Livonia failed to coincide; quarrels ensued, and the Hansa launched a sentence of boycott (cf. Vol. VII, p. 43). The situation became the more complicated when the order began to carry on trade on its own account, and was now a rival and now an ally of its towns, and either supported or opposed the Hansa as they did.

4. THE CESSATION OF GERMAN EXPANSION

For Germany the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were periods of flourishing national power; from a purely physical point of view the achievements of the nation were at that time immense. It brought forth that wandering race which shed its blood under the walls of Acre and on the fields of Italy, and exterminated itself in the struggles of the Guelfs and Ghibellines, and in the quarrels of all against all. But it also brought forth those more peaceful characters who established themselves in the forests in the centre of non-colonial Germany, populated deserts, multiplied and extended towns with such thoroughness that almost all existing places date from their time, and the distribution of fields, woods, and meadows has remained unchanged (hence the historical value of modern ordnance maps).

Yet with all these achievements the nation retained the power to flood eastern Europe as far as the Transylvanian Alps and the Gulf of Finland with the most precious of its gifts, its own sons, and with the gift, inferior in value only to this, its civilization.

In the fourteenth century the supremacy of the German nation began to fade

and the pulse of life at home and abroad to beat more slowly. The foreign ambitions of the empire are replaced by a wise domestic policy. The expansion east and south comes to an end; colonists are wanting and crusades have ceased. The population had been diminished by the ravages of the Black Death and other plagues (Vol. VII, p. 178). Not only the productivity but also the reproductive power of the nation seem diminished; stagnation and decay were universally prevalent. Eventually the neighbouring nations, who owed so much to Germany, abandoned their defensive policy for exclusion and attack, menaced the acquisitions of earlier days and plundered the empire, which could protect itself neither as a whole nor in its individual parts.

A. The Losses of the Germans; Schleswig-Holstein, Bohemia, and Hungary

The union of Kalmar (1397) first gave the Scandinavian States permanent power to oppose the further advance of Germany and the complete subjugation of their trade by the Hansa. Henceforward the great town federation struggled rather to maintain than to increase its powers. The fact that for another century it maintained its predominance in the Baltic must be counted a success; but it could not gain the sole supremacy. The German cause was threatened by the fact that after the death of the Schauenburger, Adolf VIII, in 1459, the people of Schleswig chose the Danish king as their duke, while the people of Holstein made him their count (March 5, 1460). From that time the dynasties of Transalbingia were connected with Danish history and the Danish dynasty, and it was not until a century of national thought and vigour had arrived that the territory thus alienated could be recovered.

When the German supremacy in the Baltic territories was already threatened and the Slavs were preparing for an onslaught all along the line, the Electorate of Brandenburg was fortunately able to rise from the deep decay into which it had fallen under the Wittelsbachs and Luxemburgers, after the extinction of the Ascanians. The first Hohenzollerns of Brandenburg succeeded in reuniting the scattered members of the Ascanian Mark. Claims to Pomerania, Silesia, and Prussia were secured, and the nucleus of a rising constitutional state was formed which in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries united that which the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had partially conquered and colonised, and the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had partially surrendered (see the map facing page 472 of Vol. VII).

In the same year in which the emperor Sigismund mortgaged the Brandenburg territories to the Burgrave Frederic of Hohenzollern (Vol. VII, p. 192), John Huss was burnt (1415). But this was merely the beginning of the great national movement in Bohemia which is called by his name; it was a movement decidedly anti-German, combining an ecclesiastical and a social revolution (Vol. V, p. 258). None of the outbursts caused by the anti-German reaction of the fifteenth century in the east were of so violent a character as this movement of the Czechs. However, the German power in Silesia, which had been united with Bohemia since 1335, remained unshaken, and Breslau proved an invincible bulwark. More striking was the devastation caused by the Hussite outbreaks in Bohemia and Moravia. The nobility emerged victorious from the struggle; they subjugated the free German

towns which had arisen under the Přemyslids and Luxemburgers; and only a few communities were able to retain any considerable amount of their original freedom as the subjects of territorial princes. The peasant class, which had been generally improved by the privileged colonists of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, now became an indistinguishable mass of serfs, paying dues in labour and money, while subject to the police and the jurisdiction of their territorial lords. With the collapse of German organisation the German element in Bohemia, which had remained uninfluenced by geographical or ethnographical environment, was no longer able to lead the way in constitutional growth and culture. The Reformation of Luther did nothing to restore the balance in favour of German influence, as it revived the national, that is to say the Czech, doctrine of Utraquism (cf. Vol. V, p. 269). The change of conditions will be most easily gauged by the fact that until 1627, when the new ordinance of Ferdinand II was introduced, the Bohemian language was the sole official tongue of justice and administration.

In Hungary also, where the Germans had been chiefly summoned by the kings themselves between the years 1100 and 1400, where they had originated the foundation of towns and the work of mining, where they had also brought a large portion of the country under cultivation, German influence was hampered or driven out by the national reaction which broke out in the fifteenth century. The power of the nobles increased at the expense of town and peasant privileges. As in Poland and Bohemia, the power of the nobility under the Jagellons (1490–1526) reached a height which the monarchy was able to weaken by using the influence of the magnates and the smaller nobles, who had burdened the lower classes for three centuries. Lutheran doctrine touched only the German population in the countries subject to the Crown of Stephen, while the Magyars turned to Calvinism, which was essentially non-German (cf. Vol. V, p. 392). The Hapsburgs were, however, able, both in Bohemia and Hungary, to crush the pride of the magnates beneath the yoke of princely power, and to restore the political and civilizing importance of the German element as an implement in their task of centralisation.

B. The Final Fate of the Teutonic Order and its Lands

The anti-German reaction in the east reached its most dangerous point in the kingdom of the Szlachta. The Poles and Lithuanians delivered a series of vigorous blows which shattered the power of the Teutonic order and made its territory the prey of foreign peoples. We have here to chronicle not merely the cessation of German achievements or the degeneration of German institutions, but rather a number of permanent and irrecoverable losses.

(*a*) *Tannenberg (1410), Thorn (1466), and the Secularisation (1525).* — Poland had long ceased to be a tributary vassal state of the German king; none the less German municipal institutions, German right, and German colonisation had secured an entry. Even under Casimir the Great (d. 1370) and Louis the Great (d. 1382) the Polish state maintained a friendly attitude to the German nation and civilization which passed its frontiers. When Jagellon of Lithuania became king of Poland in 1386, and the heathen Lithuanians adopted Roman Catholicism (Vol. V, p. 499), German immigrants and German town rights were admitted to the newly

converted country. The union, however, of these hereditary enemies placed the Teutonic order in a dangerous position. The Poles regarded the order as an unlawful intruder and as the plunderer of Polish territory. They could not forgive the order its occupation of Pomerellen, the land of Kulm and Michelau; and the new state founded by the order had cut off the approach to the sea.

Polish hostility had been less openly expressed, but the open animosity of the Lithuanians now led to an outbreak here. Before the time of the union of the Prussian and Livonian territories under the government of the order, the Lithuanians had been an obstacle to its further extension. Even in the fourteenth century Christian Europe shared in the continuous wars against the Lithuanians by sending crusaders. Now, however, the Lithuanians had become Christians. Foreign participation in the military enterprises of the German knights immediately ceased, and the previous religious excuse for a continuation of the struggle was no longer possible, for on many occasions the religious war had been nothing more than a pretext. It was a struggle for power, and primarily for the possession of Lithuanian Samogitia (Samaitia), which advances in a wedge-shaped form and divides the two halves of the territory of the order (see the second map on the double map facing page 564 of Vol. V). The order had quarrelled with its subjects, who were weary of the burden of war, and was no longer supported by reinforcements of crusaders; but none the less it continued its struggle with the Lithuanians, who were now Christians, and eventually secured the disputed landmark of Samogitia (p. 289). Lithuania was now, however, in enjoyment of the support of Poland. From the time of Casimir the Great, the Polish army was well organised, and the Lithuanian prince, Witold, had rearranged the national defences, whereas the order was obliged to enlist mercenaries for lack of other means of help. In the great battle of Tannenberg, on July 15, 1410, the heavily armed knights, trained for single combat, were overthrown by the vast hordes of light troops brought against them by the East.

The heroic defence of Marienburg by Henry of Plauen saved the order from immediate downfall, and a tolerable peace was made at Thorn on February 1, 1411, which obliged the German rulers merely to renounce possession of Samaitia and Dobrzyn; but the order never recovered from this blow, for the reason that domestic disruption had begun. The line of cleavage between the order and its subjects became a yawning chasm which could no longer be closed. The landed nobility who yearned for the freedom of their Polish equals concluded treacherous alliances, the most important of which was the "Lizard League" (*Eidechsenbund*), and endangered the existence of the community (Vol. V, p. 503), while the towns, led by Danzig, were filled with commercial jealousy of the order and were merely awaiting the moment which would secure their independence. The aristocracy of the towns and country united for common action. Henry of Plauen made an attempt to compose the domestic differences of Prussia by an organisation of Estates, but his efforts failed. The bold reformer was deprived of his Grand Mastership in 1413, while the forces of decay attacked the order itself. Knightly and spiritual discipline disappeared, while selfishness and lawlessness gained ground.

None the less the state of the Teutonic order endured for a time, though its existence was embittered by domestic and foreign conflicts. A change for the worse began when the "Prussian Alliance" was formed at the Assembly of Mari-

enwerder (March 14, 1440); this was a union of knights and towns against the order. The Grand Master applied to the emperor, and Frederick III issued a decree condemning the confederation, which then sent a letter of renunciation to the order and offered the supremacy of Prussia to the Polish king Casimir IV (1454). The king graciously accepted the offer, and appointed as his representative the leader of the opposition, Hans von Baisen. For thirteen years the civil war which the order carried on with mercenaries continued to rage. Even the Grand Master's castle in Marienburg was mortgaged to provide money for the mercenary troops, who were chiefly drawn from Bohemia, and who sold the mortgage with other castles to the Polish king; many a noble family in east Prussia derives its descent from some ancestor who then gained wealth as a leader of a band. Eventually the order was completely exhausted, and concluded a second peace of Thorn on October 19, 1466. Western Prussia became Polish; and Polish it remained until the partition of Poland (1772–1795). The Grand Master was obliged to do homage to King Casimir for East Prussia.

For another century the death struggle of the order and its state was deferred, as apart from East Prussia it still possessed the territory of Livonia, which had been little affected by previous efforts. However, the most distinguished rulers of the order, the Livonan commander-in-chief and the German commander, renounced obedience to the Grand Master, declaring themselves the vassals of Poland. The order now attempted to strengthen itself by appointing the scions of German princely families as its chiefs; such were Duke Frederic of Saxony (1498) and Albert of Brandenburg-Ansbach (1511). They were even able to refuse homage to the Polish king. At that moment the emperor Maximilian I, who had hitherto supported the efforts of the Grand Master in the hope of reuniting Prussia with the empire, concluded the important treaty of Pressburg or Vienna (July 22, 1515; Vol. V, pp. 387 and 529), — a reciprocal treaty of inheritance between the Hapsburg family and of that branch of the Jagellons who were ruling in Bohemia and Hungary, so that the good will of the Jagellon ruling over Poland and Lithuania was indispensable. Thus the order could expect no further help from Maximilian or from his successor, Charles V. Then came the Reformation, which made rapid progress in Prussia. The bishop of Samland, George of Polentz, was the first ecclesiastical prince to acknowledge the evangelical teaching (1523). The once hopeless idea of secularising the land of the order now became irresistibly powerful. Albert of Brandenburg became a Protestant, and received East Prussia as a secular and hereditary duchy from the Polish overlord King Sigismund (April, 1525). The ecclesiastical principality was out of date, and the only point for regret was the necessity of recognising afresh the supremacy of Poland. However, in Eastern and Western Prussia alike German civilization had gained so firm a hold of town and country that it passed through this long foreign domination without suffering material loss. Infusions of Polish population made their way into many quarters, and the Kassubians, Lithuanians, and Masurians were happier under native government than they would have been under a pure German ruler. But the reoccupation of the Baltic territories by the Letts and Slavs was important, as the non-German elements were insufficiently strong, and the Polish state could find an outlet for its colonising energy in Little Russia and Great Russia, not in a country which had been ploughed by German peasants or settled with towns by German artisans and merchants. Before the lapse of time produced any diminution of the German

forces, Brandenburg had already become the dominant power of the colonial north-east, and was ready to recover and unify the lost portions of the German Empire.

(*b*) *The Fall of the Order in Livonia.* — It was not until a century after the peace of Thorn of 1466 that the fate of the Livonian territory of the order was determined. The Teutonic order remained in existence even after the secularisation of 1525; at Mergentheim in Würtemberg the previous ruler of the order assumed the title of Grand and Teutonic Master (and was thus styled until 1809), while in Livonia the Master of the army, who had been in any case for a long time independent, remained at the head. None the less the prospects of the German nationality in this district were worse than in the Polish feudal state of Prussia. The only German elements in Livonia were towns and the nobility, who were chiefly Westphalians. In this district there had been no thorough peasant colonisation, and in every quarter a clannish peasantry of Letts and Finns had survived. The non-German elements felt for the Germans the slow hatred of the serf for his master; it was a hatred that foreboded no danger, provided that no enemy gained a footing on Livonian soil. However, the Baltic territories were surrounded by greedy neighbours, who regarded them as an easy prey; such was the attitude of the Swedes and Danes, the Poles and Russians. The only question was whether the Livonian order would be able to make head against the divided forces of its opponents. Apart from the hatred of the Germans entertained by the original inhabitants, there were other causes of friction, which facilitated foreign interference. There was, in particular, the quarrel which had continued since the days of Bishop Albert as to whether the order or the bishop was the true master of the country (p. 289), and the comparative equality in the forces of these two powers prevented the possibility of ending the struggle. The bishops, who were generally the weakest party, often attempted to secure their own preponderance by treacherous intrigues. The order was also upon bad terms with the towns; Riga was constantly causing trouble, and was itself often at variance with its own archbishops. The Livonian towns also had commercial interests of their own, which divided them from the Hansa and exposed them to the hostility of the Muscovites. When the Reformation came into the country, neither the episcopate nor the order ventured upon any decided step, as had been done in Prussia, but remained isolated, with their outward show of dead Catholicism amid a Protestant population.

Under such circumstances it is marvellous that the Livonian Order was able to pass through a temporary rise of prosperity; this was the work of their first and last great man, the Master of the army, Walther of Plettenberg. His reputation rested upon the victory which he gained over the Russians at the lake of Smolino (September 13, 1502), and on the peace which he thus secured to the Baltic territories.

After a considerable interval Ivan IV the Cruel renewed the war with the Livonian order (November, 1557), and the knights in power were once more in dissension as to whether they should buy Danish, Swedish, or Polish help at the price of submission. It was an event of decided importance when the Master of the army, Gotthard Kett(e)ler, applied to Poland. King Sigismund Augustus accepted the protectorate of the land of the order and of the archbishopric, though at the price of the immediate cession of some frontier districts. However, the order was

defeated in the battle of Ermes on August 2, 1560, the last occasion on which the banner of the knights appeared in the battlefield. No alternative now remained. Livonia beyond the Dvina submitted to the king of Poland in 1561. The *Privilegium Sigismundi Augusti* of November 28 contains the constitutional arrangement by means of which the order was able to maintain its existence as a separate organisation for another three centuries under foreign rule (Th. Schiemann). George Kettler received Courland and Semgallen, with the ducal title, as an hereditary fief dependent upon Poland, and made Mitau his capital. Esthonia with Reval had submitted to Swedish supremacy some months earlier in the same year, that is, in June, 1561.

VIII

ITALY FROM THE SIXTH TO THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY, WITH SOME REFERENCE TO THE FOLLOWING PERIOD

By DR. HANS F. HELMOLT

1. THE AGE OF THE BARBARIAN INVASIONS

A. The Lombard Kingdom

AFTER the confusions of the Visigoth and Vandal invasions Italy enjoyed a period of comparatively settled government under Odovacar (Odoacer; cf. p. 55) and his Heruli. But half a generation later this government gave way to a more permanent, though not necessarily more deeply rooted dominion, that of the Ostrogoths under Theodoric the Great and his heirs. In the series of the Italian kingdoms this is the only government which had a seaport as its capital. To the Goths eventually succeeded, in 568, the wider empire of the Lombards (cf. Vol. IV, p. 473).

In the course of long migrations and changes of settlement (pp. 29 and 67) the Lombards had become a strong military power. Their final victory over the Gepids of Pannonia in 566, though gained with the help of the Avars, had given them sufficient self-confidence to venture upon the conquest of Italy. This enterprise was, however, by no means entirely successful. Alboin (Albwin, p. 68) is rather to be regarded as the first of the long roll of Italian petty princes which most clearly displays, for thirteen hundred years, the political disruption of the peninsula.

For the moment, the Roman or Byzantine garrisons retired from the valley of the Po, from Piedmont, Emilia, and northern Tuscany, to the coast, in almost every case. After the surrender of Milan, on September 4, 569, Pavia, then known as Ticinum, which had offered a bold resistance for several years, was captured in 572 and became Alboin's capital. At that period, however, any thorough foundation of an empire was out of the question. The wanderings of the Lombards from the lower Elbe to the lower Vistula, from this again to the central Danube, and thence over Monte San Michele (at Gradisca) to the Po, and the severe struggles which were often a matter of life or death to their nationality, were influences by no means calculated to raise them from their semi-barbarous condition. Nor were their travelling companions and allies any more civilized than themselves; these were the remnant of the Gepids, the east Slavs and west Teutons, and the

twenty thousand Saxons who had accompanied them. Hence their invasion was more formidable in character than the occupation of a third of the country by the Ostrogoths of Theodoric or than the invasions of the Visigoths, who indeed entered the imperial service. The movement thus forms the culmination of the barbarian invasions.

Alboin enjoyed his success for no long period; in the early summer of 572 he fell a victim to the vengeance of his second wife, the Gepid Rosamund. A similar fate befell his successor, Clepho or Kleph, after a reign of eighteen months (574). The leaders of the tribes (*farœ*) had become military commanders and members of the royal retinue, under the supremacy of the king, towards the end of the period of migration; at a comparatively early date they became dukes, ruling a definite tract of territory, and exercising jurisdiction according to the customary law over a certain number of Lombard tribes. By this process the subjugation of Italy was completed; consequently it could never become a settlement carried out in due form; the old territorial owners fled, if they had not first been killed. Before the intimidated Roman element could turn to its own advantage the mistakes of an over-centralised royal power, such bold and ambitious leaders as Faroald and Zotto rapidly formed, even in central Italy, the two great duchies of Spoleto and Benevento. Narses, the conqueror of the Goths, had been dead for some considerable time, while Byzantium was threatened by the Avars and Persians (Vol. V, p. 46); the imperial leader Baduarius was repulsed between 575 and 576 near the strong fortress of Ravenna. The process of Lombard-Arian conquest was marked by the devastation or extermination of the Catholic priesthood, and its wild destruction of episcopal sees has been unmistakably proved by statistics. The old capital towns of Ravenna and Naples rose almost in complete isolation above this inundation, and were able to defy the untrained barbarian hordes by means of their fortifications. Even in these quarters, however, attempts were already being made to secure Frankish help (580). Austrasia in particular was induced to aid in the expulsion of the heretical invaders in 582, by means of a magnificent present from the emperor Maurikios (Maurice; cf. p. 71 *ad fin.*). Byzantine bribery also secured the transference of individual Lombard dukes to the imperial service (584).

These ten years of selfish ambition were brought to an end by the view that a stronger king was required, if the Lombard nationality was to maintain its ground in Italy; the majority of the dukes chose for this purpose Authari, the son of Kleph. The new government was forced to struggle desperately in order to extort recognition from such of the dukes as refused submission; together with the *gastalds*, who administered the scattered portions of crown territory, certain dukes maintained more or less independent positions as territorial princes, until the fall of the empire. Authari, however, showed much dexterity in yielding when force was useless, and turning every favourable moment to the best possible advantage; he was thus able to survive even the perils of the summer of 590, which brought with it the dangerous invasion of Childebert II of Austrasia. He married Theodelinda, a daughter of the Athanasian duke of Bavaria, Garibald (May 15, 588), a Frankish vassal in possession of important Alpine passes, but remained an Arian till his death (September 5, 590). At that moment the rising power of the Roman bishop in central Italy was almost paralysed by the secession of the patriarch of Aquileia and the bishops of Istria from the decrees of the fifth synod of

Constantinople (the queen also adhered to the doctrine of the Council of Chalcedon); none the less he eventually rendered great services in the dissemination of the Catholic faith among the Lombards, who had remained isolated in this respect after the conversion of the Visigoths (587). Beyond the limits of Ravenna, but very few remnants of Ostrogoth and Lombard Arianism are to be found.

The fruits of the work of Authari were clearly displayed under the rule of his brother-in-law, Agilulf, who forced his way from the ducal chair of Turin to the Lombard throne in November, 590. A copper tablet, overlaid with gold (now in the Bargello at Florence), which was made at that period, represents him surrounded by life guards with clasped helmets and corselets of mail. The refractory dukes of Bergamo, Treviso, and Verona were speedily humiliated. The appointment of Arichis of Friuli as Duke of Benevento gave a definite form to the comparatively aimless settlement of the Lombards in southern Italy. The centre was under the powerful rule of Duke Ariulf of Spoleto. Fortunately during those dangerous ten years at the close of the sixth century the Curia possessed an energetic restorer and a defender of first-rate capacity in the person of Gregory the Great, who ruled for thirteen years and a half (590 to 604; cf. p. 221); otherwise the Roman element, even within the States of the Church, would have succumbed speedily and forever to the advance of the Lombards, which now proceeded upon more definite lines. The fact is proved by the manner in which was concluded the Lombard and Byzantine armistice in the autumn of 598 (renewed 600, 603, 605, 607, etc.), and also by the increased power of the Exarch of Ravenna, who was intrusted with one of the most responsible state posts, and had resumed the powers of Theodoric, though not with a hereditary title; it was a rise of power conditioned by the permanent danger of exposure to barbaric attacks. The stern logic of facts had transformed a peaceful portion of the empire to a frontier province under military law and composed of different fragments, the several frontiers of which ran into the interior and not along the coast line of Italy, and could be secured only by the wearisome work of fortified garrisons. As the imperial government was more hardly pressed, the inclination to independence and the possibility of separation from Byzantium naturally increased; this tendency forms one of the main features of Italian history, from the unsuccessful revolt of Eleutherios in 610 until the complete break with the East Roman supremacy introduced by Charles the Great in 781.

After the death of Agilulf in 616 Adaloald, who had already been baptised into the Roman Catholic faith, ascended the throne as a minor, under the regency of his mother Theodelinda. To this period belongs the settlement of the disciples of the Irish monk Columba, who had been driven from his settlements in the Vosges by the lawless Brunhilda, and had taken refuge on the Bobbio with the permission of Agilulf (d. 615); in 628 they left the camp of the schismatics and went over to the papacy, with flying colours. In 626 Adaloald was overthrown, apparently for the reason that he had shown excessive favour to the Roman nationality, and his place was taken by Arioald (626–636), the husband of his sister, who was also a Catholic. He, however, was unable permanently to check the disruption of the Lombard kingdom, a process which was accelerated by the autonomous spirit of the dukes, and was partly due to the preponderance of Roman civilization; in any case, the outward rest which Italy enjoyed upon the whole under the Exarch Isaac (625–643) and the Pope Honorius I (625–638) in no way contributed to strengthen the Lombard position. No Lombard revival occurred until the secular policy of

the orthodox Curia suffered a severe defeat on June 17, 653, when Pope Martin I was deposed by imperial decree, as a result of the Monothelite quarrel. The revival was begun by King Rothari (636–652), who introduced a national advance in the second half of the seventh century, by the severity of his attitude towards the autonomous aspirations of the dukes in contrast with the more feeble policy of friendship with Rome. His organising spirit is evidenced by the decree of November 22, 643, which provided his subjects for the first time with the advantage of a legal code, though written in Latin. Immediately afterwards the Lombard attacks upon the remnants of the Byzantine supremacy were renewed with a success which implied a simultaneous strengthening of the government's dynastic power.

Rodoald, the son of Rothari (652–653), was succeeded by the Catholic Aripert, the cousin of Gundeberga (cf. the genealogical tree below); he reigned until 661, and his policy was marked by conciliation towards Rome. During the dissension between his sons Godepert and Perctarit (Berthari), Duke Grimoald I of Benevento secured the throne by murdering the former, expelling the latter, and marrying their sister.[1] The national life then entered upon a real revival. Grimoald succeeded in uniting the Lombard districts in the north with those in southern Italy, and thus formed a powerful kingdom with resources which almost doubled the achievements of Rothari. Even the emperor Constans (641–668) was obliged in 663 to renounce his project of driving the intruders from the old centre of the empire, and contented himself with the possession of Sicily. In consequence Rome was deprived of her importance as the chief political town and capital for almost twelve hundred and seven years, while her ecclesiastical preeminence suffered a further blow from the action of Constans, who granted with equal readiness and shortsightedness an independent position to the bishop of Ravenna. It must be said that the latter after no long time turned upon his patron; the increasing division between the Curia and the east had been extended between 606–741, notwithstanding the attempts at reunion and the efforts of thirteen Syrian or Greek popes; for the Curia had been driven by the emperor into the open arms of the Franks, and Ravenna gradually decayed and was unable to maintain its position alone.

At the same time the kingdom which had thus been vigorously held together by the iron grasp of Grimoald was broken up almost immediately after the death of the king (671). Romuald, the elder son, maintained, indeed, his position in the

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[1] Garibald of Bavaria = Waldrada

Theodelinda (cf. Boccaccio, Decameron III 2) = (1) Authari, † Sept. 5, 590 = (2) Agilulf of Turin, † 616

Gundoald of Asti

Aripert † 661

(2) Adaloald, † 626

Daughter = a duke of Parma

Gundeberga = (1) Ariould, † 636 = (2) Rothari of Brescia, † 652

Rodoald † 653

Godepert † 662

Perctarit, † 690 = Rodelinda

Daughter = Grimoald I of Benevento, † 671

Ragimpert of Turin, † 701

Cunincpert joint regent from 680, † 700

Romuald of Benevento

Garibald

Daughter = Transemund of Capua

Gisa

Aripert II (702–712)

Liutpert, † 701–702

Grimoald II = Vigilenda

south as Duke of Benevento, but in the north Perctarit, who had been formally expelled, drove out the young Garibald at the first onslaught. The grandnephew of Theodelinda was in policy and in religion an adherent and supporter of the pacific policy of the Bavarian dynasty. During the last quarter of the seventh century the Catholic Church made great progress on account of the abandonment of the Monothelite position and the condemnation of the orthodox Pope Honorius in 681, which had facilitated a reconciliation between east and west, and the splendour of its progress chiefly benefited the Roman papacy. Arianism disappeared; and, even in the schismatic northeast corner, gave way to the Roman Catholic system under King Cuninepert (Kunibert; 690–700). The uniformity of religious belief now prevailing in Italy and the peace which had been concluded on the ground of mutual recognition between the Lombards on the one hand and the Curia and the empire on the other, about the year 682, could not prevent the separation of Italy into a Lombard and non-Lombard portion. Within the jurisdiction of the Lombard kingdom the Roman nationality steadily decayed, notwithstanding the superiority of its civilization. Heinrich Leo even ascribes "a complete change of the Italian character" to the influence of the supremacy of these Teutonic invaders, asserting that the Roman respect for law was overthrown by these colonists, and that the idea of "abstract obedience" was replaced by the idea of unlimited freedom and the abandonment of all restraints. If this theory be correct, the very extraordinary conception of freedom with which we meet in the thirteenth century (p. 334) becomes intelligible without further explanation. The desire of individuals to act as they pleased was a constant obstacle to the foundation of real political freedom. The separatism of the south, which even at the present day (the summer of 1906) is clearly obvious beneath the outward union of Italy, may be attributed to the loose relations of the strong duchy of Benevento with the north Italian kingdom quite as reasonably as to the separation of the dioceses of lower Italy, which were inclined to Byzantium, a movement certainly promoted by the ruling classes.

This partition of Italy into divisions of different character and different polities was materially supported by a change in the centre of power, which became gradually obvious, and is in close connection with the above-mentioned alienation of Western from Eastern Rome; this was the movement for freedom which was vigorously begun by Pope Sergius with the "quinisext" (the ecclesiastical assembly of Constantinople, which completed the fifth and sixth councils); the movement was, however, organised about 710 by Georgius of Ravenna. This project simply aimed at bringing to an end the supremacy of Byzantium, which in many respects persisted only in name. This object would no doubt have been attained at a much earlier date had not inopportune resumptions of the Lombard attacks shown that the Byzantine protectorate was not only highly desirable, but at times absolutely necessary. The fact that the Lombards resumed their plans of conquest after short pauses was due to the essential nature of their constitutional system; it was only by expansion over the country that the crown could maintain its position against the dukes, and the good understanding with the Curia was not likely to be impaired by slight aggressions, as the papacy was also working against the emperor, while from 726 the Iconoclastic quarrel added fresh fuel to the flames and formed another point of union between the Romans and the Lombards (Vol. V, p. 70).

The Lombards were then ruled by King Liutprand (712–744; his remains were discovered in August, 1896, in S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro at Pavia); though his resources were limited, he was able to turn them to the best advantage, and showed great ability in increasing his power. He succeeded his father, the "Wise" Duke Ansprand, formerly the guardian of King Liutprand (see the table on page 300), who died after a short reign in the spring of 712. Liutprand was a second Grimoald in his policy of unification; during the struggles between the Curia and the imperial government he showed great cleverness in preserving the balance between these forces. About 730 he helped to reduce Pope Gregory II (715–731), who had made himself almost entirely independent, to the position of a supreme bishop of the Church, using, on the one hand, the exarch for the humiliation of Spoleto and Benevento, while he also provided him, on the other hand, with sufficient occupation for his energies by promoting the autonomous tendencies in central and northern Italy. The local governing powers (tribunes, etc.), which had grown up in the meantime in such towns as had remained Roman, and which were indispensable to the further development of Italy in later years, could no longer be silenced after 730. Venice, moreover, now began to rise from entire unimportance favoured as she was by her geographical position upon the lagoons and islands of the northwest Adriatic, under the government of a "dux," whose office was originally of Byzantine origin, but in the course of the eighth century gradually became dependent upon the choice of the Venetian fishermen and traders.

For about one hundred and fifty years a kind of alliance had existed between the Lombards and the Franks, a traditional connection which was emphasised by the loyal friendship of Liutprand with the powerful Mayor, Charles Martell; this connection was now exposed to a severe test. The Pope found that his conventions with the dukes of Spoleto and Benevento, who preserved their independent spirit though repeatedly subjugated, were an inadequate protection against the Lombard attacks, which were renewed notwithstanding the treaty of Terni (742); as he could secure no help from East Rome he applied for assistance to the Frankish king, Pippin, from 752 onwards. The test proved too severe. Liutprand was succeeded by Hildeprand, and he again by Duke Ratchis of Friaul before the expiration of the year 744; the friendliness to Rome of this latter monarch was replaced in June, 749, by the ruthless oppression of his brother Aistulf. It was this change which brought about the breach. The new king, who had been in occupation of Ravenna since the summer of 751, had conceived the idea of shattering the Roman nationality to its very foundations, and thus drove the first nail into the coffin of the Lombard kingdom. The alliance between the Pope and the Franks had been prepared by the mission of Boniface and the appeals of Gregory III, though these had been fruitless (739–740); the accession of Pippin in 751 definitely secured the alliance, and even a united Lombard state could hardly have resisted these combined forces. The Frankish king was pledged by the agreements of Ponthion (January, 754) and Quierzy (Carisiacum; summer of 754) to restore the *status quo ante*, in other words, the frontier lines of 682; and when his mild remonstrances produced no effect upon Aistulf, Pippin crossed the Alps in person upon two occasions (754 and 756), defeated the Lombards, and forced them to restore Ravenna and the castles which they had previously conquered, though he did not urge a complete restoration of the territory taken before 749 by

Liutprand and others from the Curia, or, more exactly, from the emperor. This, again, was a "barbarian" attack.

The promises made in the agreement of Quierzy were thus not entirely fulfilled. But the performance, though incomplete, produced a result of vast importance to later Italy; this was the valuable foundation of the States of the Church, which even now had become something more than an extended territorial estate, and offered a convenient basis for the further extension of the Pope's secular power. The Frankish king could never have conceived the idea of recovering the territories alienated from the East Roman ruler and placing them in the hands of imperial officials; what he had done was done merely to the glory of God and from his desire to serve the sacred chair. The fact that the occupant of this chair was subject to the supremacy of the empire, as the governor of the Roman duchy and as an imperial bishop, the fact, again, that he himself had been brought under the imperial authority by the Pope's gratitude, which conferred upon him in 754 the title of "patricius Romanorum," — these were matters which troubled Pippin not at all. Thus the movement for Italian freedom had won a further victory, and the separation of Rome from Byzantium had secured a highly promising recognition beyond the bounds of Italy. The interference of the chief secular power of central Europe in Italian affairs soon grew stronger and was often repeated; but for centuries its work survived it in its creation of the Patrimony of Peter, a state within a state.

Aistulf suffered from the effects of the utter failure of his attempted policy of aggression only for a few weeks; he died in December, 756. His place was unexpectedly taken by that Ratchis who had renounced the crown seven years and a half previously and had become a monk in Monte Cassino. Spoleto and Benevento immediately seized this welcome opportunity to break away from the kingdom, while in the north a powerful opposition king arose in the person of the Tuscan duke, Desiderius; these facts dictated the future policy of Ratchis, and while formerly a supporter of Rome, he was now forced to oppose the Pope and the Franks. On the other hand, the Curia had an easy task; it supported Desiderius when he made overtures to Rome, and secured from him a promise of the restoration of such imperial towns as had been left by the events of 756 (Bologna, Imola, Faenza and Ferrara, Osimo, Ancona, and Humana); while he also undertook to secure the abdication of the monk king, who was now hard pressed (beginning of 757).

As soon as he had secured the power Desiderius revealed himself as a second Aistulf or Liutprand; he opened negotiations with Byzantium with the object of again reducing the excessive power of the Curia, while he declined to offer any prospect of a serious attempt to redeem his promises of restoration; at the same time the dilatory character of his diplomacy avoided any open breach with the dreaded Carolingians. However, about 763, through the intervention of Pippin a peaceful recognition of the *status quo* was definitely secured. Thus the Frankish king had already been invited to arbitrate in the struggle for the supremacy of non-Lombard Italy waged by the emperor and Pope. Frankish friendship, moreover, proved a permanent possession, guaranteed as it was by the unanimity of orthodox faith in opposition to the iconoclasm of the East (767). This protectorate was continued during the following years, which saw a series of bloody struggles upon the several elections of the Popes; in spite of repeated attacks, the Lom-

bard nationality was unable to exercise any material influence upon Roman affairs.

The comparative peace prevailing in Italy was significantly disturbed by the complications in the Frankish Empire which resulted on the death of Pippin on September 24, 768. The confusion was initiated, as is often the case, by a woman; the queen widow, Bertrada, married her son Charles to the daughter of the Lombard king, who had previously been crushed (she was called Desiderata, according to the Vita Adalhardi). The mother of Charles intended the marriage to make him brother-in-law of Tassilo, the refractory duke of Bavaria. It was only to be expected that this remarkable change of Frankish policy should produce a revival of the Lombard claims. For the moment, indeed, Desiderius, under the pressure of necessity, displayed a friendly attitude towards the Frankish alliance with the Pope. The line of cleavage between these powers was not, however, definitely bridged by this alliance, and was widened by the open dissension of the two brothers, Charles and Karlmann (the middle of 771). After the death of the latter, on December 4, Charles took possession of the other half of the empire on the Italian side, and the widow Gerberga saw no alternative before her but an appeal to Desiderius to protect her children who had been deprived of their inheritance. The materials for a conflagration were completed by Charles' divorce of his Lombard wife, which coincided in date and was no doubt in practical connection with these events; he married Hildegard, a Suabian of noble birth. The restoration of the Roman towns, proposed and actually begun by Bertrada, soon came to an end. Faenza, Ferrara, and Comacchio remained in Lombard hands, and in declared hostility against his revolted son-in-law the Lombard king advised Pope Hadrian I to crown the sons of Karlmann (the beginning of 773). Negotiations were opened, and papal expostulations passed continually between Charles and Desiderius; but all efforts proved fruitless, and the expedition to Italy began in the same year. By the autumn the Franks were in front of Pavia, the strongly fortified capital. Thence, at the end of March, 774, Charles betook himself for the first time to Rome, where the Easter festival was celebrated and the "promissio" of Pippin was solemnly received; the frontier delimitation was conducted upon principles characteristic of the age, in a general and very indefinite manner, and the Curia was thus enabled to prove from it a "Donation" of the most extensive kind. Pavia fell at the beginning of June, and Desiderius, with his wife and daughter, was taken prisoner by the Franks. Such was the end of the Lombard kingdom.

B. The Franks as the Heirs of the Lombards

Though the Lombard kingdom had fallen, the nationality was by no means expelled from Italy. The crown prince Adelgis, who had been co-regent with his father from 759, had fled from Verona to Byzantium, but the dukes of Friuli, Chiusi, Benevento (Arichis), and of Spoleto, continued to hold out, the last-named being for a time dependent upon the Pope. Nor were any bounds placed for the moment to the extent of the foreign supremacy. From the year 774 onwards Charles was simply the heir and successor of Desiderius, and the immediate representative of the Lombard dynasty. The name of the nation which occupied the

throne had changed; the "barbarian" intruder was there as before. There was, however, one essential difference in the situation: the Franks were compelled to interfere in Italian affairs, whereas this power of interference had formerly been the special object of the Lombards. It may also be asserted that even after the thorough and conscientious executions of those tasks which Pippin's promises had laid upon his great son, there existed at the moment no clear appreciation of the vast historical importance of the twofold supremacy which had been secured. There were two reasons to prevent such appreciation. In the first place, the relation of the Pope to the emperor and to the archbishop of Ravenna was at that time but vaguely defined, and was indeed in process of transition. Many points were still uncertain, although the general policy of separation from Byzantium had long been clearly perceived, and had been reinforced and pursued by the efforts of the Franks to emphasise their own independence. Considerable doubt also existed concerning the extent of the territorial claims and rights which the Curia might raise to districts that had now come under Frankish supremacy (cf. what has been said concerning the "Donation of Constantine" on pages 77, 174, and 228). It is obvious that this question contained the germs of much future dissension between the Pope and his previous protector, who had now become a neighbour, with interests of his own. On the other hand, Charles must not be too hastily credited with fixed aims or a comprehensive policy. He was a great conqueror, because he never shrank from any opportunity of extending his frontiers, and was always able to cope vigorously with the new obligations to which he thus laid himself open. He was, however, also obliged to consider the circumstances in which he found himself, and he had no prophetic expectation of those vast consequences which might result from the alliance that he had set on foot between the Roman Patricius, the Italian king, and the monarch of central Europe. From this point of view his acquisition of the Roman imperial crown must be regarded and understood.

In the autumn of 780 Charles undertook his second journey to Rome after a temporary reorganisation of the affairs of upper Italy. The task of reconstruction was advanced in the famous capital about the middle of April, 781 (Easter), and the eldest son of Charles, (Karlmann-)Pippin, who had been "crowned" with his younger brother Louis, was given the government of the subjugated territory, with a court of his own and a special administration at Pavia. He is commemorated by a fresco of more than life size, which still survives in San Zeno Maggiore at Verona. At the same time the frontiers of this kingdom, which was almost independent, were arranged upon the principle of 682, though including the *patrimonium* of the Sabine country which had been occupied under Liutprand. The hopes which the Curia had vainly cherished for twenty-seven years were thus at length fulfilled; at the same time the vague and therefore unlimited claims which it had advanced shortly after 774 were more closely limited by these arrangements. The settlement of relations with the Byzantine south was a matter of much greater difficulty. As, however, the East Roman Empire, which was then in the hands of the Athenian Irene, had abandoned the policy of the great Isaurian Leo III, the solution proved surprisingly simple, or, in other words, unexpectedly peaceful; at any rate, the ambassadors of the empress offered no objection to the complete and absolute occupation of the Lombard possessions by the French power. The "liberation" of Italy, begun in 619 (p. 299), was now completed. Connected with the process,

though the connection was not expressly stated, was the actual recognition of the separation of the Papal States from the imperial federation. In another direction the east and west were brought together, though Charles himself stood apart (cf. Vol. V, p. 72), with reference to doctrinal questions raised by the decree concerning the veneration of images issued by the council of Nicæa in 787.

Thus the old division of Italy into three parts — the Lombard or Frankish province, the patrimony of Peter, and the isolated south — had been preserved; the archbishopric of Ravenna was allowed by Charles to lapse. There appeared, however, a new phenomenon which has never been duly appreciated, even by L. M. Hartmann, and which requires careful consideration: the Papal States are henceforward an independent and no longer a vassal power, — protected, indeed, by the Frankish kings, but manifesting their independence in charters, coinage, etc. It is obvious, of course, that they retained this position only during the transition period of the twenty years from 781 to 800, when the supremacy of East Rome had been overthrown, and no equivalent compensation had been secured by the creation of a West Rome. From this point of view the coronation of Charles by Leo must be regarded as a backward step; an impolitic movement, or, better, a confession of weakness, which was the inexorable result of the submission of the Roman bishop to emperors who regarded their dignity seriously. The pontificate of Hadrian (772–795) must from this point of view be regarded as a culminating moment in the history of the papacy.

Even at that time, however, the Curia had become conscious of a certain inadequacy in its power, as appears during the third visit of Charles to Rome at the outset of 787, when Hadrian attempted to induce the Frankish king to turn his military power against Arichis of Benevento, who had fortified Salerno, but was entirely loyal in other respects; the result was his subjugation and the surrender of important points to the States of the Church. At Easter Charles carried to its necessary conclusion the breach with Irene which had been sealed by the council of Nicæa, abandoning his consideration for the east, and "granting the restoration" of the southern patrimonies to the Pope. In the following year the Carolingian also abandoned an attempt to include southern Italy in his world-wide political schemes. The ducal throne of Benevento, which had been vacated by the death of Arichis on August 26, 787, was given to the heir Grimoald upon his recognition of the Frankish supremacy. Charles did not even insist upon the actual performance of the conditions imposed upon Grimoald's father, and thereby crushed for the moment the germs of a possible alliance between the remnants of the Lombards and Byzantium, which was thirsting for vengeance. His Italian dominions were further secured by the overthrow of Tassilo and the incorporation of Bavaria (788), which made the most valuable Alpine passes available as Frankish lines of communication. At the same time the kingdom of the Avars, which had long been threatening the northeast of Italy, was crushed and destroyed by King Pippin, upon whom this task was imposed for geographical reasons (791–796 and 803).

2. ITALY AS PART OF THE NEW WESTERN EMPIRE

THROUGHOUT those years the relations of Charles with the papacy came under other influences, especially under those which proceeded from the enormous power of the Frankish state and of the great conqueror himself, who was now the undisputed leader of central Europe, whether Christian, or whether recently converted. As we have already indicated, this influence proved highly unfavourable to that political independence which the Curia had barely secured. Charles even assumed the part of an ecclesiastical protector and appeared as the guardian of western orthodoxy (the synod of Frankfort of 794; cf. p. 225). Upon this question also Hadrian was forced to yield to stress of circumstances. The papacy had thus summoned to its aid a helper whose powers of expansion on every side soon became so great that he overshadowed the papacy in its own particular sphere. Hence we can hardly venture to use the phrase "barbarian invasion" when dealing with further campaigns in Italy, for this age is now entirely behind us. Practically half of Italy had become a component part, a province and a governorship of the Carolingian world-empire; and within the remaining half the most distinguished person, namely, the Pope, could discover no better policy than that of self-accommodation to the Frankish supremacy, which was for the moment unavoidable. What the Curia lost in tangible power it was perhaps able to compensate by the tenacity with which it turned the inevitable changes of political life to its own profit, and by the dexterity with which it used those spiritual weapons necessarily at the command of every church as such.

A. THE HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE CORONATION OF CHARLES

IF we examine the historical development of Italy from this point of view, the element of surprise in the coronation of Charles as Roman emperor disappears. Already, at the outset of 796, the banner of Rome had been sent to him as a sign of homage. In any case, towards the end of the period between 790 and 800 a project for conferring the imperial dignity upon Charles was already in the air, and to understand this frame of mind we need merely recall those national demands which were put forward at the end of 1870. The papacy at that moment was outwardly impotent, and hardly secure within its own four walls (799). Hence for the papacy the coronation was a clever move, while if the ruler himself was not exactly ambitious to secure the crown, this was none the less the natural and constitutional copingstone to the proud edifice which he had erected. Regarded, however, from the standpoint of general history, it was bound to lead to a diminution of papal independence. The Pope thus took his place in the great organisation of the new empire as a highly important, but none the less as a subordinate, member. In place of the insignia of the Syrian emperor appeared the imperial tokens of the Carolingians as the successors of Constantine, and the centre of gravity of European supremacy was transferred westward at one step.

Apart from this there was little or no alteration. Once again the Patrimony of Peter became a state within a state, and a struggle for liberation might be begun

anew. Nor was its outbreak long delayed; such Popes as Gregory and Hadrian did not spend their efforts in vain. The originator of the idea did not expect that the feudal relationship, if we may use the term, of the supreme bishop of the empire to his imperial lord and judge would soon be modified and reappear as the coexistence of two equal powers, until eventually the secular "moon" would be forced to admit that it received its light from the ecclesiastical "sun" (p. 238). This was a remarkable change, but one portended by the recognition of 781; and it was brought about primarily by the comprehensive policy of the papacy, which, in spite of various interruptions and occasional humiliations, tenaciously kept its eyes upon the one great object, while its task was facilitated by the surprising deficiency of that succession of strong emperors which circumstances imperatively demanded. This second struggle, lasting for long centuries, entirely determined the fate of Italy. The liberation and unification of Italy in the nineteenth century were indeed completed without reference to the Curia. The fact was, however, due less to the incompetency of former Popes than to the circumstance that an ecclesiastical institution such as the papacy essentially was, or ought to have been, cannot pursue a secular policy without eventually meeting its due punishment; the recognition of this fact was a victory largely facilitated, if not altogether secured, by the German Reformation.

B. Feudalism

These considerations, though justified by the extreme importance of the events of 800, have outrun the facts under consideration, and upon returning to the subject of previous inquiry we are especially struck by a change which becomes prevalent in the social order. The side of Italy facing eastward has surrendered its historical importance to the westward side; Ravenna is dethroned, and Rome appears in a new, though for the moment in borrowed, splendour; the Teutonic civilization, which was then paramount, gradually pervades all public institutions and the general conceptions of life and its duties, even in spheres which had hitherto been entirely subject to Byzantine influence. Apart from Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, where Greek influences remained predominant, Italy had now become an integral part of the Frankish Empire, and as its several districts gradually became unified and united, they adopted that peculiar form of territorial ownership which is denoted by the term "feudal system." This change forms the main content of that section of Italian history to which, from its connection with central Europe beyond the Alps, the name "Ultramontane" may be given, using the term in a sense precisely contradictory of its modern meaning.

The introduction of the Frankish feudal system into Italy of the ninth century is still regarded in many quarters as no great innovation and as possessing no decisive importance, for the reason that the country upon several occasions had previously been permeated with institutions of Teutonic origin; none the less we have before us an entirely new development. It must be remembered that the foundation upon which the Goths and Lombards were obliged to build had never entirely lost the indelible stamp of Roman custom. Early and recent Roman law, Lombard edicts, Frankish tribal law, and German imperial law, these three or four influences have co-operated to determine the later constitutional developments

of upper and central Italy. Local divergences are easily explained as the result of special geographical influence. The character of the older economy had been determined by the predominance of territorial ownership and of the town with its peasant citizens. The development of freehold property rights had started from two different forms of revocable conveyance, — a hereditary freehold, especially in the case of church property, might extend over three generations (*Emphyteusis*), or land might be held in usufruct (*Usufructus*). Then came the division of Italy into the Lombard and non-Lombard districts. In the latter portion, together with the militia and the ecclesiastical landed proprietors, who held a special position, the commanders of the castles (*Tribuni*) had become hereditary lords and independent chieftains after the Byzantine protectorate had disappeared; in the other districts under the Lombards the colonists had become dependents, almost in the position of serfs (*Aldiones*). The period of lease was almost unlimited, a beneficial institution compared with the confusing system of yearly leases which continued from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century. New social classes gradually became distinct within the Lombard territory; the smallest landholders and the farmer who worked with forty yokes were inferior to the landowners who possessed at least seven hides of freehold, and of these the king did not necessarily hold the largest extent of property, as his possessions were largely divided among adherents who looked for some tangible reward. To these classes was afterwards added the mercantile class, possessed of personal property. The wide divergences which separated these groups were inevitably accentuated by the processes of internal consolidation and change, which in other cases was completed with comparative rapidity. For that very reason the Carolingian social order was first able to extend its influences with comparative uniformity over both portions and to produce a similarity, and for that reason again this influence is by no means so unimportant a matter as it would have been under other circumstances.

Thus the ninth century brought to Italy a further expansion of the beneficiary system. Investiture with church property was connected with the entirely Teutonic institution of vassalage, and here even upon Italian soil we undoubtedly find the seeds of the feudal system. The protection demanded by the papacy against domestic and foreign enemies undoubtedly fostered and disseminated the central European theory that possession of the fief obliged the holder to render faithful service in war. By its very nature the feudal nobility aimed at separatism and independence, and its strength implied a gradual weakening of the central power, which suffered a corresponding loss of territorial and military power; this process continued in Italy, and an obvious example of a feudal state in process of disruption is Benevento (which broke up into Benevento, Salerno, Capua). A number of petty subordinate vassals were often held in subjection by the more powerful vassals. These various grades of separate power which had interposed themselves between the wearer of the crown and the general mass of his subjects were inspired by an invincible longing to make their property hereditary and their position independent; in Italy their attainment of this object was hindered for the moment by the prosperity of the cities, which, though surprising for its early maturity, can be explained by reference to the conditions of past centuries (cf. p. 302 and below, p. 323).

During that time the islands on the coast line were more and more disturbed

by the Arabs (Saracens), whose raids increased the traditional value attaching to fortified towns; in the ninth century these people occupied the position that was formerly held by the invading barbarians, who had advanced upon the country from the north (in 827 we have the landing upon Sicily of the Aghlabids from Tunis, in 846 the menace of Rome by the Arabs; concerning the molestation of Sardinia, cf. Vol. IV, p. 482).

C. The Successors of Charles the Great

(*a*) *The Main Line from King Bernard to the Emperor Charles III.* — The picture which we gain of Italy under the successors of Charles the Great is generally unsatisfactory. The founder of the world-empire, upon the premature death of his son Pippin (July 8, 810), had personally placed Pippin's son Bernard in command of Italy in 812, and had made him king of the Lombards in the following year; Lewis, on the other hand, received the imperial crown (September 11, 813; cf. p. 80). Lewis after his father's death proceeded to rearrange the imperial administration in July, 817, without consulting the interests of his nephew, who thereupon revolted. Bernard's rapid submission in December could not mitigate the severity of his punishment, that of blinding, on April 15, 818; he died two days afterwards. His fate foreshadows that of many another Italian prince. The emperor repented of his severity, and Bernard's son Pippin repaid evil with good by liberating the Empress Judith with a few faithful followers who had been banished to Italy in July, 833; in April, 834, Pippin restored her to her husband, and his descendants then became counts of Vermandois.

From the year 822 the co-emperor Lothar ruled over Italy upon the basis of the "Divisio imperii" of 817; the country was involved in the struggles which broke out in 830 between Lewis the Pious and his sons. From February 2, 831, to June 30, 833, Lothar was king only of Italy, though by a rapid change of fortune he then became sole emperor, until his subjugation in the autumn of 834. After that date his possessions were again confined to Italy, and he rewarded his faithful servants with estates at the expense both of the Church and of his secular adherents, with the result that from the autumn of 836 serious discontent was felt with his action. Eventually at the end of May, 839, took place the final reconciliation with his weak father, which ended in a fresh partition of the empire. By these arrangements Lothar chose the half to the east of the Maas (without Bavaria), and this portion naturally included Italy, with which he was already connected. We can therefore understand that after the settlement with his brothers, that is to say, after the battle of Fontenoy-en-Puisaye (June 25, 841), after the flight of Lothar (March, 842), and the treaty of Verdun in August, 843 (p. 82), he preferred the central portion of the three parts, the rights and revenues of which were practically identical; this portion extended from Frisia along the Rhine and Moselle, the Saône and Rhône, as far as Italy. In this way the emperor Lothar united the three capitals of Rome, Pavia, and Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen), and secured the connection between them free from any interruption by foreign territory; more than this, his strong hand gained possession of the old and even then very important commercial route from the Mediterranean harbours of southern Provence to the staple markets in Frisia and on the lower Rhine, Duurstede, Ghent, and Antwerp.

George Wolfram has recently referred to this point with full justification. If the partition of Verdun had been maintained, this long and narrow central empire, known from 851 as the "Regnum Hlotharii" (Lotharingia in the wider sense of the term), would have had an advantageous prospect of economic development notwithstanding its ill-defined boundaries. Even though a considerable part of the Oriental trade had continued to pass by Italy and to seek transmission northwards from Marseilles, the emperor's portion of the peninsula would at any rate have gained a continent for its export and retail trade such as was only secured centuries later when the difficulties of Alpine transport had been methodically overcome.

The reality proved very different. At first it appeared as if the permanence of the Lotharingian realm had been guaranteed; on June 15, 844, the emperor's son (Lewis II; cf. the genealogical tree on page 314) was anointed and crowned king of the Lombards by Pope Sergius II; the Duke Siginulf of Benevento did homage in person. During those years the father was occupied in the north by the incursions of the Northmen and other events of the kind, and his prestige was diminished, in so far as the imperial rights of supremacy which Lothar had retained by his treaty with Pope Eugenius II in November, 824 (providing that coronation should not take place before the arrival of the imperial ambassador) were disregarded for the second time in 847. On the other hand, the aggressions of the Saracens (cf. above, p. 310) were checked, though only for the moment, in 847 and 852, by comparatively successful campaigns which Lewis conducted in the south; in the course of these movements Salerno was definitely separated from Benevento in 847 for the purpose of securing an effective frontier defence. Lewis was now indisputably master of Italy, and his position received formal recognition by his coronation as emperor at the beginning of April, 850, at the hands of Pope Leo IV; Lothar naturally retained the supremacy, as Lewis the Pious had done in 822, until his abdication and his death, which immediately followed, in September, 855.

The emperor Lewis II retained the crown for fully twenty years. It may be at once admitted that he did his best to consolidate Italy at home and to secure her position against foreign powers; in 860 he crushed Benevento; he conquered Bari with Greek help (February 2, 871) after a four years' siege, and relieved Salerno in August, 872. It would hardly have been possible, however, even for a more powerful ruler to have checked the progress of anarchy, a symptom of which was the terrifying prevalence of highway robbery, as attested by punitive capitularies of 850 and 865. In any case, even before the Treaty of Mersen (p. 82 and p. 171) the unity of Greater Lotharingia had ceased to exist. The economic projects and the plans entertained by Lothar in 843 were naturally brought to a sudden end by the transfer of Frisia to Lewis' brother, Lothar II, at the beginning of 855; he also secured Francia with Aix-la-Chapelle (Lotharingia in the narrower sense) six months later, while Charles, as the youngest son, obtained Provence and a part of Burgundy. After September, 855, Italy was again thrown upon her own resources. The situation was not materially altered by the acquisition of Geneva and its environs in 859, or of Provence and other parts of Burgundy beyond the Jura in 863; the connection with the Carolingian north was definitely interrupted. The helplessness of the imperial power is shown with appalling clearness after the death of Lothar II, on August 8, 869. The justifiable claims of Lewis II were unable to secure a hearing, and his uncles, Lewis the German and Charles the Bald, divided

the inheritance which they were glad to grasp. The other side of the picture consists of the inevitable and successful action of the Popes Nicholas I and Hadrian II against Lothar III upon the question of his unlawful marriages with Theutberga and Waldrada in the years 865, 867, and 869, and the result displays a faithful reflection of the general superiority of the papacy, to the Carolingian partition princes. Inglorious also for the emperor Lewis was his surprise by Adelchis of Benevento and a band of conspirators on August 13, 871; equally inglorious was the humiliation by which he secured his liberty on September 17, though his self-respect may have been healed by Pope Hadrian, who released him from his extorted oath and performed his coronation on May 18, 872. The friendly attitude of the Curia hardly blinded the emperor's eyes to the fact that he was further from the complete mastery of Italy at the end of his life than he had been at the beginning of his reign.

However, after the death of Lewis the Second, on August 12, 875, even the cowardly Charles the Bald was tempted to claim the imperial crown, which he actually secured upon the Christmas Day of that year. Karlmann, the eldest son of Lewis the German, to whom the crown had actually been bequeathed, was for the moment cheated of his hopes. At the rumour of his approach with an army Charles fled in September, 877, and died on October 6, when Pavia did homage to his nephew. Karlmann, however, who had been ill at the end of November, succumbed to his malady in a short time, and died on March 22, 880. Previously, in 878, Pope John VIII, hard pressed by the Saracens, and turning the inactivity of the east Franks to his own advantage, had attempted, with a remarkable display of independence, to choose a more suitable emperor in the person of Boso of lower Burgundy, who had become the son-in-law of Lewis II by his abduction of Irmengard (cf. p. 173, above).

Boso, however, declined the honour, and Karlmann in the middle of August, 878, averted a threatening loss by the cession of Italy to his "little" brother Charles (III, the Fat). The country was naturally suffering considerably under an uncertainty which accelerated its disruption and offered a joyful welcome to the new king, who entered Lombardy at the end of October. The desired support was, however, denied for the moment, for in the spring of 880 Charles turned his back upon upper Italy in order to crush Boso of Vienne. In November he re-entered Italy, and was actually crowned emperor of Rome on February 12 (?), 881; the campaign which the Pope desired was, however, again deferred. It was not until the murder of John VIII, on December 15, 882, that a new Italian expedition was undertaken. The deposition of Duke Wido II of Spoleto and Camerino, in June, 883, was an inadequate measure, as Charles afterwards returned to Germany in November, while the sentence of deposition was graciously removed on January 7, 885. The same year brought Charles the homage of the west Franks. In consequence of this event he was overwhelmed with tasks demanding completion, and the short Italian visit of the spring of 886 brought no help to the papacy, which was hard pressed by the Arabs. Towards the end of the autumn of 887 the patience of the nations, who were irritated by the emperor's incapacity, gave way. Charles retired in favour of Arnulf, who had been chosen king, and died at Neidingen on the Danube on January 13, 888.

(*b*) *The Kings and Opposition Kings in the Collateral Branches of the Carolingian Dynasty (from 888 to 950).* — Thus within the short space of barely ninety years the great creation of Charles the Great had disappeared. The want of some dominant centre once more became obvious; the separate political organisations could not be easily combined, owing to the extended configuration of the peninsula, and were connected only by the feeble ties of locality. Thus disunited and broken into many fragments Italy was unable to defend herself against the Arabs, whose raids became speedily bolder, or to check the disastrous insecurity of life and property which prevailed throughout the country. The trading and fishing towns of Naples, Gæta, and Amalfi had entirely broken away from the Byzantine Empire. Only a few harbours in Apulia and Calabriâ now belonged to the east Roman emperor, and they were continually threatened by the Saracens of Sicily or the Lombards of Benevento and Salerno; some increased power of resistance to these latter was attained under Basil I (Vol. V, p. 82; the province of "Longibardia"). Notwithstanding her insular position and her protected situation Venice (p. 302) was then an Italian community, like so many others, with a basis of Roman law modified by Greek, Lombard, and Frankish edicts and customs; from the year 840 she had gradually withdrawn from the Byzantine protectorate, though some remnants of this supremacy survived in titles, etc., until the thirteenth century. The official representative of the emperor of east Rome had long ago been forced to make room for the native Dux or Doge, though he had not upon that account become dependent upon the Franks. Between 811 (when the Rialto was the seat of government) and 942 the dignity of Doge belonged to seven Parteciaci. Since the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in the summer of 812, the Frankish emperor, who wished to be recognised as such by the east, had renounced his claims to Venice, which he had hardly secured. This special position implied a certain commercial independence, which was strengthened shortly after 880 by the successful defeat of the rival Comacchio, and was expressly recognised by the emperor Lothar (840 to 841), Lewis II (857), and Charles III (880). In the centre of the peninsula the Pope held sway, restricted in many respects, but none the less holding the balance of equality and capable of guiding his neighbours. The north and northwest formed in general the Italian kingdom with Pavia as the capital. From this centre the Frankish feudal system followed a course of domestic development which laid stress upon practical rights and their hereditary transmission, and triumphantly extended into the non-Frankish districts.

This was, however, the only case in which the Frankish nationality made any progress; elsewhere retrogression was but too clearly perceptible. The Margrave of Ivrea and the Duke of Friuli, the Margrave of Tuscany and the Duke of Spoleto, at times proved very restless under the Carolingian yoke. The crown seemed an object worthy of effort as much for the actual power which its possession implied, as for the fictitious splendour of the imperial title. It is also "highly probable," as Friedrich Schiller rightly observed in 1790, that recognition in Italy increased the prestige of the Crown in France.

It cannot, however, be asserted that this rivalry for the imperial crown at Rome conferred any benefit upon the peninsula. Arnulf found much difficulty in maintaining the Carolingian claim. At the end of 888 and in the early winter of 895 he subjugated Berengar of Friuli; at the end of January, 894, he stormed Bergamo, which had been defended by Ambrosius, the Count of Spoleto; he

overthrew Adalbert of Tuscany in February, and was finally crowned emperor of Rome, February, 896, after taking the capital by storm. Even at that moment the actual supremacy of the north and of part of central Italy was in other hands whose power was not disputed. For more than one generation (888 to 924) Berengar I of Friuli, who was related through his mother to the emperor Lewis the Pious (cf. the upper part of the genealogical table facing this page, "Interconnection of the Italian Kings from 844 to 1024"), held the throne of the Lombards and became Roman emperor in December, 915. He, however, was severely defeated in 889 on the Trebbia by Wido II of Spoleto,[1] who was not related to the Carolingians; further defeats were suffered at the hands of the Magyars (Vol. V, p. 377) on the Brenta, and by Rudolf II of upper Burgundy (p. 174) at Fiorenzuola on July 17, 923; during his lifetime it was only in the northeast that his position was fully recognised. With the exception of those months when Arnulf was staying in Italy the central part of the country was ruled by the above-mentioned Wido, the only Italian king without the most shadowy hereditary claim who was elected by the nobles. After his death, in December, 894, he was succeeded by his son Lambert, who was prudent enough to open friendly relations with the Curia after the final retreat of the east Franks. When he died, on October 15, 898, Berengar might have been able to rule the entire kingdom of Italy in peace had not a second rival appeared; this was Louis III, king of Provence, then twenty years of age, a true Carolingian through his mother, and descended, moreover, from the Italian line (cf. the upper part of the genealogical table). His efforts to secure the crown were at first successful, and Benedict IV crowned him emperor in February, 901. He was surprised, however, at Verona, in July, 905, by Berengar and his Bavarian sympathisers, was blinded, and died long afterwards in Arles (September, 928). Upon his removal Berengar I found a third opponent in 921 in the person of Rudolf II of upper Burgundy. Rudolf secured the supremacy in 923, but was obliged to share the favour of the nobles after 926 with Hugo of Provence (a grandson of Lothar II and of Waldrada, who was not recognised; p. 312), that is to say, with a Carolingian. The treaty of 933 left Hugo in possession of Italy, while he also succeeded in securing the inheritance of Lewis II after his death; Rudolf received lower Burgundy and retained upper Burgundy. Germany during this period was chiefly occupied with her own concerns and with the Magyars; it seemed as if she had entirely forgotten her connection with the south.

Through King Hugo we make a closer acquaintance with the papacy, the corruption of which was then absolutely unparalleled; the infamous Mariuccia or Marozia (see lower part of genealogical table) taking him as her third husband. In 906 she had been the mother of the later Pope John XI (931–933, d. 936) by Pope Sergius III (897–898 and 904–911), the restorer of the Lateran Basilica. This Roman woman, who combined the rôles of ruling princess and concubine, and was the daughter of an equally degenerate mother, Theodora, had married as her first husband the Margrave Alberic I of Tusculum (Camerino), and had presented him with a son of the same name. This Alberic II objected to his mother's third marriage, drove out Hugo of Provence in 932, and exercised unlimited and despotic power over Rome until 954, in this respect prefiguring certain figures of the Italian

[1] Wido II, 870 count of Camerino, 882 duke of Spoleto, king of the west Franks in the spring of 888, emperor February 21, 891, † 894; married Angiltrud (who defended Rome in 896).
Lambert, joint king 891, joint emperor April, 892, sole emperor 894, † October 15, 898.

renaissance. It must be remembered that we are now in the "iron" centuries. Ranke felt himself with good reason reminded by Alberic of the position of an Amir al-umara as compared with the Caliph (Vol. III, p. 342).

The power of Hugo came to an end before Rome, and was soon to be limited from the north. Beranger of Ivrea was the son-in-law of his brother Boso of Arles and Tuscany, and a grandson of Berengar of Friaul through his mother Gisela (cf. the upper half of the genealogical table), and consequently great-great grandson of Lewis the Pious. He had fled to Germany in 941 to escape the treacherous Hugo, and had done homage to King Otto I. Two and a half months later he was able to return, and was received with joy by the nobles, who were disgusted by Hugo's cruel severity. The king was hard pressed and withdrew to Arles in 946, while his son Lothar III, who had been co-regent since 931, was allowed to act as nominal ruler until his death (November 22, 950). The path was thus clear for Berengar II, who had been crowned with his son Adalbert. But the settlement was rather apparent than real. A more powerful character was even then approaching who was to reorganise and consolidate the affairs of Italy.

3. THE GERMAN SUPREMACY (951 TO 1266)

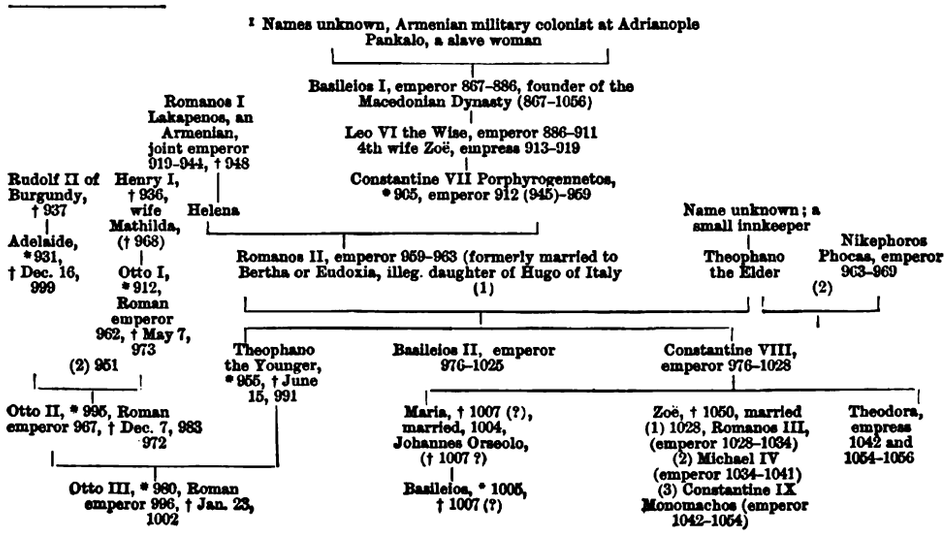
A. THE OTTOS AND THE FIRST SALIANS

THOUGH since the year 875 election had been the habitual method of imperial appointment, the theory of the hereditary rights of the dynasty, formulated in the Carolingian period, had never become extinct, and formed the basis of the emperor's supremacy. Evidence of this fact is found not only in many secret transactions upon the occasion of a change of rulers and the repetition of the elections, but also in the fact that King Adalbert became a suitor for the hand of Lothar's widow, Adelaide. After his rejection she did not resign her claims to the crown, but combined legal possession of the Italian kingdom with prospects of securing Burgundy, and accepted the strong hand of the Saxon Otto I, who thus secured an indisputable claim to Italy. His first entry into Italy occurred in the sixteenth year of his rule in east Francia. At first his authority was by no means uniformly extended. In 956 his son Liudolf (possibly crowned at Parma in May; d. 957) was obliged to advance against Berengar, who had been invested with Italy in August, 952 (not including Istria, Aquileia, Trient, and Verona). For the moment the powerful Alberic II opposed his entry into Rome. After Alberic's death in 954, when Germany had been pacified and its eastern frontier secured, Otto was able to pay closer attention to those Italian problems awaiting his solution. This process began by his second journey to Italy in the winter of 961–962, which gave to central Europe a second Charles the Great on February 2 (cf. above, p. 88). In 936 John XII, the son of Alberic, was deposed by the new emperor, as also was Benedict V in 964, while in 963 and 964 Leo VIII was raised to the papacy, and John XIII in 965 and 967. Compelled to surrender in the mountain fortress of St. Leo or Montefeltro in 964, Berengar II died in Bamberg in 966; Queen Willa took the veil; and Adalbert (died between 971–975; cf. p. 93) was driven into exile, with his brothers and sisters. Thus almost the

last offshoots of the Carolingian dynasty in Italy became extinct. Capua, Benevento, and Salerno submitted to the Saxon emperor, and only the extreme south remained Byzantine and Arab.

The connection between the cold north and the warm south became steadily closer. Otto II, the son of Otto and Adelaide, who had been joint emperor from 967, married in 972 the Greek princess Theophano, a member of the Macedonian dynasty, which was not altogether distinguished by greatness of descent.[1] The centre of interest and inclination was thus transferred towards the south, and even more definitely so in 983, when Otto III ascended the German throne at the age of three years. Apart from all other attraction, the influence of two previous generations will suffice to explain the enormous influence which Italy exercised upon the history of Germany from the close of the tenth century. As to the extent to which the south was connected with German history, not only then but for a long period afterwards, we may confidently refer to page 89. Here we can merely develop and extend our consideration of those movements which were temporarily or entirely Italian, and which lie outside the limits of the account of the east Frankish empire provided by the earlier section. The fact is in any case worthy of remark that King Otto III, when he made his youthful relation Bruno (cf. note to p. 90) Pope, with the title of Gregory V, placed the first German upon the papal throne (p. 234, above). This was done from the point of view of Carolingian and Ottonian imperial theory, which regarded the Pope as nothing more than the first officer of the Church. The Crescentius (cf. the lower part of genealogical table facing page 314), who opposed the emperor in the person of his protégé, paid for his attempt by a dishonourable death at the end of April, 998.

The end of the first Christian millennium was now at hand. In comparison with the state of affairs in 890 (cf. above, p. 313), the position had considerably altered, notwithstanding the shortness of the intervening time. It is not to be supposed that the Chiliast doctrine, which predicted the end of the world for the

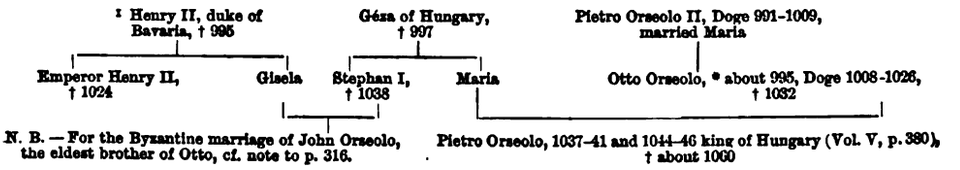


year 1000, had met with any general acceptance. Outside the narrow circles of Otto III, Boleslav I Chabri, and Vladimir of Kief, the doctrine met with few adherents and was probably but little known. The architectural activity of Venice at that time is an argument against its wide acceptance. But the relations of the various leading powers in Italy had undergone many modifications.

The first point which strikes us is the strong revival of the Byzantine power in the south. The Saracen advance had been checked between 850 and 870 only by Lewis II, and had been shattered after his death entirely by the tenacious resistance of the Byzantine garrisons. About the year 890 the Arabs were expelled from Calabria and Apulia, and in 915 these triumphs of Christianity were crowned by the splendid victory on the Garigliano. The supremacy of the emperor of east Rome extended once more over the thrones of Salerno, Naples, and Capua, including Benevento, and the rulers were no longer changed with the former astonishing rapidity. Only a few isolated communities were able to retain their independence beyond the outset of the eleventh century, under favourable political circumstances and through the advantage of geographical position. A case in point is Amalfi, which had left the eastern empire without a struggle in 839, and had become a republic at that date and a family duchy in 958. Apart from the raids upon the coasts and islands, which never entirely ceased, and apart from the occasional incursions of the Magyars, it may be said the interior of the south was almost entirely pacified in the tenth century. The monasteries of Monte Cassino and of San Vincenzo on the Volturno rose once more from their ruins, and once again the disruption of the feudal states (p. 309) was checked. On one point, however, uncertainty still remained: the Pandulfs of Capua and the Waimars of Salerno considered that their revived independence might enable them to dispense with the eastern emperor, while the Byzantine Strategi regarded that ancient Lombard principality as really belonging to the Themes (or provinces) of "Longibardia" and "Calabria." There was naturally no definite delimitation of the frontier line. In other respects much mutual consideration was shown, and the diplomacy of Byzantium was sufficiently far-sighted to spare the Lombard and Roman nationalities. The advantage of this policy was seen in the fact that even when the opportunity appeared most favourable for secession (as in 1010 and 1017) the south Italian towns were not to be seduced from their allegiance, or induced to throw open their gates to insurgents or Normans (on this point cf. below, p. 319). Northern Calabria on the lower reaches of the Crati, and southern and eastern Lucania (Potenza), were so penetrated with the spirit of Greek imperialism that they appeared in the twelfth century by the name "Basilicata" (*βασιλεύς*, the usual imperial title). The original substratum of the population in these districts remained Greek, and the proud edifice of Norman rule, which left the local constitutions untouched, merely replaced the imperial governor, and is only to be understood by keeping this basis in mind. If the enormous influences which moulded southern Italy in the middle ages be placed in due gradation, the series will appear as follows. At the head stand the Byzantine and Norman influences, which were followed by the Roman (in legal matters), the Lombard, and Frank, while last of all comes the Arab influence, which ended for Sicily in 1072. Striking evidence for these facts is afforded by the history of Christian art in lower Italy, which was materially enriched by Greek and Eastern influences during the second half of the eleventh century.

After the extinction of the warlike Candiani, who provided four Doges for Venice between 932 and 979, this city reached the culmination of its remarkable course of development about the year 1000. Its restricted territory and its geographical situation directed the efforts of Venice to the sea and to foreign countries; and for the successful conduct of this difficult policy an almost monarchical government seemed peculiarly appropriate. The family of the highly talented Doge Pietro Orseolo II (991–1009) was considered as their equal by the most distinguished dynasties of Europe.[1] Great prestige was gained by the victorious expedition against the Croatian king Dircislav in the year 1000 (cf. Vol. V, p. 288). The war and commercial fleets of the Venetians were never so powerful as then, and Greek models and patterns were as unmistakably followed here as in the reconstruction of the Basilica of San Marco, begun by the father of Pietro, of the same name (Doge from 976 to 978). Together with Venice, the commercial cities of Genoa and Pisa began about this time to break away from the counts of Este and the Italian kings, who were unable to protect them against the Saracens of Corsica and Sardinia, so that they felt the necessity for independent measures of defence. The first real success of these efforts was the joint victory gained over the Arabs of Sardinia in 1015 and 1016. During the period of rivalry which then followed, Pisa retained the preponderance during some decades (p. 324).

Throughout the rest of the empire the feudal system was now in its maturity, and had assumed an unwonted ecclesiastical character in consequence of the preference shown by the Ottos for the bishops (p. 87). This conscious co-operation of the government with the most distinguished clergy as the higher officials of the empire bore golden fruit immediately after the death of Otto III (January 23, 1002). Thereupon the nobles of Lombardy, inspired by hatred of Germany, or, in other words, by a spirit of nationalism, crowned the Margrave Arduin of Ivrea, who had been outlawed in 999, as king in Pavia on February 15 (see genealogical table facing p. 314). At the earnest representations of the clergy, King Henry II, the Saint, crossed the Alps in 1004, and was elected and crowned king on May 14. His triumph was not of long duration, and a second Italian campaign became necessary at the end of 1013. After some short enjoyment of his success, Arduin was forced to yield in the summer of 1014, and died in the monastery of San Benigno at Fruttuaria on December 14, 1015; he was the last native king of Italy for a long time to come (for the temporary candidature of William of Aquitania in 1024–1025, see the table facing p. 314). On the other hand, the power which a mutinous ecclesiastical vassal could acquire under certain circumstances is proved by the defiant attitude of the proud archbishop Aribert towards the emperor Conrad II (1037–1038); during his time Milan began to realise its own power. To these days of confusion belongs the famous *Edictum de beneficiis* of May 28, 1027, also known as the *Constitutio de feudis*, by which the mediate fiefs of smaller "Valvassors" not immediately dependent upon the king were expressly made hereditary from father to son and from brother to brother. By this means



the importance of the feudal lords (*milites primi, capitanei*), who had grown too strong and had presumed upon the number of secondary vassals formerly dependent upon themselves and now transferred to the Crown, was reduced in favour of a stronger governmental power.

B. The Normans to the Reign of King Roger II

These changes are, however, unimportant in comparison with the strong influence which was exercised not only upon Italy, but upon the whole of central and western Europe, in the wider and final sense of the phrase (cf. p. 358), by the appearance of the Normans in southern Italy (1017). In itself, and considered from a purely geographical point of view, the change which the Byzantine south suffered as a consequence of the Norman attacks was by no means so extraordinarily decisive as is usually supposed (cf. p. 317). At the same time it remains one of the most important events in the mediæval history of Italy. Ranke regards it as no less important than the simultaneous invasion of the Turkish Seljuks in Iran (cf. Vol. III, p. 343). It was an important change, for the reason that the Norman invasion implied the entrance of a new member among the varied number of Italian powers, and of one which threatened unusual dangers, first to the Lombards, to Amalfi, and other city states, then to the Pope, and finally to the emperor.

So late as 1022 Henry II had conducted a successful campaign, on the occasion of his third journey to Rome, against the Greeks in Apulia, against whom he had been summoned by Pope Benedict VIII (1012–1024; formerly Theophylactus of the family of the counts of Tusculum), whose nationalism had been already tested in Sardinia in 1016. In April, 1027, his successor, Conrad II, who had been crowned in Milan at the end of March, 1026, easily reasserted the rights of the western empire over lower Italy. Even at that day those germs existed which, though invisible for the moment, were speedily to prove a devouring plague. The Lombard Prince Pandulf IV of Capua, who had formerly been taken to Germany in captivity by Henry II, had been sent home by Conrad II, and had recovered his supremacy over lower Italy within a short period. About 1035 this ruler advised the widowed duchess Maria of Amalfi to marry her daughter to the Norman Rainulf, and to invest this chieftain with the "Terra di Lavoro;" here he was settled in 1029 by the Byzantine duke (*magister militum*) Sergius IV of Naples, and in 1030 founded the fortress town of Aversa. By this means the connection of this new neighbour with Byzantium was intentionally weakened; on the other hand, the position prepared for the Normans by the Lombards proved too advantageous to admit any possibility of voluntary retirement.

Other circumstances also favoured the Normans who had thus established themselves at this point in the south. At that moment the Lombards were weakened by mutual quarrels; in 1038 the emperor Conrad replaced Pandulf of Capua by Waimar IV of Salerno, who also conferred Aversa as a fief upon Count Rainulf with the emperor's permission. After the murder of Waimar, on June 2 or 3, 1052, the Normans strengthened their position by giving help to his son Gisulf II, who was aiming at the succession. This ruler was speedily hard pressed by Richard of Aversa, and was eventually forced to conclude peace with Amalfi in 1057, and to recognise the independence of that state merely in order to keep the

Normans in check; on June 18, 1053, they had already defeated and captured Pope Leo IX at Civitate in northern Apulia. The impolitic aggression of Gisulf drove Amalfi at the end of 1073 into the arms of the Norman leader, Robert Guiscard, the most capable of the twelve sons of Tancred of Hauteville; he conquered Calabria, became count of Apulia in 1057, and assumed the title of "duke" in 1059 with the consent of Pope Nicholas II. In 1071 Bari was wrested from the Byzantines, who had held it since 876; in 1074–1075 followed the Norman subjugation of Calabria, and on December 13, 1076, Gisulf of Salerno surrendered in person to his ruthless brother-in-law. When Landolf IV of Benevento was gathered to his fathers on November 27, 1077, the Lombard kingdom in lower Italy, which had survived the fall of its northern counterpart for fully three centuries, came to an end. The complete victory gained by the closely consolidated Norman state was crowned by the agreement which Pope Gregory VII was forced to conclude on June 29, 1080, with Robert Guiscard at Ceperano. It was only upon the far side of the Adriatic that the ambitious king was unable to secure his objects; his designs upon Albania, which even at the present day is in a certain connection with southern Italy (cf. Vol. V, p. 225), were shattered by the defeat of Alexios at Durazzo in 1081. On January 17, 1085, this crafty leader died at Porto Phiscardo in Cephallenia without securing any tangible result.

In another direction, however, a highly desirable extension of the frontier had been secured. Robert's youngest brother Roger was dissatisfied with the position assigned to him in the southernmost part of Calabria; in 1061 he was invited to help the Arab ibn Timnah, who was unable to make head against the Normans at Castrogiovanni, and proceeded to begin the conquest of Sicily. In this island there were no inhabitants likely to oppose his action, and practically no feudal lords to interfere with his claims; the subjugation of the Mohammedans would secure the favour of heaven, and when completed by a system of religious and legal toleration, almost modern in its generosity and extraordinarily far-sighted for that time, would make it possible to extend a strong and uniform government over the subjugated population, which included numerous Jews, and to make them loyal subjects. The theory is clearly obvious in the exceptional position which Count Roger I was able to secure, without any quarrel about investitures, on July 5, 1098, from Pope Urban II, who also granted him the highly important ecclesiastical dignity of apostolic legate for Sicily.

The monarchy of Sicily thus promised well for the future, and after the death of its founder on June 22, 1101, his place was taken by a yet greater successor; this was Roger II, born so late as 1095, the second son of Roger I by his third wife, Adelasia, a niece of Count Boniface I of Vasto, who belonged to the northwestern Italian family of the Ale(d)ramids (cf. the upper part of the table facing page 314). His was a long reign; though he died on February 26, 1154, he ruled independently from 1112, and from September 27, 1130, as "King of Sicily, Calabria, and Apulia, Prince of Capua, Lord of Naples and Benevento." To be strictly accurate, Malta should be added to this list; for from 1090 it formed part of the Sicilian Empire until its occupation by the Knights of Saint John in 1530. The work which his father had begun, the stern repression of the barons and the organisation of a uniform bureaucratic government, was completed by Roger II. Thus in the island of Sicily, and extending thence to lower Italy, we find the beginning of a policy which overpowered the feudal system at a time when feudalism gave no

rest to continental Italy notwithstanding Conrad's *Edictum de beneficiis*. In this respect also the Norman supremacy marks the entrance of a new element into Italian history. Cold and hard, cunning, prudent, and experienced, such was the character of this Norman who appears to us as a romance product, or southern modification of that Teutonic spirit which was coming to the front elsewhere; he is, as it were, the prototype of a Maurice of Saxony or of a Wallenstein. For his favouritism of intellectual Mohammedans, his liking for the great geographer Edrisi, his central position between the west and east, his extensive revival of old Byzantine and Arab art and science, Roger II may be compared with the great Hohenstauffen, Frederick II. A splendid example of the hybrid civilization which he promoted may still be admired in the Cappella Palatina in the castle of Palermo, which was consecrated on June 9, 1140, and in point of time and construction is a worthy counterpart to the brilliant mosaic of the cathedral of Monreale. This king was not merely *primus inter pares;* he was no mere prince who might be submerged by the baronial class which separated the crown and the nation, leaving no trace behind, but a supreme monarch, who did for Sicily and southern Italy what Louis XI did for France. The bold adventurer of former times was now replaced by the clever diplomatist and by the restless but systematic statesman. The Norman intruder, who had struggled to secure a footing, and with difficulty had retained some few stations on the coast, had become a rich and powerful lord for whose favour popes and kings were rivals.

Roger, however, was too far in advance of his age for the creation of his genius to outlast his death. Before the modification of social customs and of religious faiths was able to produce an amalgamation of the Sicilian peoples, racial opposition overthrew the whole edifice (cf. below, p. 329). In this many-coloured fabric the warp of nationalism was too weak, and that degree of settlement which guarantees progress was never secured, notwithstanding the initial promise of prosperity. Thus the Normans of southern Italy add yet one more to the number of these Teutonic hordes which have perished in the land of the olives.

C. The Investiture Quarrel

Lower Italy and Sicily had been united from 1061 to 1072 under conquerors of the same race and under the government of one sole ruler from 1127, and had developed with surprising rapidity into the most powerful state which had been seen in Italy during those centuries; meanwhile the centre and north of the country had been advancing in wholly different directions. Under Pope Benedict IX (1033–1044, 1045–1046, and 1047–1048; cf. p. 235) it seemed as if the Curia would never rise from the depth to which it had fallen; it owed its salvation solely to the German, Henry III, and was able a generation later to triumph over his son (cf. p. 96, with the plate facing that page, "Canossa"). Anton E. Schönbach is thus far correct when he calls the papacy a Teutonic creation. It was the complete subordination of the papal to the imperial power in the middle of the eleventh century which broke the tyranny of the degenerate Roman nobles and fostered or facilitated the moral revival of the papacy.

At the same time was revived the papal claim to complete independence of all secular power, a claim now advanced with new meaning. The capacity and far-sightedness of such Popes as Leo IX (1048–1054; formerly Bruno of Dagsburg, at

Egisheim in Alsace), Nicholas II (1058–1061), Alexander II (1061–1073), and Gregory VII (1073–1085; see the plate facing page 240) secured the abolition of simony and other abuses, brought about the breach with Byzantium (Vol. V, p. 89), which could only increase the prestige of the Roman bishop as sole head of the Western Church, passed the decree concerning the papal election in 1059 which replaced the changing influence of the Roman people, nobles, and emperor by that of the more reliable body of cardinals, and eventually secured a complete theocracy. These doctrinal developments represented the apostle of God upon earth as a supreme feudal lord to whom all believers in possession of ecclesiastical or secular property owed obedience; it is a precise reversal of the theory and of the practical situation which existed under Charles the Great and the Ottos. The clergy were brought into closer dependence on the Pope by the oath of fidelity and the obligation to celibacy, which loosened their connection with the family and the secular state; in the universal state of the Church they were to be what the Rogers were then making the Sicilians, namely, a bureaucracy. Obviously if this goal was ever to be attained it was necessary to abolish the conflicting right of the emperor and of his greater vassals to institute bishops and abbots and to invest them with the ring and staff. The struggle upon this point forms the content of the investiture quarrel. This spiritual war was not ended by the conventions of February and April, 1111, and of October, 1119, or by the concordat of Worms in 1122, which was in close documentary and legal connection with those conventions (pp. 99 and 240); none the less the concordat was recognised as a binding contract by both parties, and as such was supposed to form a permanent principle of imperial and ecclesiastical government. It was impossible for the Church to abide by the compromise which the cleverness of the emperor Henry V had provided, unless she were willing to surrender all prospect of realising the ambitions of Gregory, and to face that possibility of sacrificing her own existence which the course of events rendered probable. Hence Pope Innocent III turned the favourable situation to the best advantage, and on July 13, 1213, obliged the young Frederick II to renounce his right of interference in episcopal elections,—a right which the Curia considered had been misused since 1139.

D. The Communes between the Outset of the Twelfth and the Close of the Thirteenth Century

This great revival of the papal power was further strengthened about 1078, and on Nov. 17, 1102, by the magnificent legacy of the Countess Matilda of Tuscany,[1]

[1] Thedald, count of Canossa, Reggio, Modena, Mantua, Brescia (with Cremona), and Ferrara, † about 1015
married Willa († before 1007)

Thedald, bishop of Arezzo about 1020 — Boniface, sole count, also invested with Tuscany, † May 6, 1052 — Conrad, † July 15, 1030

1010–1015: married (1) Richilda, countess palatine of Bergamo
1037: (2) Beatrice of Lorraine (she took Godfrey the Bearded of Lorraine as second husband in 1054; † April 18, 1076; cf. p. 96

(2) Frederick or Boniface, † 1055 — (2) Beatrice † 1053 — (2) Mathilda, * 1046, heiress to the counties of Reggio, Modena, Mantua, Brescia (without Cremona), Ferrara, and Tuscany, owner of private estates and fiefs in Lorraine, in the counties of Verona, Bologna, Lucca, Pisa, Parma, and Perugia (see the map to Alfred Overmann's "Gräfin Mathilde," Innsbrück, 1895)

End of 1069 (?): married (1) Godfrey III the Hunchback of Lorraine (to the autumn of 1071; † February 26, 1076)
1089: (2) Welf of Bavaria (* 1072; separated from Mathilda in the spring of 1095; † 1119).

(1) Son, * and † 1071 — (adopted autumn of 1099) Guido Guerra, count in Tuscany

which provided a desirable, though soon disputed, secular support; as might be expected, the new power exercised an indisputable influence upon the relations of the German emperor with that part of upper Italy which was not under the Pope, or, more exactly, was outside the States of the Church. Apart from all other considerations, it must be noticed that in strict nationalist circles the imperial power of the Germans produced the bad impression of a foreign supremacy; moreover, since popes of Germanic nationality had no longer been chosen, the chair of St. Peter had been occupied for the most part by Italians or Romans, and in consequence the papacy was regarded by the natives as the natural representative of their interests. So recently as 1859 the idea of an Italian federation, with the Pope at its head, showed some prospect of realisation (cf. Vol. VIII, p. 257). The place of a shattered and disorganised state was taken by the free communes about 1100. Especially in the department of judicial administration we find at an early period those members of the community who were prominent by birth, position, or wealth distinguished by the title of "*nobiles*" or "*majores*," "*tribuni*," "*primates*," or "*judices*," "*fideles*" or "*sapientes*," "*boni homines*" or "*homines idonei*;" they secured an increasing importance in course of time; from 1100 onwards, and somewhat earlier in the valley of the Po than in Tuscany, there arose the institution of the consulate. The resolutions of the imperial diet of Roncaglia in 1158 (p. 103) were strongly opposed to this highly inconvenient innovation, but after the defeat of Legnano in 1176 they were almost entirely annulled by the treaties of Venice and Constance (1177 and 1183); only the imperial investiture of the consuls betrayed the continuance of the old imperial supremacy. In the second half of the twelfth century (1151 in Bologna, Ferrara, Siena; 1176 in Parma; 1190 in Genoa) the position of the consuls was taken by the Podestà, the supreme official of the commune, who was summoned in every case from without; upon his entry into office he swore to observe the municipal statutes (the first printed copies of which are some of the finest extant incunabula), concentrated in his own power various functions which had previously been in different hands, and became in particular supreme judge and leader in war.

Prosperity was by no means impossible under papal government, as is, for instance, shown by the rapid rise of Benevento to the position of a city state after the time when it came under the Pope's supremacy upon the extinction of its Lombard ducal family. In the north, also, the position of those towns which were but loosely dependent upon the States of the Church, or had shaken off the burdensome rule of their episcopal counts, developed to no less advantage. Freedom, indeed, in this quarter eventually reached a far more brilliant development than in the south, which from 1130 onwards was systematically subjugated by the Norman monarchs, and commercially outstripped by Venice, Pisa, and Genoa. The impulse to town independence was never so violently opposed by the Curia as by the more powerful German emperors to the time of Henry VI. Consequently the good relations subsisting between the Pope and the towns speedily proved to the advantage of either party; the Pope had a strong protecting force at his service, and the towns could develop as they pleased. Hence arises the heroic period of the Verona federation of 1164 and the Lombard federation of 1167, which, among other points, was so important for the military training of the infantry gathered about its Carroccio. The party which suffered under that arrangement was the empire, notwithstanding some transitory successes, such as the subjugation of

Chieri, Asti, and Tortona in 1155, the destruction of the defiant Spoleto in 1155, and the overthrow of Crema in 1160, Milan, Brescia, and Piacenza in 1162 by Frederick I Barbarossa; this was chiefly due to the fact that the empire was unable to amalgamate the rising power of the German towns with that of the state (p. 110).

This special grouping and attitude of the great powers merely enabled Italy to survive some centuries, but could not prevent her eventual disruption, and the inevitable weakness which resulted. Those neighbours, indeed, who might have turned this weakness to their own account were too entirely occupied with their own affairs. Moreover, the participation of their ruling classes in the Crusades forbade any interference or expansion at home; the interests of the Christian nations of the west were for many centuries attracted to the east. Thus upon this side no danger was to be feared for a long period; on the contrary, the task of transporting the numerous forces of the Crusades proved a profitable commercial enterprise, and largely increased the prosperity of the more important coast towns affected by the movement.

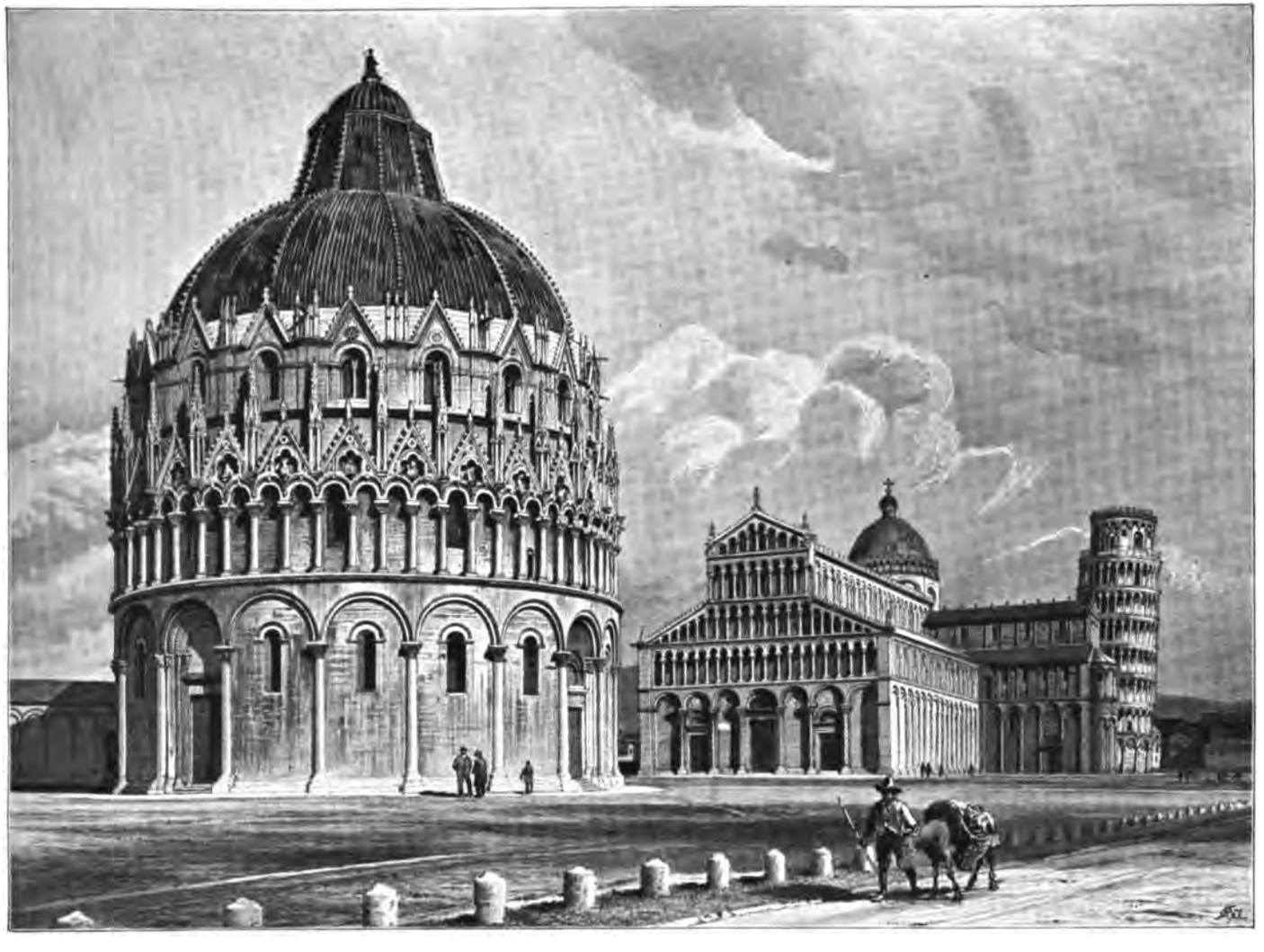
During the centuries in which the greater part of the Mediterranean trade belonging to such harbours in lower Italy as Bari and Amalfi was transferred to the north for general or local reasons, Venice, Pisa, and Genoa became predominant over the other towns. Venice had been ruled by a Doge, an office which had almost become hereditary, until the final overthrow of the Orseoli (1032) gradually introduced an oligarchical government; eventually the oligarchy of the *Comune Venetiarum* was definitely founded by the constitutional oath of the Doge Domenico Morosini of 1148, and was finally completed by the undertaking given by Giocomo Tiepolo upon his entry to office in 1229. So early as the close of the eleventh century Venice displayed a principle of division, remarkable at that period, between church and state, which was expressed in the phrase "religion is a private matter, but one of serious import;" five hundred years later this separation was to find its proudest expression in the invincible defiance of the Servite Paoli Sarpi (1552–1623) to Pope Paul V (1605–1621). Venice was recognised as mistress of the Adriatic even by the Normans in 1154 and 1157, and availed herself of that great piratical expedition, generally known as the Fourth Crusade, to secure an extensive colonial empire in 1204 in the Ægean Sea (cf. Vol. V, pp. 99 and 104). From the outset the Venetian merchant had been anxious to grow rich by means of trade and commercial profit, but the attainment of this object was only made possible by extending the limits within which his mercantile activity could operate. Throughout the habitable globe no one was able to develop his activities and increase his prosperity with greater freedom than the commercial Venetian.

For a considerable period Pisa had shared the fate of Adria, Amalfi, Aquileia, Metapontam, Ravenna, and many other towns upon the coast. This was due to unfavourable political conditions, and to a shifting of the coast line, which greatly reduced the value of the harbours. When the Arno ran a shorter course and entered the sea at a different point than in modern times, ships of considerable size could sail up stream as far as Pisa. The pennon of Pisa pointed to bold seafarers the road to victory over the Saracens, as far as Corsica and Sardinia, the Balearic Isles and North Africa. In 1063 rich booty had been secured by a raid upon Palermo, and the produce was employed in extending with magnificent splendour the cathedral which had been begun in 1006. This became the model of many cupola-basilicas, which are evidence of an ancient art once more revived (see the plate

THE BAPTISTRY, THE CATHEDRAL, AND LEANING TOWER OF PISA

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATE OVERLEAF

On the north-west end of Pisa, hard by the city walls, and retired from the noise of daily traffic, upon the wide and lonely plain of the cathedral square, stand in solemn silence those buildings to which the town owes its celebrity. In the foreground, on the left, we observe the baptistry, the outer foundations of which were laid in the year 1153. This noble building, in strict basilica form, underwent various alterations in the course of years, until the dome was crowned by a cupola in the fifteenth century, on which rises the bronze statue of St. John the Baptist. The interior contains the marble pulpit of Niccolò Pisano of 1260, a monument of high importance in the history of art. Opposite to the baptistry is the main front of the cathedral. This marvellous basilica in its restored form was begun in 1006, and magnificently enlarged in 1063; it is composed of the above-mentioned front, the nave and the cupola, and is, from the arrangement of its parts, a landmark in the history of mediæval ecclesiastical architecture. In the side doorway on the right of the nave is the old bronze door of 1180, while the choir contains the great mosaic by Cimabue of the year 1302; behind the pulpit is the beautiful St. Agnes of Andrea del Sarto. Behind the cathedral stands, entirely apart, the famous leaning tower, a campanile begun in 1174. A marble staircase rising through eight stories, and composed of 332 stairs, brings the visitor out upon a corridor in which hang seven bells. The highest point of the axis leans to the south 4·3 metres out of the perpendicular; the most southern point of the upper parapet is 80 centimetres below the most northern point. Galileo Galilei used the leaning tower for experiments upon falling bodies. To the north of the cathedral, not visible in our picture, lies the Campo Santo of Pisa, the cemetery with its famous frescoes; here in the western corridor is the sarcophagus of the German Emperor, Henry VII.



THE BAPTISTRY, CATHEDRAL, AND LEANING TOWER OF PISA

(Drawn by O. Schulz from a photograph)

facing this page, "the Baptistery, the Cathedral, and the Leaning Tower of Pisa"). During the years 1153–1154 the foundation of the outer and inner circuit of the noble baptistery was laid, and twenty years later the building of the tower was begun, which gradually sank towards the south, but by a clever device of compensation was raised to a height of fifty-five metres. Lastly the construction of the Campo Santo, begun in the famous northwest corner of Pisa between 1278 and 1282, betokens both in point of time and fact the memorable conclusion of the heroic period of this highly religious commercial republic.

In the meantime, notwithstanding an obstinate resistance, Pisa had been outstripped by Genoa. The rise of this town is certainly to be dated from the vigorous impulse to prosperity given by the Crusades (cf. p. 360). At first, by means of an alliance with Pisa for the war against the infidels in the western Mediterranean, Genoa attempted to avoid the obligations which the powerful town on the Arno did not hesitate to lay upon a rival whose progress had aroused her jealousy; but neither during the years between 1070 and 1080 nor during the period from 1110 to 1120 was Genoa able entirely to shake off the yoke of Pisa. However, in 1133 the latter town lost half of her influence upon Corsica, which was really papal territory, and in 1175 a quarter of her dominions in Sardinia. Finally, upon August 6, 1284, the battle off the island of Meloria decided the preponderance of Genoa (which was then under the uniform leadership (1270–1291) of two Ghibelline "*capitani*") over Pisa, which was also for the most part a Ghibelline town, but was too deeply entangled in the faction quarrels of Tuscany, and was therefore losing her maritime power. After the year 1261 Genoa was able to expand successfully in the Greek east, a possibility provided and secured by the victory of Meloria (cf. Vol. VII, p. 7), and thus came into conflict with Venice, which had been firmly established in that region after the advantageous Golden Bull of 1082 and the Fourth Crusade; this conflict of interests caused continual friction, and did not end until 1381 (p. 337).

The rising prosperity of the three great commercial towns during the eleventh century naturally exercised a stimulating influence upon the aspirations of other city states. We find, indeed, the inland town now assuming that preponderance which the maritime town had previously claimed. Though her extensive seaboard appears to offer every advantage to maritime communication, Italy at that period does not seem to have produced an essentially maritime nation. Of her general area seventeen and five-tenths per cent is island territory; but even though the importance of Sicily be very highly estimated, the influence of the sea upon Italian history is by no means so obvious as the conditions would lead us to expect. In the case of Denmark or England, the surrounding water is the striking feature, but in Italy attention is attracted by the products of the soil. The connection with central Europe overpowers the attraction to the Mediterranean, and from the age of the communes this influence grows steadily stronger. Italy displayed that result which invariably occurs upon the disruption or partition of the forces latent within a nation, which is from the outset not a uniform whole; numerous centres of civilization were simultaneously formed, and almost every one of them proved surprisingly successful. If to these influences be added the Italian climate and the atmospheric conditions of the south, there can be no surprise at the fact that during those centuries, so barren of political result, art was able to develop and to produce achievements which could stimulate and delight the fourteenth and fifteenth cen-

turies. "It is at any rate certain that, apart from the native instincts of the race, soil and climate, together with food and occupation, contribute to the completion of national character" (Goethe, on April 2, 1829). Apart from Petrarch, how many celebrities have been produced by the bright and cheerful Apennine town of Arezzo, notwithstanding, or perhaps on account of, its thin, pure air? How entirely harmonious is the intellectual clarity visible in the masterpieces in the Umbrian school of painters, with the beneficial seclusion of the town of Perugia! In colder latitudes the comforts and luxuries of civilization are invariably connected with an impetus to artistic performance, and much more was this the case in those favoured spots. The fact that Germany began her renaissance one hundred and fifty years later than Italy is due not merely to her less favourable climate, but also to the later rise of her commercial prosperity, and in some cases also to the slow increase of rents.

Notwithstanding the favours of fortune, the Italian towns from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries secured, as a general rule, no permanent political power; this fact is due not merely to the continual jealousies and feuds of the several communities, — for even the economic policy of the maritime town, with its comprehensive character, was modified by definite tendencies in favour of monopoly, — but in a specially high degree to the fact that political parties within individual towns were continually in violent conflict. It would be wrong to suppose that the policy of the more famous city republics was entirely uniform; such catchwords as "Ghibelline tendencies" or "a citadel of the Guelfs" may easily give rise to these erroneous views. On the contrary, in those districts of upper and central Italy which were generally under the power of the emperor, loyalty and fear of imperial interference gave an extraordinary impetus to the formation of domestic factions; "l'un l'altro si rode || di quei ch'un muro ed una fossa serra" is the complaint of Dante. There were indeed city fortresses, which were almost invariably in defiant revolt with gates closed to the traveller journeying towards Rome, either because they were attempting some theoretical revival of the early Roman tradition of freedom, or because they were essentially hostile to the imperial policy. But at least as great was the number of those in which an increasing minority succeeded within a few years in cutting off the majority from their resources and driving them out, themselves to suffer a similar fate in their turn after a certain lapse of time. "Two powers were always opposed in Italy, because in this country a party could easily be formed against any ruler" (Leo; cf. above, pp. 102 and 103). The Montecchi and the Cappelletti are not to be regarded as two families bitterly opposed to one another in the same town (Verona) as the Cappelletti belonged to Cremona; but this fact does not impair the correctness of the other view, that the development of such communities which might have achieved great results under a system of stern self-discipline was more often checked by their own social and family feuds than by wars with their neighbours. The guilds revolt against the nobility, the young generation against the old, and even within these groups we find a social line of demarcation which betokens discord. Thus the obstinate division into imperial and papal, into aristocratic and democratic republics, distorted and destroyed such unity as Henry III had secured in the northern half of Italy, and also prevented the formation of any permanent unity within the more important towns. Hence the history of Italy during these centuries is marked by the disadvantageous feature of disruption, notwithstanding

the heroic achievements of individual communities, and it is consequently impossible for a brief narrative to attempt any detailed account of the several stages of development.

Autonomous city government naturally did not possess precisely the same strength and permanence in every district of upper and central Italy. Indeed in isolated districts native or immigrant princes were able to maintain their ground; such were the powerful Aledramids in Piedmont (cf. table facing page 341), a family which had divided from the tenth century into the several branches of Sezzè, Albissola, Busca, and Ponzona of Vasto and of Montferrat (which on their side inherited the possessions of the dynasty of the Palaiologi[1] in 1305); other families of this kind were the counts of Turin (Susa), whose line began with Humbert White Hand of Maurienne, the counts of Savoy (cf. table facing page 314), and the Lombard Otbertini or Estensi, with their rich counties of Milan, Genoa, Tortona, Luni, Gavello, Padua (Este after the eleventh century), and Bobbio. More shortlived were the counts of Canossa (cf. the note to page 322), who secured the possessions of the Widoni of Tuscany about 1030. After the Emperor and Pope had fought for the valuable inheritance until 1120, these western portions passed to the greedy towns of Pistoia and Bologna, Mantua and Reggio, Modena and Lucca. All these counts (at that time the term was not official, but merely titulary) were able to bring into immediate dependence upon themselves all towns and districts which were dissatisfied with their state of tutelage under mesne vassals. By this means such districts were transferred from the feudal system and were incorporated in a petty state without further difficulty.

On the other hand, Rome repeatedly experienced dangerous revolts of the citizens against the papal power. The inspiring example of Lombard civic freedom induced the Romans, who had already been excited by various schisms, to entertain the project of restoring the old republic in the autumn of 1143. This successful attempt was met half way by the inflammatory preaching of Arnold of Brescia, whose powerful moral exhortations brought the capital to his feet after 1147 and enabled him to gain a remarkable triumph, both over the deceased Pope, Inno-

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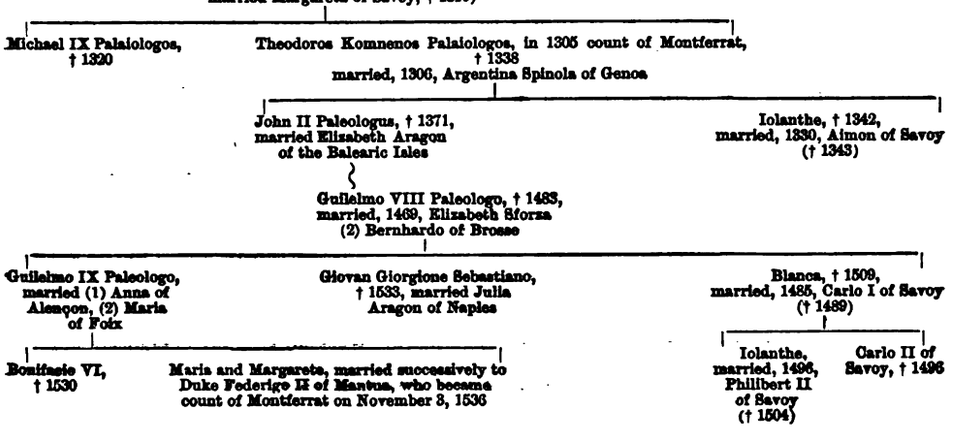
[1] The emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos, † 1332 (cf. Vol. V, p. 107); married Iolanthe of Montferrat, sister of the Aledramid John I († January 18, 1305; married Margareta of Savoy, † 1319)



cent II (1130–1143), his unfortunate opponent of 1139, and over the living Pope, Eugenius III (1145–1153); eventually in 1153 he was defeated by the tenacity of the Englishman Hadrian IV, who declined to abate any portion of his rights. Of less importance were the revolts against Alexander III, Lucius III (1180–1182), Gregory IX (1234–1235), and others. Throughout the years in which Rome was left to itself, during the Babylonish exile of the papacy (p. 254), the symptoms of decay are so plainly marked that the hopes of noble optimists, such as Dante Alighieri and Francesco Petrarch, who considered that, but for the Pope Rome might become the head of a new universal monarchy, were wholly nullified. The two violent persecutions begun in 1347 and 1354 by the "Tribune of the People," Cola di Rienzo, originally in the name of the Pope against the Roman nobility (the Colonna), eventually developed into grossest tyranny, fruitless of result.

E. The End of the Hohenstauffen Dynasty

At one time it had seemed as if civic freedom in upper and central Italy, hemmed in as it was both upon the north and south, was doomed to speedy destruction. It was the period when, in the midst of infinite confusion, the brilliant eldest son of the mighty Barbarossa, the Emperor Henry VI, succeeded in incorporating the deserted Norman Empire in lower Italy and Sicily. Basing his action upon indisputable hereditary right,[1] Henry did not shrink from the treacherous abandonment of Tusculum, a town loyal to the emperor (April, 1119), in order to secure the compliance of the vacillating Pope Celestine III; his hands would now have been free for the humiliation of Naples had not his action been checked by the devastations of the plague during the summer and by a conspiracy of his princes at home. This emperor, however, though not thirty years of age, inexorably pursued his object, and secured it, at the expense of some cruelty, in the course of the year 1194. In the meanwhile his cause was vigorously and tenaciously defended by the brave persistence of his wife, by Conrad of Lützelhard ("Musca in cervello"), by Diepold of Schweinspeunt (Vohburg), by the vigorous dean Adenulf of Monte Cassino, and others. These facts are recorded in Latin poem of Magister Petrus de Ebulo, with magnificent enthusiasm (see the plate facing this page, "The Emperor Henry VI at the Height of his Power"). That union of the German and lower Italian Sicilian

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[1] Roger II, † February 26, 1154, married
1, Elvira of Castile († February 6, 1135)
2, in 1149, Sibylla of Burgundy († September 19, 1151)
3, about 1152, Beatrice of Réthel (Retest; depart. Ardennes)

- (1) William I the Bad, king 1154-66 (joint king from April 8, 1151)
  - William II the Good, king 1166 to November 16, 1189, married Joanna of England
- (3) Constance, * 1154, † November 27, 1198; married, January 27, 1186, Henry (VI; p. 107)
  - Frederick, * December 26, 1194, at Jesi, near Ancona, † December 13, 1250, at Fiorentino, near Lucera
- (1) Roger, duke of Apulia from 1135, † May 2 1148; romantic connection with daughter of Robert of Lecce
  - Tancred of Lecce, built in 1180 the chapel of SS. Nicola and Cataldo in the Campo Santo before Lecce, Henry VI's opposition king 1190–February 20, 1194; married Sibylle of Acerra
    - Roger (III), † 1193, married, 1193, Irene of Byzantium (she married again 1197, with Philip of Suabia; cf. Vol. V, p. 98, † 1208)
    - William (III), king of Sicily 1194; end of 1194 to spring of 1195 prince of Tarentum
    - Three daughters

THE EMPEROR HENRY VI. AT THE HEIGHT OF HIS POWER

EXPLANATION OF THE MINIATURES OVERLEAF

From the manuscript of the Liber ad honorem Augusti, by Magister Peter of Eboli (near Salerno); this is the only existing copy of the manuscript, which was probably written and illustrated by the author himself in 1195 and 1196, and is now preserved in the town library of Berne.

Above: Richard Lion-Heart of England, a prisoner before the Emperor (Rex Anglie de morte Marchionis accusatur. Quod abnegans se ensiva manu excusaturum promittit. Tandem veniam petens liber absolvitur).

Richard Lion-Heart, on his return from the third Crusade, was recognised and detained by German soldiers, of which facts a picture is given on the page preceding our miniatures, where he appears mounted but unarmed and in pilgrim's dress. Brought before the Emperor Henry VI. and accused of the murder of Count Conrad of Montferrat, he offered to prove his innocence, sword in hand. He was afterwards pardoned on doing homage and paying a ransom; Richard is kissing the feet of Henry on his knees, while a servant holds the pilgrim's dress he has taken off.

Below: The Review of the Fleet and Army, commanded by the Imperial Commander, Markward of Annweiler (Potentissimus imperator Henricus stolium et exercitum fieri jubet).

On the left of the Emperor is the Fleet, commanded by Markward, denoted as Margrave and Seneschal (Marchesius Senescalcus). His coat of arms shows a red animal (a snake or a bird) on a yellow ground. On Henry's right are the heavily mailed infantry, the unmailed Bohemian archers (Boemii) and the Bavarian troops (Bawarienses), who are also unmailed, and carry cross-bows.

(From Eduard Winkelmann's Magister Petrus de Ebulo's Liber ad honorem Augusti)

kingdoms, which Italian nationalism feared and which German nationalism disliked, had now become an accomplished fact. The Duke of Spoleto at that time was Conrad of Urslingen; the Count of Ancona and Duke of the Romagna was the faithful High Steward, Markward of An(n)weiler, while the Duke of Tuscany and of the inheritance of Matilda (p. 322 *ad fin.*) was the emperor's brother Philip. Mediæval German history very rarely displayed a power so far-reaching and so centralised as that which belonged to the occupant of the imperial throne in the year 1195.

The more striking was the sudden collapse of this proud world-empire immediately after the death of Henry VI (1197). The process was begun by Constance, the queen widow, who received her empire as a fief from the Pope, and banished the Germans. In 1198 the powers of the apostolic legate, so inconvenient to the Curia, also disappeared (p. 320). So early as November, 1197, a federation was formed in Tuscany between Florence, Siena, Lucca, Volterra, Arezzo, Prato, and other towns. Ancona and Spoleto overthrew their masters in 1198. Alessandria, the name of which had been changed on March 14, 1183, to "Cæsarea," resumed the offensive name of 1168. To these facts was added the double election of March 8 and June 9, 1198, which shattered and paralysed the powers of Germany (p. 109). Pope Innocent III (1198–1216), in many respects an anticipation of Leo XIII, was precisely the man to turn this favourable situation to the best account (cf. p. 246 f.), though it must also be admitted that as guardian of the emperor's son, Frederick II, he administered his southern Italian inheritance upon disinterested principles. At the same time, fifty years of imperial government in upper Italy had so firmly rooted that institution, that the year 1210 seemed to reverse the position of 1197. However, with the Pope's help, Frederick II expelled the victorious Guelfs from 1212 onwards. The northern Italian towns were unable, as usual, to resolve upon any uniform policy, by reason of their mutual mistrust, and the opposition between the Guelfs and Ghibellines steadily increased (p. 326). The church state, in that expansion guaranteed in 1213 by the Golden Bull of Eger (p. 109), now again included Tuscany and the inheritance of Matilda, Spoleto and Ancona, Ravenna and the Pentapolis. The Curia was also the feudal superior of Sicily, which was under a strong monarchical government, connected with Germany only by personal union. Frederick II, however, transferred the centre of his wide activities to the south in the midsummer of 1220, and the struggle between the Pope and emperor was consequently renewed. Upon this occasion it was a struggle for life or death. Frederick showed great dexterity in turning to the best account the originally meagre support which the emperor had found among the towns in 1226, 1231, and 1236 (Bergamo, Cremona, [Genoa, Lucca,] Modena, Parma, Pavia, Pisa, Reggio, and Verona, which had been subject to Ezzelino IV da Romano since 1230). On November 27, 1237, at Cortenuova, between Crema and Bergamo, he succeeded in inflicting a complete defeat upon the hostile towns (Alessandria, Bologna, Brescia, Crema, Faenza, Milan, Novara, Piacenza, Vercelli, and also Venice). In 1238 he subjugated Tuscany, united Sardinia to his dynasty by the marriage of Enzio with Adelasia, and remained master of almost the whole of Italy until the death of Gregory IX (August 21, 1241), and even subsequently to the election of Innocent IV (June 25, 1243).

The Lombard question, however, cut off all hopes of any general pacification. The month of July, 1244, when the Pope retired from Rome and went to Lyons

by way of Genoa (pp. 111 and 202) marks the declension of the Hohenstauffen domination, which was unable to maintain its ground after the surprise of Parma in June, 1247, though it offered a bold resistance and secured isolated successes. "Stravit inimicum Christi colubrum Federicum" ("He crushed the enemy of Christ, the serpent Frederick") is the inscription upon the tomb of Innocent in the cathedral of Naples. After the premature death by fever of King Conrad IV, who had overpowered Capua and Naples in 1253, the disaster proved irreparable, notwithstanding the noble efforts of King Manfred, who revived the splendour of the court of Palermo in 1258, and the energetic support of his viceroy, the Count Jordan d'Agliano. The day of Montaperti (September 4, 1260) remained a disaster for the Guelf town of Florence, and a triumph for the Ghibellines of Siena. Equally unsuccessful was the attempt of Ezzelino to surprise Milan in 1259, to conquer the Lombard crown, and to rule, in intention at least, as a Ghibelline. The tyrant died of his wounds on September 27 of that year, as a prisoner in Soncino. The period of German supremacy was definitely at an end. Roman nationalism triumphed in the person of Charles of Anjou, who was brought forward by the French Popes, Urban IV and Clement IV. On February 26, 1266, he overthrew Manfred at Benevento; on August 23, 1268, he conquered the last male Hohenstauffen, Conradin, a son of Conrad IV, in the plain of Palentina (between Tagliacozzo and Alba at Scurcola), by a timely advance of his reserves, while on June 11, 1269, he routed Provenzano Salvani of Siena at Colle di Val d'Elsa.

It must not, however, be supposed that German influence in the south was but a transitory phenomenon which left no traces behind. The foundation of Manfredonia at Siponto in 1261–1263 is a direct reference to its founder by name. The fairest ruins of Apulia, from the magnificent fortress Castel del Monte to the scanty remnants of the tombs of two empresses in Andria, are memorials of the brilliant period when the favourite settlements of a world-wide ruler were situated in the "Capitanata," and when Foggia was his capital. The name of Frederick II is revered among the Apulians of to-day as that of Napoleon among the French. The inhabitants of Bitonti still show with pride the stone tablet on which the great emperor has termed them "asinini." "Such indestructible ruins of mighty castles as still lower above Apulian soil bear the sign manual of Federigo" (Paul Schubring). Upon the inner door of the marine barracks (the old citadel of Tarentum) the imperial double eagle is still to be seen. In the town of Brindisi, which modern necessities have raised from its deep decay, the visitor may row across to the fort of Sant' Andrea, built by the "gran Federigo;" he may admire the Saracen citadel at Lucera by the same monarch in 1223, and may stand in silent contemplation in the cathedral of Palermo, before the porphyry and marble tombs of Henry VI, Frederick II, and their queens, and will then understand that the connection of Italy with the German Empire was no mere empty theory, maintained with difficulty for a few decades, but was, on the contrary, a stern fact to which numerous generations, voluntarily or involuntarily, were forced to yield. The Guelfs may, in excess of patriotism, regard the German domination as one of the "barbarian invasions;" the Hohenstauffen dynasty can confidently confront the question whether it gave more than it received to the country. The Renaissance owes something to the infusion of German blood, whether of knights or craftsmen, which certainly modified the mixed Italian nationality, though to what extent is rather a matter of conjecture than of demonstration. In any case the calm and unpreju-

diced observer will avoid the error of estimating the magnificent imperialism of past ages by the measure of German particularism.

4. THE AGE OF THE SIGNORIES

Le cronache portano le azioni, i soli tempi rivelano l'individuo.
L. TOSTI.

FROM the Italian point of view the fall of the Hohenstauffen dynasty implied liberation from an oppressive alien rule. In view of the Angevin supremacy on the one hand, and the revival of the German claims under Henry VII upon the other, it might reasonably be supposed that the change had been purely nominal, and that the old tyranny remained. In this view there was some truth. The devastating quarrel between the Guelfs and Ghibellines continued, though the recollection of its origin had gradually died away. The last emperor who was crowned in Rome belongs to the fifteenth century (Frederick III, crowned on March 16, 1452, with the Lombard, and on March 19 with the imperial crown); the last emperor who assumed the title of king and emperor from Italy does not appear until the sixteenth century (Charles V, crowned on February 22 and 24, 1530, at Bologna). The German supremacy was thus by no means entirely brought to an end by the overthrow of 1268, though in the meanwhile the general situation had undergone great transformation and modification. Apart from the meteoric revival of the true imperial ruler in the person of Henry VII, we know of no German king who was able to realise in practice the tradition of northern supremacy. After his time we meet only with vague theories and mere shadows of the former power. It is a paper supremacy, which the Germans from the time of Louis of Bavaria could no more renounce than the Hansa towns were able at a later time to surrender their privileges, which, though attested by documents, had long fallen into disuse. A country divided by nature into two parts at least, and by its previous history into countless divisions, could not be permanently governed by means of expeditions to Rome as occasion arose. Hence upper and central Italy went their own ways, and practical effect was given to Petrarch's patriotic words from the canzone "Italia mia" of 1344–1345: "Ben provide natura a'l nostro stato, quando de l'Alpi schermo pose fra noi e la tedesca rabbia." Conditions in the south were somewhat different, for this part of the country long remained under foreign rule.

A. FRANCIS OF ASSISI

THE question has been raised whether the decay and downfall of the supremacy of the "emperors from different dynasties" (1273–1437), who were respected only occasionally or not at all, implied the outset of a happier age for those districts of Italy which had hitherto been primarily anti-German. It is a question which can be answered definitely in the negative, and sufficient evidence for the answer may be gained by a glance at Dante's Divina Commedia. The responsibility of failure chiefly rests upon the incompetence of the contemporary Popes after Innocent IV, who had even made a formal entry into Naples shortly before his death

(1254) and after the important Nicholas III Orsini (1277–1280). This incompetence is twice manifested, in 1282 when Sicily was lost to Aragon, and in 1303 when the papacy was defeated by French nationalism (cf. pp. 210 and 344). It cannot, however, be denied that during the first half of the thirteenth century Italy displayed fair possibilities of development to an independent, and in a sense to a national, course of existence. In this respect the first place must be given to the movement connected with the preaching of Francis of Assisi, who was certainly no German product, and to his disciples who carried their inspiring enthusiasm abroad, after 1210, from the beautiful Umbrian mountain town, with its fortress church. It is difficult in a few words to give an adequate account of the enormous effect produced by these reformers, which continued almost uninterruptedly till the time of Bernardino of Siena (d. 1444; cf. p. 250).

The national life of Italy in the thirteenth century displayed the most varied features. Geographical configuration and climate, position with reference to neighbours and the world at large, had produced different effects in Sicily, Rome, Milan, and Venice. Institutions were in a state of flux, and nowhere do we meet with any definite constitution. No one town constitution resembled any other. "La storia d'ogni italiana città nell' evo mezzano è la storia d'una nazione," says Cittadella with entire justice in his history of the Carrara of Padua (1842). At every point transformation, confusion, and transition meet the eye. None the less, however, a certain uniformity is plainly obvious, and this is provided by the state of ferment which ran throughout the lower classes from the outset of the thirteenth century. This phenomenon is not confined to Italy; a similar social movement appears in France and Spain, and even in the colder climate of northwest Europe (cf. p. 248). The term "Renaissance" usually evokes in our minds the thought of those brilliant achievements which this revival produced in the domains of literature and art. We are too inclined to forget that the spiritual, scientific, and artistic Renaissance would never have exercised the deep comprehensive influence which it actually exerted had it not been preceded by a long period of preparation which cleared the ground for the permanent reception of the beauty and the freedom gathered from classical antiquity. This preparation was the work of the thirteenth century,—a work performed tentatively, with vacillation, and at times with appalling retrogression, but upon the whole with success; for it was a period which made that most valuable of all discoveries, the truth of individualism.

This achievement was not attained without a severe struggle. Opposition, negation, resistance, such were the obstacles. To escape from the ordinary grooves of existence and thought, to throw off political or ecclesiastical tyranny, such was the doctrine which then occupied and attracted the strongest and noblest minds of the period. "Uniformity disappeared in individualism" (Heinrich Leo). The state became conscious of its individuality, began to realise its tasks and to oppose the Church, which was attempting to break its bonds. A similar process was advancing within the minds of particular men. Situation and fate raise the individual upon occasion to the superhuman position of an Ezzelino da Romano (p. 329), who persecuted with violent tyranny, as evil, any refusal to recognise what he personally considered just, right, or necessary. Position and circumstance again may whelm the individual in associations scorning every instinct of humanity, such as the orthodox intolerance manifested in 1303 towards the Paterene Fra Dolcino, who was driven into the wilderness of Vercelli (burnt on June 2, 1307).

Others are driven — and the case is frequent — to renounce the secular life, to abandon the family and state, to proclaim their personal belief in conscious revolt against ecclesiastical authority, or are induced to wander abroad as apostles offering a pattern of the ascetic life, and denouncing the irreligious and sinful habits of nobles and apostates. It was tendencies of this latter character that enabled St. Dominic to found his order in 1215; he speedily secured large numbers of adherents from Florence, Orvieto, Perugia, and Ravenna, as far as Tarentum and Palermo, beyond the straits.

Free-thinking and scholasticism, church discipline and sectarianism, mysticism and religious mendicancy, are the wholly dissimilar children of one and the same mother. Even the foundation of the poetical Francis of Assisi is entirely penetrated by individualism; the founder combines in his own person the subjective poet, the friend of the poor and the shepherd of souls, seeking his own salvation, and in some contradiction the "caput" of a "religio" or brotherhood, thus connecting the inner life of the individual and the sanctification of his personal salvation with the service of others and ready obedience to their will. These facts are plain from the history of the Franciscan order from the year 1221, and also from the history of art in general. The passionate preachers of repentance, who offered a fanatical opposition to all that could beautify and refine existence, inexorably opposed all those innovations comprehended under the term "Renaissance," from the Dominican John (Giovanni da Schio) of Vicenza, the peacemaker of 1233, condemning all secular pleasure and all secular quarrels, to the time of his Dominican brother Girolamo Savonarola (p. 264), who fell a victim in 1498, under the most tragical circumstances, to the political intrigues of hostile Franciscans. In all these talented fanatics two instincts were furiously struggling, — the instincts of subjection to authority and of individual freedom. At a later date the victory was secured upon other soil (cf. Vol. VII, pp. 244, 247, and 307); one witness can here serve, — the stake at which the ex-Dominican Giordano Bruno was burnt on February 17, 1600. Delirium and fanaticism produced no permanent result, and certainly none in Italy. The enthusiasm passed away, and Fra Salimbene de Adamo, the first modern historian, a true contemporary of Frederick II, the first modern prince, retails with apparent complacency the biting satire of the Florentine grammarian B(u)oncompagno:

"Et Johannes johannizat	John now shows himself true John;
et saltando choreïzat.	Dancing leads the chorus on,
Modo salta, modo salta,	Dancing early, dancing late,
qui coelorum petis alta!	Thou shalt win to Heaven's gate!
Saltat iste, saltat ille	Here and there they dance and sing,
resaltant cohortes mille;	While the feet of thousands ring.
saltat chorus dominarum	Thus before the female dance
saltat dux Venetiarum."	Doth the Doge of Venice prance.

In fact, upon August 28, 1223, on the meadow of Paquara, by the Etsch to the south of Verona, brother John is said to have preached from a lofty pulpit to a motley crowd of listeners and spectators, including the counts of Camino, Este, Romano, San Bonifacio, and others, together with four hundred thousand knights, peasants, citizens, clergy, and bishops from Aquileia, Belluno, Bologna, Brescia, Feltre, Ferrara, Mantua, Modena, Reggio, Padua, Parma, Treviso, Venice, Verona, and Vicenza, Ghibellines and Guelfs.

Notwithstanding the hopelessness and apparent difficulty of its individual phenomena, the whole of the movement undoubtedly produced one good effect,— it stirred the people from their state of senseless indifferent torpor. Though the waves of the movement occasionally passed beyond the frontiers of Italy, yet one of its results, and that by no means the least important, was the strengthening of the national consciousness. The "pataria" of Milan, the attempts at ecclesiastical reform which Ariald, Landulf, and Erlembald had undertaken between 1056 and 1057 assumed a political character in the course of time. The ascetic, mystical, and reforming movements might easily have combined to secure a domestic renovation of Italy, had the people given greater attention to the teachers and had the two mendicant orders given in their adherence to the papacy with less rapidity. The suppression of factious animosity, with its evil consequences, and of the spirit of private revenge in the year of Hallelujah (1233) might have led to a fruitful political union of all classes; in the year 1220 St. Francis himself preached the cause of peace with powerful effect in the town of Bologna, a highly cultured city, though torn by domestic faction. A similar note can be heard even in the pessimistic assertions and gloomy prophesies of the Cistercian abbot Joachim of Fiore (in Calabria; d. 1202), and in the exaggerated diatribes of his adherent, the Minorite Gherardino of Borgo San Donnino (1254) against the Hohenstauffen. Popular eloquence then sowed its seed upon exceptionally fruitful ground. At that moment individual poets in Sicily, from Arezzo, Bologna, Todi, and Florence, who were all dependent upon the Latin and Provençal languages, had ventured to write in a kind of Italian national language. Thus the thirteenth century amalgamated the motley population of Italy into a national whole, or gave a highly promising impulse to eventual national union. The patriotic art and the literary splendour of that poetic constellation, Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, confirm this event. The possibility of a successful ascent to these intellectual summits depended rather upon economic prosperity than upon political pre-eminence.

That such prosperity existed in full abundance is proved by the appalling height of the rate of interest and the flourishing position of the money lender. It is extraordinary how often we meet with decrees upon this latter occupation, which forced the heirs of the money lenders to make a penitent restoration of property gained by "robbery and evil means," and remind us almost of the humiliating penance which Otto III performed in 1001 before St. Romuald in the old basilica of Sant' Apollinare at Ravenna "on account of crimes committed." A protocol concerning money lending by Italians who carried on business in Nîmes shows that interest was demanded at the rate of 75, 113, 120, 175, and 218 per cent, and even 262 and 266 per cent, — figures in comparison with which the average rate of 43.33 per cent appears comparatively modest. There was every reason for giving the name of "Lombard" to the credit banks (Vol. VII, p. 17). The chief centres of the money changers and usurers were Asti, Chieri, and Piacenza in the northwest, Venice and Vicenza in the northeast, Siena, Lucca, and Florence in Tuscany, Rome in the States of the Church, and San Germano in the south. The discovery of the St. Gothard Pass about 1220 completed the prosperity of finance and mercantile communication.

B. The Transition from Communal Government to the Signories

The term "signory" is not to be regarded as in every case implying fully developed individual supremacy. Such a view would be erroneous. The Italians of this time rather comprehended under the term "signoria" republican freedom in visible form, though it was a freedom very remote from the idea of freedom which the nineteenth century and English models have inspired. "Italy could be called the land of tyranny, just as reasonably as the land of freedom" (H. Leo). In Florence, for instance, the term Signory denoted for many decades the rule of the heads of the guilds until the time of the Medici. After 1282 and 1293 the popular power of this town lay in the hands of the priors, who met in the *palazzio vecchio*, and of the Gonfaloniere di Giustizia (the standard-bearer of justice). The signory of Venice was practically the ministry of the Doge. In other parts of the country, where the general exhaustion consequent upon the struggles of social classes had produced an earnest desire for peace, the institution developed upon different lines; here we find the civic dissensions composed by impartial mediators, acting in a disinterested manner, or we meet, under other circumstances, with a tyranny in its sternest form. "The friend" often enough disagreeably surprised the weak by appearing in the character of a guardian, whose rule could no longer be overthrown. Thus it was that the Grimaldi of Genoa made themselves masters of Monaco in the fourteenth century. It is no matter for surprise that in the States of the Church during the same century other signories of the kind were founded, and maintained their ground for some time (cf. p. 345) in view of the well-known mildness of the papal rule, which in any case was reduced to comparative impotence by the Babylonic captivity. Thus the Pepoli, and after them the Bentivogli, ruled over Bologna, the da Polenta over Ravenna (Dante's place of refuge), the Manfredi over Faenza, the Ghibelline Ordalaffi over Forlì, the Malatesta over Rimini, the Varani over Camerino, the Montefeltro over Urbino, the Prefetti da Vico over Viterbo and Civitavecchia. Here also the Italian tendency towards multiformity is preserved. The case may be summed up as follows: in places where the term "signoria" implies no expressed lordship, development remained some decades behind, in comparison with other towns which possessed "signori" proper. As a matter of fact, the free communes in Tuscany maintained their ground longer than in upper Italy, and in this respect such examples as the signori of Florence were a late growth of the preceding age.

(*a*) *The Maritime Towns.*—After the battle of Meloria (p. 325) Pisa endured three years of Guelf supremacy under Count Ugolino della Gherardesca, as captain-general (1285–1288). When this yoke had been shaken off with great cruelty, the decay of the town was accelerated by the restoration of a communal government; in the armistice of July 31, 1299, Pisa was obliged to cede Corsica and part of Sardinia to Genoa, to pay an indemnity of 160,000 lire, and was driven from the sea. Eventually in 1313 it was easily overpowered by the Ghibelline Uguccione della Faggiuola, who also subjugated Lucca in 1314 (where Dante, upon his second banishment, remained until 1316), and defeated Florence on August 29, 1315, as Monte Catini. In 1316 Uguccione was banished from Pisa on account of his severity to Castruccio Castracani (d. 1328, as Duke of Lucca) and other nobles.

The signory was then held by the Gherardesca family until June 5, 1347, after which date the Gambacorta family retained a comparatively firm grasp of the power until 1399, notwithstanding changes of fortune and occasional alterations of constitutional form.

The proud city of Genoa had inflicted a crushing defeat on September 5, 1298, upon the Venetian fleet off the Dalmatian island of Curzola. For some time it was governed by a Ghibelline party in the style of a signory, upon a democratic basis, though with two aristocratic chiefs (1270–1291, 1296–1299, and 1306–1308); on November 22, 1311, this independence which the town had maintained, even against Charles of Anjou, was replaced by an imperial signory. This government, however, was of short duration, and soon afterwards civil war broke out the more violently. The resulting disasters were invariably compensated and repaired by the advantages of geographical position, a highly valuable attribute; had they been possessed, for instance, in the same measure, by the ambitious town of Ancona, Ancona would undoubtedly have become a second Genoa. The attempts of the inhabitants to shake off the rule of Milan, of the French, of a foreign Montferrat dynasty, or of a native aristocracy never resulted in any permanent success. From 1528 to 1797 the Genoese constitution, immortalised in the person of its leaders by P. P. Rubens (1607) and Anthony van Dyck (1623), retained a strictly aristocratic character.

Affairs in Venice ran a similar, and yet in details a very different, course. The similarity consisted in the desire, which most of the Italian towns displayed, to put an end to the wide membership of the commune, and to replace this body with a smaller council, invested with sovereign powers; to substitute for the democracy and mob rule an oligarchy of consuls and of the podestà, which eventually gave way to a half monarchical signoria. This process can be plainly traced throughout the constitutional life of Venice. On the other hand, in Venice a pure monarchy never came into existence; in the "hall of the great council" of the palace of the Doge, in the centre of the row of seventy-six Doge portraits, a black plate marks the spot which should have been occupied by the portrait of the Doge Marino Falieri, who was beheaded on April 17, 1355, for high treason. The podestà, notwithstanding his title, "by the grace of God," was very far from enjoying a monarchical position, and similarly the powers of the Doge were strictly limited by several oligarchical authorities, the "signori" proper of Venice. The more or less stringent absolutism of a Carrara, Medici, Scala, and Visconti was never possible in Venice.

Thus from 1148 (p. 324), and to a greater extent from 1192 onwards, at which date Enrico Dandolo swore to the constitution, Venice for fully six centuries remained the pattern of a true oligarchy. Great, indeed, were her achievements in this character. After the Fourth Crusade, which brought vast profit to the Venetians (1202–1204; cf. Section IX), she founded her possessions in the Adriatic and the Ionian Islands, consolidated and extended her hold of Cerigo and Eubœa, of Candia and Cyprus. The state became purely mercantile. Commercial voyages grew to the size of expeditions. Nicolo Maffeo and Marco Polo remained in China at the court of Kublai Khan from 1275 to 1292 (Vol. II, p. 96). To the reasonable vexation of Venice, the Latin Empire was overthrown in 1261 by the efforts of Genoa, and the rule of the Palaiologi was restored, though to a more modest extent. The unfavourable conditions in Syria (Vol. III, p. 363)

Zecca (Mint) | Libreria Vecchia | St. Theodore | Campanile of St. Mark | Procurazie Vecchie | Lions of St. Mark | Clock Tower | (St. Mark's Church half hidden) | Doges' Palace | Bridge of Sighs | Riva degli Schiavoni with the Ponte della Paglia

THE PIAZZETTA OF VENICE. (From a picture by Antonio da Canale, or Canaletto, in the Old Pinakothek at Munich)

increased the rivalry of Venice and Genoa for predominance in the Black Sea, where Tana and Kaffa were the chief centres of Genoese commerce (Vol. VII, p. 9). Eventually the long-desired end to the struggle was secured by the surrender of Chioggia on June 22, 1380, ensured by the co-operation of Vittore Pisani and Carlo Zeno, and by the peace of Turin of August 8, 1381, which was gained by the good offices of the "Green Count" Amedeo VI of Savoy. After that date a new revival began. Advantageous treaties with the infidels were justified after 1454 with the characteristic excuse, "Venetians first and Christians afterwards" ("siamo Veneziani, poi Cristiani"). The previous century, however, had induced the Doge Francesco Dandolo (1329–1339) to make extensive acquisitions of territory in the Trevisan hinterland. These mainland conquests were successfully continued as far as the Adda and Rimini by his successors in office, Michele Steno (1400–1414), Tommaso Mocenigo (1414–1423), and Francesco Foscari (1423–1457), together with Erasmo Gattamelata of Narni in 1438, which is celebrated by Donatello's mounted figure before Sant' Antonio at Padua, who saved the republic when captain-general from the Viscontine condottiere Niccolò Piccinino. This is the policy of "terra firma." Notwithstanding the attraction of their outward appearance (about 1500 Panfilo Sasso, Antonio Vinciguerra, Antonio de Ferrarariis, known as il Galateo, and others, regarded Venice as the sole saviour of Italian freedom), these leaders eventually raised such a number of troublesome complications and extensive wars with their neighbours, through the friction aroused by their conquests, that they must be regarded as chiefly to blame for the decline of the former brilliancy of the island town (for details, cf. Vol. VII). Venetian decline was caused not by her distant wars for colonies with the Turk, which brought the German count, Math. Joh. von der Schulenburg, into the service of the republic as field-marshal and captain-general in October, 1715, nor again by the discoveries of the Genoese Columbus, which changed the general lines of the world's commercial traffic (Vol. VII, p. 66), but by the disturbances which broke out in the immediate neighbourhood between Leoben and Campo Formio in 1797 (Vol. VIII, p. 27).

If we turn our eyes upon the extension of the square of St. Mark, running towards the sea (see the plate facing this page, "The Piazzetta of Venice"), astonishment and admiration are infinite, so close has been the co-operation between nature and human art. Yet even a view in full moonlight will not provide unmixed satisfaction. Between the two granite pillars, bearing St. Theodore and the lion of St. Mark, rises the shadow of the hero of Maclodio (1423), the Condottiere Francesco Bussone of Carmagnola, who was executed on March 5, 1432. On the right hand, the silent mint reflects the watchful strength of the Venetian constitution. But few windows illuminate the solemn splendour and the proud dignity of the Doge's palace. Even though its notorious leaden chambers have been destroyed for one hundred and ten years, yet its "cisterns," its rack chamber, and its bridge of sighs which connects it with the old criminal prison, preserve the memories of a system of state inquisition and police supervision, the counterpart of which can have existed only in Spain or under Asiatic despots. It is no mere chance that the ambassadorial and diplomatic systems and the use of a diplomatic cipher (evidenced by documents so early as 1226) found their earliest and most distinguished development in Venice. It would indeed be surprising that the plastic arts here found so fertile a soil were it not for the fact that economic

prosperity, and the Oriental wealth of the ambitious reigning families, inspired and preserved the taste for beauty and luxury. Andrea del Verrocchio, the creator of the magnificent equestrian statue of the captain-general, Bartolommeo Colleoni (1400–1475), the rich memorials of the Dominican churches of San Giovanni e San Paolo, and, finally, the master of the full renaissance, Jacopo Sansovino, who, as "architect to the republic," constructed, from 1536 onwards, the magnificent double hall for the proper housing of the libraries of Petrarch and Bessarion, — these poured the sunlight of Florence with lavish hand upon the darker gloom of the commercial town, with its domination of sea and land.

(*b*) *Florence.* — In respect of artistic creation Florence undoubtedly occupies the foremost place during those centuries; inspiring light and breath proceed from her activities from an early date. Even such early creations as the Madonnas of Giovanni Cimabue (1240–1303 ?), and the frescos of his pupil, Giotto di Bondone (1266–1337), are radiant with light, purity, and vital force. The Madonna painted about 1270 for the Cappella Rucellai was carried from the house of Cimabue to the church of Santa Maria Novella by the enthusiastic Florentines "with much splendour and trumpets, in solemn procession." Nobility of form, naturalness, character, and virility are the oft-noted characteristic features of the work of Giotto, which announced a new epoch. In sunlit Tuscany the stereotyped formality of Byzantine tradition was overpowered and cast aside by the faithful observation of nature (cf. Vol. VII, p. 144 ff.). Even more truly Florentine than her painting, which was influenced from neighbouring sources, is her sculpture, which held the first place from the Trecento to the Cinquecento, from Andrea Pisano and Andrea di Cione (known as Orcagna) to the times of Lorenzo Ghiberti and Donato Bardi (known as Donatello), and thence until Luca della Robbia and Michelangelo Buonarroti. The first ecclesiastical construction of the Renaissance is the Medicean church of San Lorenzo (cf. Vol. VII, p. 144).

Great, however, was the contrast between these artistic powers and the political condition of the chief city within this happy district, with its hedges of olive and fruit trees, with its holm-oaks and pines, its villas and cupolas, and with such towers as that of San Gimignano. The soil gives food in full abundance, colour to the painter, and marble to the sculptor; yet here, as everywhere in upper and central Italy at that date, confusions of party faction, reigns of terrorism, and political disruption were intensified. "From the thirteenth to the sixteenth century there was always a Florence in exile" (L. von Ranke, in "Filippo Strozzi"). Yet it is possible that this violent contrast between nature and mankind may have stimulated imagination and given it wings, and have provided an unfailing supply of nourishment to artistic imaginative power. War is the father of all things, and the fact is true in the present case. The age of the signories, when the idea of republican "freedom" often suffered such extraordinary explanations, compelled the Italian spirit to produce its finest works. Continuous vacillation between hope and fear, the abrupt and violent transitions from supreme power to banishment, from the bounteous table of the ruler to the scanty bread of the outcast, offered a rich supply of dramatic situations, crying to be used, and immortalised both by the plastic and by the literary arts. "L'art était le principal refuge des proscrits" (Edgar Quinet, in the "Révolutions d'Italie"). The only perceptible difference is the fact that poetry was rather cherished by the sufferers under banishment

(*fuorusciti*), while painting and sculpture, in the majority of cases, were in the service of the prosperous, who were driven to make amends to God by guilty consciences. Roman Catholicism places high value upon artistic appeals to the senses; what marvellous art did Benevenuto Cellini expend, merely upon the unseen vessels in the kitchen of Maria of Loretto!

In most cases it was a secret anxiety for the cause of art which inspired the artistic patron to make his sacrifices; hence the artist readily conceded to him a comparatively wide influence, as was only natural from a democratic point of view. This influence is evidenced, for instance, by the documents relating to the statue of St. Matthew of Ghiberti (about 1420); also by the history of the building of the Tempio Malatestiano of Rimini (about 1450), by the great memorial of the Renaissance couple, Sigismondo Pandolofo Malatesta and Isotta degli Atti, with its contorted $, raised by L. B. Alberti, or, finally, by the accurate terms of the commission, which the highly educated Isabella d'Este gave to such an artist as Perugino ("The Victory of Modesty over Lust," 1505). During those golden centuries the patron, whether an individual or a corporation, prescribed rules for performance, and watched, though with full respect, the work of the artist stage by stage, reserving the right to interfere. The co-operation of religious fanaticism and the spirit of self-sacrifice, of the sense of beauty and the Italian climate, was bound to produce splendours of imperishable power. So arose the Gothic cathedrals of Siena and of Orvieto; the former, though begun amid the confusion which heralded and conditioned the defeat of Montaperti (p. 330), is in complete harmony with the prosperity of the proud victor at that moment, the faithful copy of Genoa as a city territorial state; the latter, begun a generation later, at the edge of the small and gloomy rock fortress, hardly to be compared with Spoleto, impresses the surprised spectator as marvellous in every respect.

From a political point of view, however, the disaster of Montaperti had produced little or no permanent effect upon the humiliated Florentines. The old murderous quarrel between the Guelfs and Ghibellines, which the exaggerations of tradition retrace to the murder of a Buondelmonte by the Amidei, Lamberti and Uberti, on the Easter morning of 1215, continued after 1250, when the nobility were expelled by the community of the citizens, to the end of the century, until the spring celebrations of May 1, 1300, when it was prosecuted in the internecine division of the Guelfs into the "Blacks" (Donati) and the "Whites" (Cerchi). In 1301 the Florentine "Whites" assisted in the expulsion of the "Blacks" from the neighbouring town of Pistoia; the "Whites," who were then overthrown by the ferocity of the ambitious Pope Boniface VIII, at the end of September, 1300, joined the Ghibelline party with their adherent Dante "Alagherii," who from June 15 to August 14 had been one of the six guild priors of his native town. The threat of excommunication and interdict by the papal "pacificator," the Cardinal Bishop Matthew of Aquasparta, thus did not come about until the expiration of Dante's priorate. The four hundred and fifty confiscations of property and condemnations, which the "White" Pistoia executed in many cases without examination or investigation between 1301 and 1303, accurately reflect the ferocity of the methods employed by the Guelfs in Florence until 1306.

The breach had become irreparable. Florence then possessed a dominant economic position. Through her hands passed the greater part of the trade in salt and corn, in wool and cloth; her financial business was highly profitable, and as

early as 1250 the project for a Tuscan coinage union had been conceived and carried through within her walls, an extremely far-reaching project for that date (with reference to the gold coinage cf. Vol. VII, p. 68, on plate). Her share of Mediterranean traffic and shipping during those decades was surprising in its prodigious and almost undisputed extent. No attempt, however, was made to utilise these advantages in favour of a comprehensive policy; on the contrary, the city continued the process of self-destruction, and condemned herself by its own acts to political impotence. Under Guelfish fanaticism she closed her gates on January 6, 1311, to Henry VII, who had been crowned at Milan with a crown of steel fashioned like a laurel wreath in place of the famous "iron crown," which the Della Torre had pawned with a Jew. Henry might otherwise have been capable of unifying Italy (p. 119). The city preferred to endure for ten years (1313–1321 and 1326–1328) the yoke of the Angevin kings, Robert of Naples and Charles of Calabria (cf. the table on page 350), and in 1342 conferred the signory upon the titular duke of Athens, Walter VI of Brienne, though his expulsion became necessary so early as July 26, 1343. The popular party made many attempts to wrest the government from the plutocracy, from the time of the commercial lord Giano della Bella, a kind of Cæsar or Mirabeau (1293–1295), to the revolt of the Wool combers (Tumulto dei Ciompi, 1378–1382) and to the time of the "last Florentine republican" Filippo di Filippo Strozzi (d. December 18, 1538). All of these resulted in failure after some short success.

Upon one occasion Florence, with the help of a German king, succeeded in thwarting the Ghibelline Milanese and their attempts to establish a general supremacy (cf. below, p. 341), at an expense of 175,000 ducats. Here we meet with that remarkable conjuncture of events which drove Wenzel's rival, Rupert of the Palatinate, into a declared Guelf alliance in 1401, and reduced him to the unworthy position of the English condottiere, John Hawkwood, who led the city mercenaries from 1390 to 1394. The republic was then ruled by the noble family group of the Albizzi, and was reluctant to expend a single additional halfpenny upon the enterprise, while the Wittelsbach, though inspired by the best of motives, was without resources; consequently the alliance did not secure for Florence the supremacy at which she aimed, and the result was a miserable fiasco for both sides (the spring of 1402; cf. Vol. VII, p. 186). The conquest of Pisa by Gino Capponi on October 9, 1406, brought a gleam of hope to the almost exhausted city, a possibility renewed on June 27, 1421, by the acquisition of Livorno from the Genoese for 100,000 ducats. After that date the trade in Egyptian spices passed through the hands of Florentine merchants, who paid for those desirable wares with woollen fabrics.

Eventually Cosimo di Giovanni de' Medici, the son of a banker, who was influential with the lower classes, secured an almost monarchical position while retaining the forms of a republic. His administration at the same time betokens the dawn of a second Periclean age (cf. Vol. VII, p. 141 f.). The spirit of princely patronage over art was incarnated in the persons of the Medici who succeeded the "Father of his Country" (d. August 1, 1464); these were Piero's sons, Lorenzo the Magnificent (1469–1492) and Giuliano (1469–1479), Lorenzo's second son Giovanni, who became Pope Leo X (1513–1521; cf. p. 266), and Duke Cosimo I (1537–1574, after 1569 "Grand Duke of Tuscany;" cf. the genealogical tree on page 346). This period marks the zenith of the Renaissance and

connects it with the coming Rococo age. It brought forth, indeed, some unsound fruit, such as Catharine, the instigator of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and others. Typical of these products are the criminal pair of cousins, Alessandro and Lorenzino (murdered January 6, 1537, and February 26, 1548). Pandolfo Petrucci ruled Siena from February 7, 1494, until his death, on May 21, 1512; and had his successors been men of similar character and capacity, this smaller but more brilliant neighbouring town might easily have become the seat of the Tuscan dukes in place of Florence. None the less, no royal family rendered such services to art and science in so comparatively short a time as the dynasty of the Medici. This was no small achievement in an age which saw the artistic rise, not only of such centres as Rome, Venice, and Naples, but also of smaller capitals, such as Ferrara and Modena (in the sixteenth century, under the two Alfonsos of Este, the friends of Ariosto and Tasso), Mantua (under the art lover Gonzaga), Parma (1547–1731 under the Farnese), Turin (from 1408 the capital of the counts of Savoy), and Urbino, the birthplace of Raffaelo Santi (under the Montefeltro and Rovere; cf. p. 346).

The importance of the Medici, however, to the general history of Italy is not exhausted by a mention of these achievements. The important part played by Giulio, the cousin of Leo X, as Pope Clement VII, from 1523 to 1534, in the confusions of his age (Sacco di Roma, 1527), is well known in another connection (Vol. VII, p. 258). Another fact must be noticed. The transition had gradually been effected from a period of feverish activity to one of peaceable and regular government, and the city republic gradually developed into the duchy and grand duchy of Tuscany, a creation expressly of Hapsburg character from the outset. This duchy soon became a firm and effective nucleus amid the smaller Italian bodies politic, and largely contributed to the maintenance of the Spanish power in Italy and to the support of Catholicism, while its transference to the house of Lorraine (1737; Vol. VII, p. 514) gave Austria the preponderance in Italy for the space of one hundred and twenty-two years. But here again we meet with an alien rule.

(*c*) *Milan*.—The attempt to discover an Italian signory which may serve as a type of a true patriotic policy would prove successful only in the case of Milan so long as that town remained under the rule of the Visconti (1311–1447),—a dynasty disturbed by no moral scruples, but ruthlessly pursuing its object, the unification at least of Lombardy. In this case we meet with vigour and fidelity, which may reconcile us to many divergencies from the strict path of uprightness, and to many acts of severity. With the exception of an interim from 1277 to 1302 the town had been ruled by the Guelf family Della Torre from 1240 (cf. the explanation to the plate facing page 119), and in the winter of 1310–1311 it offered a reluctant submission to Henry VII and his policy of composing all differences. The remaining nine decades of the fourteenth century secured the inclusion of Milan in the empire, a change which met with little opposition (1327), and offered every prospect of undisturbed expansion and amalgamation, while no danger was to be feared from the obvious weakness of the empire. The imperial power of an Otto, a Frederic, or a Henry had long since disappeared, leaving no trace behind, and the task of mutual recognition and tolerance had become extremely simple. Nothing is more characteristic of this situation (cf. above,

p. 331) than the commercial attitude of Charles IV between 1354 and 1355, and in the summer of 1368. Italy was then harassed by the constant plague of mercenary troops, the "Compagnie di ventura," who, while generally brave, were entirely unscrupulous; she was also anxious to recover her spiritual head, now far away in dependence upon France. These tasks had been attempted with better, though not with permanent, success by a weak woman, Santa Katharina Benincasa of Siena (d. 1380), and to them the second Luxemburg king devoted no real part of his power (cf. Vol. VII, p. 180). The exact antithesis of his ideal grandfather, Henry, and of his father, John, who was ever a chivalrous character ("un cavaliere all' antica;" cf. Vol. V, p. 249), he preferred negotiation to action.

Thus the shattered country was again threatened with the necessity of casting out the plague of foreign defenders and native intriguers (who used this disruption for their own purpose), by means of a few sharp strokes, after which the process of reform might be attempted.[1] The curative process was painful, and consisted in a complete renunciation of the almost inevitable factions, and in a transition to the hated "subjection" under some absolute ruler, and this process was almost automatically completed. The physician in question was Giovanni Galeazzo de' Visconti (born October 16, 1351, in Pavia), who would most certainly have deserved the name of a national hero had it not been for the premature death which overtook him on September 3, 1402, before he could complete his difficult task. His government began by his determined efforts to destroy the power of his cruel uncle, Bernabò (1385). He proceeded, to secure his own inheritance in defiance of Bernabò's sons, to expel from Verona (1387) the remnants of the Della Scala, who seemed ready, under Can Grande (1311–1329), the patron of Dante, and under Mastino II (died 1351), to realise the Ghibelline idea of Italian salvation. The next steps were the determined expulsion of Francesco I and II da Carrara from Padua, the intimidation of Francesco I da Gonzaga by the attempt of his naval engineers to divert the course of the Mincio, and to transform Mantua into a swamp (1392); then followed the purchase of the ducal title from the needy king Wenzel (1395), the elevation of Pavia to a county (1396), and the successful inducement of Niccolò of Este to enter Ferrara (1401). Meanwhile gentle pressure or stern menaces had steadily secured for him the signories and towns of Assisi (1400), Bologna (summer of 1402), Nocera (1400), Perugia (1400), Pisa (1399), Siena (1399), and Spoleto (1400); the acquisition by inheritance of Alessandria, Arezzo, Asti, Bassano, Belluno, Bergamo, Bobbio, Casale, Bormio, Brescia, Como, Crema, Cremona, Feltre, Lodi, the Lunigiana, Monza, Novara, Parma, Pavia, Piacenza, Pontremoli, Reggio, Sarzana, Tortona, Valenza, Vercelli, Vicenza, and Voghera. These gains brought the power of Giangaleazzo to such a height that the anxiety of the towns and signories, which wished to remain Guelf at any price, became very intelligible, as also did the joy and satisfaction of the other towns at the approaching fulfilment of the "idea unitaria" by the Visconti. These expressions, indeed, appear patriotic in the best sense, and are not merely to be

[1] Marino Sanudo's careful enumeration of the leaders of bands from the year 1439 includes 129 condottieri, with 64,650 horses, who were unequally distributed over the States of the Church, Venice, Milan, Siena, Florence, Aragon, and Anjou. Infantry are not included in this calculation, nor are the forces of the princes of Montferrat, Saluzzo, and Savoy, of the towns of Genoa, Lucca, and Perugia.

regarded as the specious glorification of an unlimited power by some paid court poet. The eighth sonnet of the "Cantilena pro comite Virtutum"[1] of Francesco Vanozzo of Treviso concludes with the lofty words:

"Dunque correte insieme, o sparse rime,
e gite predicando in ogni via,
che Italia ride, e che è giunto il Messia."

Therefore run together, ye verses hitherto scattered, and go, preach in every street that Italy laughs and that the Messiah has come.

A view of upper and central Italy as it existed in the summer of 1402 will show no power comparable with the duchy of Milan, except Savoy and Piedmont, Saluzzo and Montferrat, Asti and Genoa, Massa and Carrara, and the other districts of the Malaspina, Mantua and Modena, Venice and Florence, and the Church state. It is thus no remarkable exaggeration when Alb. Alfieri, a worthy teacher of Latin at Kaffa in the Crimea, in his "Ogdoas," composed about 1421, makes Giangaleazzo ask, "And what would have happened if fate had granted me five years more?" and represents his (illegitimate) son, Gabrielle Maria, as replying, "The whole of Italy would have obeyed thy sceptre." Notwithstanding the occasional severity of his decrees, he was reverenced for another hundred years by the people as a saint, and this in spite of the fact that the increasing expense of his military enterprises had obliged him to withdraw his support from the splendid building of the Certosa, near his brilliant capital of Pavia. This monastery had absorbed considerable benefactions from 1393 to 1396, but from the laying of its foundation stone on August 27, 1396, had received no help from the ruler until his death, while he was also unable to spend as much upon the marble cathedral of Milan after 1386, as he had done during the first decade.

The Lombard crown after an absence of twenty years in Avignon had been once more kept at Monza from March 20, 1345, and was thus in the power of Giangaleazzo, but the proud ruler of Milan was not destined to wear it. The tripartite division of the "best duchy in the whole of Christendom" was contemplated under his will, but was prevented by the execution of Gabriele at Genoa in 1408, by the murder of Giammaria at Milan in 1412, and by the efforts of the brave generals of Filippo Maria (1412–1447); these were Francesco da Carmagnola, Niccolò Piccinino, and Francesco Sforza, the eldest son of the condottiere Giacomo Addendolo, known as Sforza of Cotignola, who was drowned in the Pescara on January 4, 1424. The fourth representative of the family of the last mentioned upstart, a highly capable character, Lodovico Sforza il Moro (1481–1499, d. 1508) suggested the invasion of Italy to the French.[2]

With the death of the second son of Lodovico, Francesco II Maria, on October 24, 1535, the way was thrown open once more to foreign domination. From 1540 to 1713 the Spaniards, introduced by the emperor Charles V, remained masters of Milan. G. G. Trissino in his poem, "Italia liberata da Gotthi" (1526–1548), sang of the defeat of Belisarius, the triumph and capture of Witiges, and supported the project of an Italian empire under Charles V, but no doubt in the expectation of other fortunes than those which the Spanish period was to bring forth. During these long decades of heavy oppression a vigorous movement in favour of freedom

[1] Giangaleazzo bore the title of Conte di Virtù from the estate of Vertus on the Marne, the dowry of his wife, Isabella of Valois. The obvious pun upon *virtus* (moral worth) was satirically employed by the Florentine Chancellor Coluccio de' Salutati (d. May 4, 1406), and the title was transformed to "comes vitiorum" (court of vices).

[2] See genealogical table on p. 344.

becomes apparent in the literature produced between 1590 and 1617. Spanish misgovernment was opposed by the pen of Trajano Boccalani of Loreto, by the independence of the Genoese Gabriello, by the humourist of Modena, Alessandro Tassoni, to whom some ascribe the famous "Filippiche contro li Spagnuoli" of 1615, and by Fulvio Testi of Ferrara, while the only champion of Spain was the Genoese Fausto Soccino.[1]

Independent characters are to be found only within the Church; such were Count Carlo Borromeo (1538–1584) and his cousin Federigo (1564–1631). The strict reforms of Carlo increased the hatred of the Humiliate Order, which rose to an attempt at murder in 1569; this order, of which the origins may be retraced to the twelfth century, was dissolved by Pius V, whose convictions were equally vigorous, on account of its unpopularity (1571). The reckless extirpation of the

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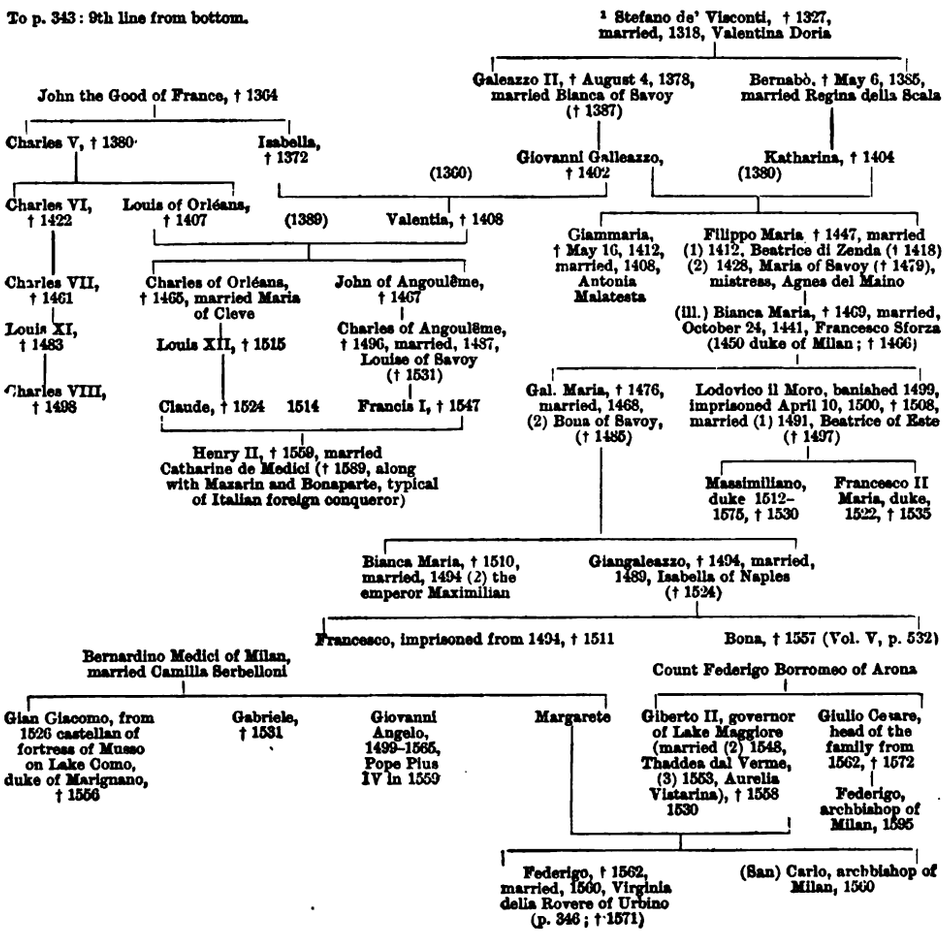
[1] For the transference of Milan to the Austrian line of the house of Hapsburg (1714) see Vol. VII, p. 514.



Protestant faith in the Swiss portions of his diocese, and his persecutions of witches, will be regarded only by Catholics as contributing to the credit of this quarrelsome cardinal, who was firmly convinced that his theories alone were tenable, and was in every respect a worthy successor of St. Ambrose. These evils were, however, compensated by San Carlo and his practical humanity towards the suffering people, which was based upon an invincible faith in God, of which the best testimony is to be found in his benevolence during the famine of 1570 and the plague of 1576. In this department of archiepiscopal care he found a rival in his milder cousin, who founded the Ambrosian library in 1602, and rendered great service in 1630 upon an appalling recurrence of the plague, a fact known to every reader of Manzoni's "I promessi Sposi."

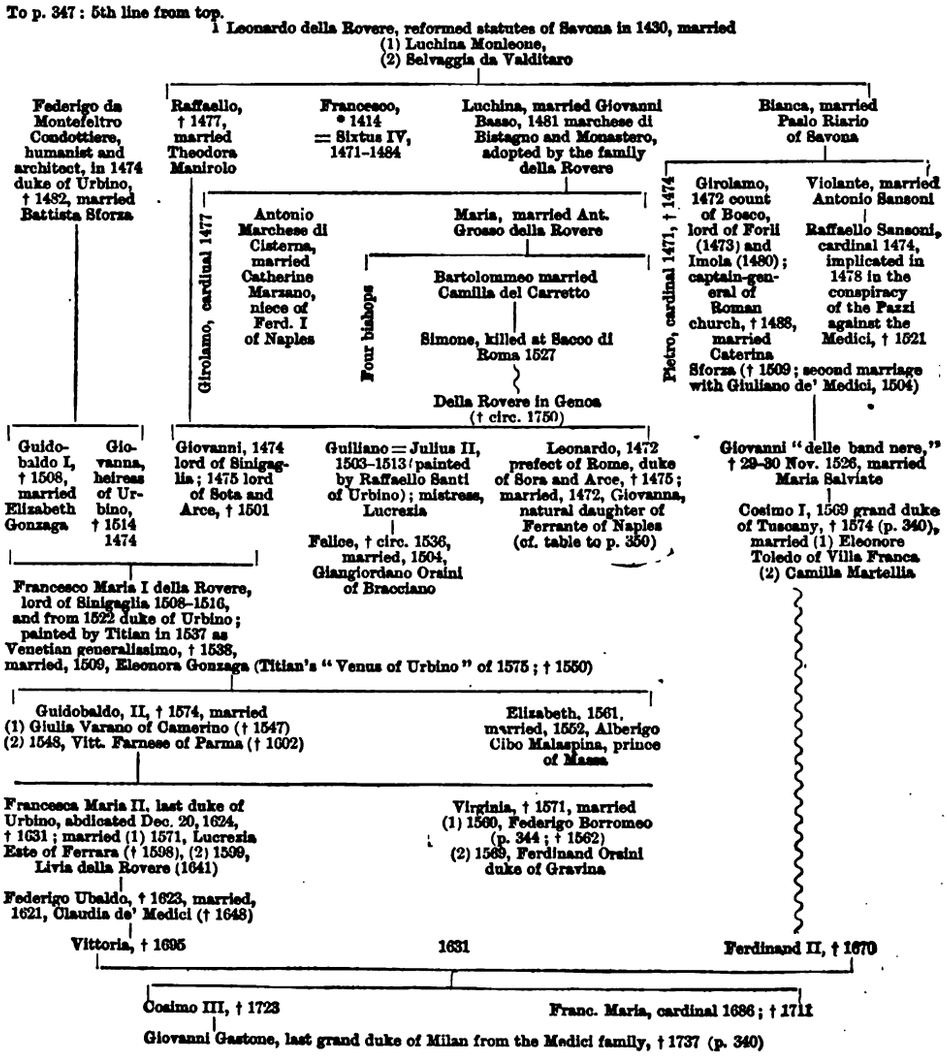
C. The Papacy and the Church States from 1350

Our view of the papacy was interrupted in the midst of its subjugation by France (1309–1378; pp. 236 and 332). From 1319 to 1334 the Cardinal Bertrand du Pouget (Bertrando del Poggetto; d. 1351) made great efforts to check the rise of the ambitious Visconti, and from 1353 some success resulted from the appearance in central Italy of the Cardinal Ægidius Albornoz (d. August 24, 1367; cf. p. 124); these legates, however, were unable definitely to compensate for the absence of the Curia (cf. p. 335). The successful attack of Philip the Fair upon papal aggression had meanwhile been followed up by the German princes in the electoral assembly at Rhens on July 16, 1338 (p. 121), and they were soon imitated by the parliament of the English king Edward III. Moreover, the secular powers proceeded from the defence of their national rights to actual aggression, when the great schism of April 7, 1378, forced the double, and afterwards the triple, papacy to bargain for votes and condemned it to political impotence. About 1400 vast efforts were made to aggrandise their own Pope, and diminish the power of the opposition Pope. Great had been the downfall of the lofty structure erected by Gregory VII, Hadrian IV, Innocent III, and Innocent IV. The fate of the Curia, which had once determined the destinies of kings and was now vacillating amid the faction currents of the Orsini and Colonna, rested in the hands of the nations. The movement for a national council, however, which had promised so well, ended in practically no result about the middle of the fifteenth century, and died away. It was thus possible for the papacy to gain a breathing space. With entire justification the Popes regarded the advancing Turks as the main enemy the subjugation of whom should form a material portion of papal policy. Appeals and warnings, cries and inducements from Rome had, however, lost their effective power. It was impossible to revive enthusiasm of the crusading epoch, for Europe had long since lost her chivalrous ideals and remained broken into various nations, the rulers of which were consolidating their position at home and abroad in accordance with prevailing conditions.

It was only in Italy that no constitutional uniformity was secured; for after the death of Giangaleazzo Visconti, even Ladislaus of Naples was unable to attain this object (cf. below, p. 351). This want of unity enabled the papacy to recover its prestige, as it had survived the inevitable exhaustion of the smaller communes and signories, and now remained dominant in their midst. In view of

the complexity with which the threads of Teutonic and Romance policies were entangled in Italy, the Curia, if guided by only a moderately wise policy, would necessarily secure advantage from the conflict of interests. As a matter of fact the states of the Church, which had often previously enjoyed a merely nominal existence, were now revived during the pontificate of Pius II (1458–1464) and Paul II (1464–1471); their revival first caused the downfall of Sigismondo Malatesta (p. 339), who was forced to give up Bertinoro and Cesena. As the theoretical privileges and the income of the Pope declined abroad concomitantly with the respect for the Church, so did the temporal power of the Church rise to an unexampled extent, notwithstanding certain positive abuses, such as the concession of properties acquired by inheritance or force, to the nearest relations of the Pope in power, his nephews. The Gregorian principle of detachment from

To p. 347 : 5th line from top.



family ties was regarded as out of date by the churchmen of the Renaissance. Sixtus IV (1471–1484), who laid down the principle of the papal corn policy, as it remained to the time of Pius IX, in his bull *Inducit nos*, of March 1, 1476, together with Alexander VI (1492–1503), were responsible for the duchies, however short-lived, the one of his nephew Girolamo Riario[1] and the other of his son Cesare Borgia, the hero of Machiavelli's "Principe." The warlike Julius II (1503–1513) then extended the Church state till it became the most distinguished principality in Italy, stretching from Piacenza and Bologna (1506) to Terracina; "he must be regarded as its founder." We then reach the long series of the "Roman Popes" of Leopold Ranke. The general and unifier of central Italy was followed by a diplomatist equally hostile to France, namely, Leo X (p. 340), whose court certainly "did not correspond with the idea of a supreme head of the Church," though he can hardly be blamed on that account. In 1507 possibly, and certainly in 1511, the emperor Maximilian I had aimed at the papal tiara, simply on account of the wealth which this position carried. Thus the flesh triumphed over the spirit.

Retribution was not slow in coming; the Protestant powers were created by the German Reformation, and the problem at issue became the task of defining the papacy as a spiritual power. This task was attempted by the Council of Trent, which was followed by contributory measures in the same direction (Vol. VII, p. 316). The Counter Reformation made it possible to recover such possessions as had been lost and to consolidate what remained, and the most energetic troops in this conflict were provided by the Society of Jesus. Thus exactly a century after Sixtus IV, whom the synod of Florence is said to have stigmatised as "Vicarius diaboli" in 1478, the Curia had recovered its old predominance under the energetic Pope Sixtus V (1585–1590); his beneficial administration (his aqueduct "acqua Felice," his suppression of bandits, his legal and financial reforms, his appointment of cardinals) was no less influential than his architectural activity, which introduced the rococo style, and greatly transformed the appearance of Rome. Even the surprising treatment offered to the papal chair by Louis XIV in 1664 (see the plate facing page 442 of Vol. VII) and other signs of a change in the general situation inflicted no serious damage upon the papacy, which retained its brilliant diplomatic capacity, and only suffered a real defeat in the case of San Marino. It survived the dissolution of the Jesuit order (1773), the storms of the age of Bonaparte, and the effects of the February revolution. It was not until the final unification of Italy in 1870 that the Patrimony of Peter disappeared from the list of independent states (cf. on this subject Vol. VIII). The secular power of the papacy had disappeared, but the spiritual influence, which it was able to exercise with redoubled force, has certainly suffered no diminution since that date. In the meanwhile, however, the Italian nation has lost its respect for religion.

5. THE SOUTH FROM 1266

THE series of events which deprived the Curia of its secular possessions also extinguished another Italian state, the kingdom of the two Sicilies. In the case of the papacy, however, the loss of one half of its previous possessions was

[1] See note on p. 346.

destined merely to raise its influence, whereas the southern kingdom lost its whole existence, together with its possessions, and in this case, even the most conscientious historian may prophesy that the loss is permanent.

The "Mezzogiorno" (the south), which is also on a lower stage of civilization, could only recover its former prosperity at the price of enormous expenditure, and this fact is due to the almost unparalleled oppression of foreign domination during the past centuries, in addition to the unfavourable conditions of geographical situation (rapid alternations of floods and drought, earthquakes, etc.). When the proud empire of the Hohenstauffen came to an end in upper and central Italy, the signories, which characterised these districts, prospered and multiplied; but at that time Naples and Sicily were under foreign rule. There is a current opinion that a strong government can guarantee order and prosperity under any circumstances. In most cases this opinion is justified, but here we have an exception. As the disruption of Germany ended in political impotence, but produced a beneficial economic rivalry, so in the north of Italy, torn as it was by faction, the spirit of culture was stimulated and encouraged to attack problems which the Spanish government in southern Italy had disgracefully neglected during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

A. The Angevin Rulers in Naples; the Aragonese Dynasty in Sicily

Conditions under the Angevins were not so bad as under the Spaniards. During their period we meet with vitality, and occasionally with freedom, though within intelligible limits. The brilliant traditions of the Normans and the carefully organised administration of the Hohenstauffen could not be abolished in a moment. At the same time the southern Italian is by nature so protean a character, that, provided blood is flowing in his veins, the impact of any foreign influence will suffice to drive him foward on an altered course; only the torpidity of the latter period of oppression has caused the extinction of this characteristic. Hence an accurate examination does not confirm the impression that the foreign French or the first Spaniards were responsible for the sudden death of southern civilization. It is no doubt true that the presence of these foreign rulers intensified that separation from the rest of Italy which originated in the Byzantine period (cf. p. 301), and had become permanent in view of the hopelessness of all attempts at fusion with the north (cf. pp. 336 and 340). This alienation it is which has indisputably stamped the general historical development of the two Sicilies with that lifeless character, which has prevented every careful observer, from the papal Saba Malaspina to N. Nisco and R. De Cesare, the biographers of Ferdinand II and Francis II, from feeling the pleasure of unrestrained satisfaction before exploits of undoubted magnificence; the sense of some flaw in the picture is ever dominant.

Charles I, the first king of Naples and Sicily of the Angevin dynasty (1266–1285), began by thoroughly destroying all traces of the government which he had set aside; he wished, above all things, to erase from the book of history the two previous decades. This Capetian and Provençal ruler was disinclined to appear as the heir of the Germans, an attitude adopted by his greater Carolingian predecessor in 774 towards the Lombard inheritance; Charles made every conceivable effort to appear as a "new master." In this bureaucratic state, which had grown

up under the Normans, the Saracens and the Hohenstauffen, the feudal system underwent an unexpected revival under French forms. Dependence, however, upon pre-existing forms, and resistance, upon the other hand, to aggressive attempts, caused the king constant anxiety. In 1270 he considered that the second crusade of his brother Louis IX, if it had failed to capture the last refuge of the Hohenstauffen party, had yet sufficiently terrorised that retreat (p. 205). In 1271 he therefore conceived the old Norman idea of foreign policy, and proposed to become master of either shore of the Adriatic (Vol. V, pp. 90 and 224). He was, however, unable to cope with the superior diplomacy of Byzantium. The battle of Berat (Vol. V, p. 107) brought Charles' ten years of struggle for Albania to a temporary conclusion at the beginning of April, 1281; while the dangerous alliance of Orvieto, which Charles concluded on July 3, 1281, with Pope Martin IV, Venice, and Philip of Courtenay, the husband of his daughter Beatrice (Vol. V, p. 340), with the object of reviving the Latin empire of Baldwin II, broke down at the moment when it was put to the test, and Sicily, which was wildly excited by the intolerable burden of the taxation, threw off the heavy yoke forthwith.

On March 31, 1282, the alarm was rung by the vesper bell of Santo Spirito in the plain of Oreto to the south of Palermo, and was transmitted to the capital by the bell of San Giovanni degli Eremiti, with its almost Mohammedan cupola ("the Sicilian Vespers"). Then the French supremacy suddenly collapsed, and after a five months' republican government Peter III the Great of Aragon seized the masterless throne.

The island of Sicily, that is to say, one-half of the southern kingdom, was for the long space of more than two centuries a valuable possession for the dynasty of Aragon. Its twelve kings are given in the accompanying genealogy: "The House of Aragon Connection with Sicily and Naples." Naturally the policy of Aragon exerted a decisive influence upon Sicilian history between 1282 and 1516 (cf. Vol. IV, pp. 528–530). Some few exceptions there were during this period, after James' renunciation in favour of Anjou in 1295 had been nullified in 1296 by the elevation of the Ghibelline Frederic II; the weak government of Frederick III, who ascended the throne in 1355 and reigned thirteen years, conceded too much influence to Rome and Naples after 1372; then came the reign of his daughter Maria, during whose minority the barons rose to power and engaged in faction fights until her husband, Martin the Younger of Aragon, appeared in 1392 and overthrew the opposition nationalist party of Andrea Chiaramonte. The interregnum between the death of Martin the Elder in 1410 and the election of his nephew Ferdinand I the Upright in 1412 was too short to enable the island to throw off the yoke of Spain.

The preponderance of Spain was but strengthened by the union with the kingdom of Naples, which was introduced theoretically in 1420 and practically between 1442 and 1458 by Alfonso V (commemorated to-day by the magnificent renaissance triumphal arch at Castel Nuovo), and made a permanent institution in 1454 (Vol. VII, p. 207). The administration of this viceroyalty, with its comparatively rapid changes of governors, shows many evil features; within the period from 1557 to 1596 the average reign of a viceroy was no more than four years. Moreover, the distribution of landed property had remained unequal from the feudal period, and this injustice increased the misery of the country the

longer it remained in force, nor was any attempt at improvement made. The seven years of Savoyard (1713–1720: Vol. VII, p. 514), and the fourteen years of Hapsburg rule which immediately followed (Vol. VII, p. 514) were naturally as little able to change a traditional and arbitrary conservatism as was the Bentinck constitution of 1812. Arbitrary government is also the dominant feature of the nineteenth century (cf. Vol. VIII, p. 266), and the fair island suffers, even to-day, from the evil consequences of earlier neglect.

The reconquest of Sicily was never effected by the Angevins, although they employed powerful naval forces (1283, 1299, and on other occasions) and used the gentle persuasions of Angevin princesses, such as Bianca (died 1310) and Eleonora (died 1341). Attempts to secure Maria's marriage with an Italian prince (among other possible candidates Giovanni Galeazzo de' Visconti, a widower from 1372, was proposed in 1377) were nullified in 1378 by her abduction to Barcelona. It thus became necessary for good or for evil to leave the island to itself. It cannot be said that the kingdom of Naples was greatly affected by this reluctant renunciation. On the contrary, after the turbulent and unfortunate government of Charles II (1288–1309) it seemed as if some prosperity might be vouchsafed to Naples, which had been isolated since 1302 under the government of the philosophical and poetical king Robert the Wise (1309–1343). His efforts to check, first Henry VII (at the end of 1311), who replied by deposing him on April 26, 1313, and then, in 1328, Louis of Bavaria, by a strong federation of the Guelf towns in Tuscany, eventually proved successful. A fundamental feature in the policy of Robert, and of the Angevin rulers in general, was an attitude of friendliness to the papacy, which need cause no surprise in view of the origin of these kings and of the position of the papacy at that moment.

To p. 351 : 3rd line from top.

[1] **1.** Charles I of Anjou (elder branch), king of Naples and Sicily 1266, lost Sicily to Aragon 1282, † 1285, married (1) 1245, Beatrice of Provence († 1267)
2. Charles II, † 1309, married, 1270, Marie of Hungary († 1323: cf. table to p. 384, Vol. V)

3. Robert, † 1343, married (1) 1297, Iolanthe of Aragon († 1302), (2) 1305, Sanctia of Majorca († 1345)

Charles of Calabria, † 1328; married (1) 1313, Katharina of Hapsburg († 1323), (2) 1324, Marie of Valois († 1328)

4. (2) Joanna I, † 1382, married (1) 1333, Andr. of Hungary († 1345), (2) 1346, Louis of Tarento († 1362), (3) 1362, James III of Majorca († 1374), (4) 1376, Otto of Brunswick († 1387)

(1) Charles, † 1348

(Adopted 1382) Louis I of Anjou (younger branch), † 1384

Margaret, married, 1289, Charles Count of Valois († 1325) } Royal House of Valois

(2) Marie, † 1366, married (1) 1343, Charles of Durazzo († 1347), (2) 1355, Philip of Taranto († 1368)

Philip of Taranto, † 1332, married (1) Thamar, a Greek, (2) 1313, Catharine of Valois († 1346)

Louis of Tarento, † 1362, married, 1346, Joanna I († 1382)

Philip of Taranto, † 1368, married (1) 1355, Maria of Durazzo († 1366), (2) Elizabeth of Slavonia

John of Durazzo, † 1335, married (1) Mechthild of Achaia, (2) Agnes of Périgord

Charles of Durazzo, † 1347, married, 1343, Maria of Calabria († 1366)

Margaret, † 1412

Bianca, † 1310, married Jacob of Sicily and Aragon († 1327; cf. table on p. 351)

Louis of Gravina, 1362, married Margaret of San Severino

5. Charles III the Small, † 1386

1368

Eleonore, † 1341, married, 1302, Frederick II of Sicily († 1337; cf. loc. cit.)

6. Ladislaus, † 1414, married (1) 1382, Constance of Clermont († 1392), (2) 1403, Maria of Cyprus († 1404), (3) 1406, the widow of Raimond of Orsini, last princess of Taranto

7. Joanna II, † February 2, 1435, made her heirs and instituted Alfonso V of Aragon, 1420, Louis III of Anjou (younger branch), 1423, and his brother René, 1434 (cf. table to p. 351); married (1) 1389, William of Hapsburg († 1406), (2) 1415, James Bourbon de la Marche (1417 prince of Taranto, † 1438)

Bianca married, 1402, Martin the Younger of Aragon († 1409)

N.B. The seven kings and queens of Naples from the elder branch of Anjou are numbered successively with full face Arabic figures.

The reign of Robert was succeeded by a century of confusion which centres round the whims and passions of two masculine queen regents, Joanna I (1343–1382) and Joanna II (1414–1435).[1] Charles Robert, as the great-grandson of the Árpád Stephen V (died 1272; cf. the tree facing page 384 of Vol. V), who was a nephew of King Robert, had ascended the Hungarian throne in 1308, and Naples, which then enjoyed a remarkable degree of intellectual culture, was thus brought into a highly interesting connection with the semi-barbarous country of the Magyars. Complicity in the murder of Andreas (September 18, 1345), the unfortunate first husband of the beautiful and sensual young queen Joanna, a character typical of Petrarch's period, helped to secure a certain influence for Provençal-Neapolitan civilization upon the leading classes in Hungary (cf. Vol. V, p. 383). The nobles who accompanied Louis the Avenger to Italy in 1347 were the most receptive and inquiring spirits of their nation, a fact needing no proof. In 1348 the bubonic plague, or "black death," described by Boccaccio in the introduction to the first day of the "Decamerone," was brought to the Mediterranean territories from Asia by way of the Crimea. Notwithstanding "preventive" measures (murders of the Jews and pilgrimages of flagellants; see the plate facing page 178 of Vol. VII), the plague spread with extraordinary rapidity, and prevented any lengthy stay on the part of Louis, though in 1350 he reappeared in Naples. Even after the cruel end of the unbridled but highly educated princess on May 22, 1382, the attempt was renewed to consolidate this remarkable alliance between southern and eastern Europe. At the beginning of 1386 Charles III the Short was crowned (murdered, February 24), and in 1403 was succeeded by his brilliant son Ladislaus. In either case these projects resulted in failure (cf. Vol. V, pp. 384 and 299). It seems as if the friendly star which had guided the first Charles to Naples, and pointed the way for his energetic grandson, Robert, had deserted the later Angevins. The fact is true both of the Durazzo dynasty and of the three Louis of the younger house of Anjou, invited southwards by Joanna I (cf. the table facing page 351); they were unfortunate, or fortune mocked them.

One exception there seems to have been, namely, Ladislaus (1390–1414). His titles were pompous; he styled himself "king of Hungary, Jerusalem, Sicily, Dalmatia, Ramia, Servia, Galicia, Lodomiria, Cumania, and Bulgaria, count of Provence, Forcalquier, and Piedmont," thus enumerating a number of territories which he had little prospect of ever possessing, as his claims existed only upon paper; at the same time he had the resources and the capacity to pursue an imperial policy in the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian seas. The increase of the power of Giangaleazzo of Milan (p. 342) disturbed his Guelf opponents and obliged them to concentrate. During those years we meet with more than one mention of a league between Naples, the Pope Florence, King Rupert, and Venice, which Padua, Bologna, Ferrara, and Mantua were to have joined. On the other hand, the continued cry raised by the east for a thorough crusade against the Turks gave a great stimulus to the project of an alliance of some of these powers with France, Genoa, and Athens (cf. Vol. V, p. 129). In no case did the plan meet with any considerable success, but the ready compliance with which distant and close neighbours made overtures to the liberal king of Naples sufficiently shows

[1] See note on p. 350.

what extraordinary prestige Ladislaus enjoyed about 1400. On April 25, 1403, Rome opened her gates to him, an example followed by Perugia. These ambitions, however, aroused distrust elsewhere, for no one was anxious to replace the ambitious Visconti with an Angevin, who might complete the unification of Italy. None the less, when he had availed himself of the schism so far as to be upon the point of regaining his mastery of Rome (May 31, 1413), he died, before he had reached the age of forty (August 6, 1414). So recently as March 8 he had granted at Piperno, on the edge of the Pontine marshes, remission of house tax to some two hundred families of Sezze, an instance of his care for the people. He again possessed neither good fortune nor guiding star.

B. The Dynasties of Aragon, Hapsburg, and Bourbon in the Double Kingdom from 1435 (1504)

Ladislaus and his sister Joanna II belong to the age of decadence, as is attested by the inscription on the Gothic memorial raised by the king's fraternal love behind the high altar of San Giovanni Carbonara at Naples. A new spirit, or the revival of the old, is first typified in Alfonso I the Noble of Sicily, who had been Alfonso V of Aragon since 1416, and in his mastery of Naples by twenty-two years of obstinate struggle. His theories of life were far removed from the general obscurantism which characterised the Angevins, of which there is no more striking proof than the fact that under his government the keen champion Lorenzo della Valle (Laurentius Valla) attacked the secular power of the Pope in 1440 by his researches "de falso credito et ementita Constantini donatione" ("concerning the falsely believed and fictitious Donation of Constantine"; printed at the instance of Ulrich von Hutten, Bâle, 1517). In the same sense is to be understood Alfonso's remarkable grant of help in 1453, during the last heroic struggle of Constantine XI. It was not so much the result of zealous championship of Christian doctrine as the outcome of a calmly considered imperialist policy. However, in company with other royal humanists of his time he eagerly grasped the precious fruit of the destruction of Constantinople, and the revival of the sciences by the dispersed exponents of Greek civilization (cf. Vol. V, p. 141).

The first seven years of the reign of his illegitimate son and successor, Ferdinand I ("Ferrante;" 1458–1494), were disturbed by struggles with the Angevin John of Calabria, the son of René of Bar (cf. table facing page 351). He was a true contemporary of men like Sixtus IV della Rovere (p. 346) and of the upstart Francesco Sforza (p. 343), and succeeded in establishing his own rule by marriage alliances with both families. The nobility soon felt the results of his success, and upon this question King Louis XI had already provided a precedent which cried aloud for imitation. In 1461 Ferrante settled fugitive Albanians in the country (cf. Vol. V, pp. 220 and 226); in 1532 and 1744 strong reinforcements followed the steps of these pioneers, and at the present moment their numbers in Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily may amount to eighty or ninety thousand. Otranto, an outpost important for its advanced position, had been captured by the Turks, with great cruelty, on August 11, 1480; thirteen months later (September 10, 1481) Prince Alfonso reconquered it with the help of the Pope. In other respects

Ferdinand showed high capacity in his position; two favourite objects of his domestic care were jurisprudence and the culture of the silkworm.

With the death of Ferrante the favour of fortune which had protected the south for half a century came to an end. Alfonso II was intimidated by the menaces of Charles VIII and hated by his people. On the last day of the first year of his reign he abdicated in favour of his son Ferdinand II (January, 1495; cf. Vol. VII, p. 207). The latter triumphed over the French, after eighteen months of conflict, on July 20, 1496, and died upon October 7 of the same year. The throne of Naples was once again left desolate. Frederic (1496–1501), the brother of Alfonso II, was said to have shown too great a friendship towards the Turks; and under the excuse of protecting Christendom, Louis XII, who had inherited the claims of his cousin, Charles VIII, upon southern Italy, joined the cousin of Ferrante, Ferdinand the Catholic, in 1500. The latter, however, who was at heart a determined enemy to the French, used the allies merely for the purpose of a joint conquest. The whole of the Neapolitan kingdom was eventually recovered for united Spain in 1504, after the brilliant triumph of Gonsalvo de Cordova (Vol. IV, p. 536; Vol. VII, p. 209).

This transference implied a heavy loss to Naples; henceforward the kingdom became a mere appanage of the Spanish monarch, which fell by inheritance to the house of Hapsburg in 1516. In 1554 this dynasty divided into a German and a Spanish branch, and Philip of Spain became king of Naples in October, 1555 (Vol. VII, p. 266). The government of viceroys, with all its evils (cf. p. 349), was now established in southern Italy, and the viceregal office changed hands on forty-two occasions between 1504 and 1707. The process of decline was accelerated by a corrupt nobility and a superstitious clergy. At rare intervals the desperation of the oppressed people broke out in fierce revolt. Of these movements the best known is the short supremacy of the fruit merchant, Tommaso Aniello (Masaniello), from July 7 to 16, 1647, which was followed on October 22 by the rule, as "captain-general," of the gunmaker, Gennaro Annese. Eventually, however (April 6, 1648), the movement in Naples failed as completely as the revolt against the salt tax, led by Nino della Pelosa and Biagia, the costermonger in Palermo, in May, 1647, and the expulsion of the viceroy by the maker of gold wire, Giuseppe d'Allessi, of August 15 of the same year. Spain resumed her supremacy and succeeded in ruining so magnificent a commercial town as Messina. After the suppression of the revolt of 1674–1679 the population sank from 120,000 to 15,000.

When the Spanish line of the Hapsburgs became extinct in 1700, the peace of Vienna of 1735–1738 placed the Spanish Bourbons on the throne. For the moment it seemed as if the diplomacy of territorial partition had performed an excellent stroke of business. The movement of enlightenment was introduced by the freethinking minister, Bernardo Tanucci, an excellent lawyer, who worked with beneficial results until 1777 under Charles IV (1738–1759; afterwards king of Spain as Charles III until 1788) and under Ferdinand IV (1759–1825; "king of the Two Sicilies" as Ferdinand I from December 8, 1816). The reaction, however, then began with results the more disastrous. For the last twenty-five years of Ferdinand IV, and for the appalling confusion, partially due to his wife, Caroline Maria (d. 1814), a sister of Marie Antoinette of France, the corresponding section of Vol. VIII, from page 29 onwards, should be consulted. With the fall of

Gæta (Vol. VIII, p. 270) the Bourbon dynasty and its absolutism disappeared in Naples on February 13, 1861, as it had withdrawn from Sicily in 1860.

That the artificial bridging of an abyss which can never be closed may be to the advantage of civilization is proved by the care of the new Italian kingdom for the long-neglected southern provinces, manifested so recently as the summer of 1906. A corresponding improvement in the old states of the Church, namely the marks (Ancona, Ascoli, Piceno, Macerata, Pesaro, and Urbino) of Umbria and Latium, will follow in no long space of time; and there is hope also for Sardinia, which had been cruelly treated from 1720 by Savoy, a government otherwise highly capable. The state of things which made Simonde de Sismondi (in Vol. X of his "History of the Italian Republics") feel himself transported into a land of the dead, when he compared the flourishing life of the signories with the present decay, which had then prevailed for nine centuries, is no doubt past for ever. In this respect the disappearance of Spain and of the States of the Church, which were members of one and the same chain, are phenomena with this much in common, that Italy has indisputably benefited by their occurrence. The kingdom is no longer "a geographical expression," and since 1861 has coincided in extent with the Italian nationality if we except some immaterial fragments (cf. Vol. VIII, p. 382), while from 1870 it has been justly recognised as a member of the concert of European powers. Unified and governed by a northern Italian, that is, by a central European, dynasty which traces its descent from the emperor Lewis the Blind, Italy has recovered her clarity of vision.

IX

THE CRUSADES

By DR. CLEMENS KLEIN

1. THE GENERAL HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE CRUSADES

THIS movement of world-wide importance has already been mentioned in Vol. III (p. 359 ff.) as an event in the history of that country where the great drama of the crusades was played. But their very name compels us to regard the crusades as something more than a detail in the histories of Syria and Palestine in particular, and of Mohammedan Asia in general. The shock of the crusading movement was felt throughout Europe, and affected the West even more than the East. These holy wars are the most important events within the two centuries during which they occurred. Hence it is clear that the crusades are much more important for those countries which sent them forth than for those in which the actual struggles took place. For the Mohammedan world they were even of transitory importance; they produced no permanent effect on the lands towards which they were directed. The dead stagnation of the countries between the Nile and the Euphrates was as little stirred by the fourteenth-century crusaders as by the invasions of Arab or Turanian hordes which had recurred throughout the first thousand years of the Christian era. Regarded from the standpoint of local history, the events of the previous age were no novelty. The primeval struggle between the states of the Nile valley and of Mesopotamia has ever been a determining factor in the history of Syria, so far as our knowledge extends. The natural battlefield was the territory upon the borders of the intervening central desert, and from the Oriental point of view the struggle merely assumed a new form. The assaults of the West upon Palestine probably differed but little in kind from those of Canaanitish antiquity. The invasion of the western powers did not modify the history of these countries or of the Asiatic interior in any respect whatever.

These countries display something of that impassive and impenetrable aversion to change which characterises the desert upon their frontiers, and hardly anywhere has geographical configuration so persistently and for so many thousands of years determined the fate of peoples and states. An examination of the crusading movement from the standpoint of universal history will provide evidence in support of the statement which is almost startling in its extent. Many unaccountable reverses, through which chance seems to have shaped the history of Frankish Syria, find their precise counterpart in the histories of early Babylonia, of the Egyptian Pharaohs, of the Assyrian conquerors,

or of the kings of Israel. For Syria and Palestine the invasion of the West thus implied nothing more than a recurrence of struggles that had become traditional. There is no development during the following centuries that can be traced to the influence of the short-lived Frankish kingdom. Some distant echo of the crusading idea may, indeed, be discovered in the Egyptian expedition of Bonaparte, and in the attempts which Europeans have made in the nineteenth century to establish their influence at the Holy Sepulchre, either for religious or for political and economic reasons. In a wider sense, a more mechanical consequence of the crusades may be seen in the fact that the "Levant," the meeting-point of East and West, has been pervaded by a confused blend of nationalities which is ever adding fuel to the fire of the "Eastern problem."

Great and permanent, upon the other hand, was the influence of the crusades upon the West. From the infinite diversity of their effects and their wide bearing upon all future developments, we learn that this great movement is essentially a part of European history. Goethe has said that the "spirit of the age" is nothing more than the mind of the observer "reflected in the glass of history." We need feel no apprehension of this danger if we regard the crusades as representing the spirit of that age. Even while absolutely rejecting the historical distortions of the teleological school of theorists, we shall find that spirit operative to an extent unexampled in any other period of human development. The history of this transition period displays with a clearness almost unparalleled elsewhere the warp and woof of the complex fabric composed by the forces which make history, and shows the threads linking causes with effects. The deeper our investigation of this period, the more manifold does its connection with past and future appear. The inner meaning of early mediæval history is disclosed when brought within the focus of this movement, which sheds light and warmth upon a wide future. Ranke has said that the true historical importance of a period is not to be appreciated merely by observing its connection with the succeeding age. Its vital continuity with the preceding age must be demonstrated, and only then will its true relation to the great problems of humanity become visible. If this statement be accepted, we may assert that the crusades have crystallised within themselves the intellectual content of mediævalism as a whole.

Hence this section cannot possibly attempt a complete exposition of these connecting threads. Such an attempt would involve an account of social evolution in the Middle Ages. In the nature of the case the causes and effects of the crusades and their general importance to the history of the world are of greater interest than the details of the movement; hence there is a special danger that the particular may be overshadowed by the universal, and the facts obscured by more or less arbitrary hypotheses. The causes of the crusading movement in the economic, social, political, and intellectual conditions of the West during the eleventh century must be studied in other sections of this World's History (in Vols. II, IV, V, and VII, and also in the present volume). Here it is only possible to offer a short retrospect from the standpoint of universal history, and to give a clearer view of the events which paved the way both for the advance of central Europe to the East, and for a renewed and closer contact between two worlds which had previously been divided. The reversals of fortune which characterise the mediæval drama proceed from this contact. The influence of the East upon

the West dissolved those mediæval ideals, which reached their culmination in the crusading projects and their execution. Within the state of Frankish Syria were sown the most fruitful seeds of a new development, the spirit which reigns supreme to the present day, which first appeared as the new Mediterranean (Vol. IV, p. 42) and afterwards as the new European spirit.

2. THE CRUSADES AS OFFSHOOTS OF THE GREAT MIGRATIONS

A. The Saracen Raids; the Eastern Invasions; the Northwestern Movement

We shall be doing no violence to historical fact if we regard the crusades as the last throes of that great migratory movement which has modified and transformed western Europe since the entrance of the Teutons into the clear light of history. The consolidation of the Frankish Empire and the downfall of the Teutonic Mediterranean states may seem to have terminated this process of migration, but the fact is that the period by no means ended with those events. The invasion of the Arabs, even when the first deadly menace to the growth of Christian civilization in Europe had been repelled (Constantinople, 718; Poitiers, 732), introduced a constant element of fermentation into the West notwithstanding its apparent solidarity. Our own age preserves some vague recollection of the Turkish assaults upon the gates of Vienna, which were repelled little more than two hundred years ago, and of the connection between southeast Europe and the Mohammedan empire. Infinitely more remote, however, is any clear picture of the condition of the southwest and south before the outset of the crusades; at that period, not only Spain in her seclusion and isolation, but also part of southern France to the mouths of the Rhone, the islands of the Mediterranean, especially Sicily and Sardinia, the river mouths and bays of Italy as far as the Riviera, and even the rocky fortresses in the Alps to the borders of the Grisons, were either the undisputed possessions of the Saracens, or formed strong bases for their marauding raids upon Christian territory, defying all efforts at capture. The ordinary historical manuals are silent upon the fact that Rome was menaced by such raids in 841 and 846 (p. 310), that Genoa was devastated in 935 and 993, that Pisa was captured in 1004 and 1011, that communication across the Alps was paralysed by these invaders for many decades, while they carried fire and sword to the neighbourhood of Lake Constance, and overran Hungary about 1092, starting from the Alps and the Adriatic. The attempts of western Europe to shake off this paralysing yoke are to be regarded as introductory to the crusades, in which they were concentrated at the moment when the east, on which the victory of Leo the Isaurian had produced more permanent effects than that of Charles Martell (Vol. V, p. 66), saw its mortal foe advancing in the last third of the eleventh century.

Upon the south and west, European civilization was chiefly affected by the advance of the Arabs; but in the east, from the eighth to the eleventh centuries, the invasions of Mongolian nomads were incessantly continued; and these successors of the great migrations, in combination with the Saracen pressure, contributed, until the end of the first millennium, to change the localities of population which

had seemed permanently settled. In the northeast the silent encroachment of the Slavs upon the Teutons caused a continual ebb and flow of national advance and a German retreat, which, as we have seen in a previous section, was not concluded until the German colonisation of the thirteenth century. The northwest, again, had never been entirely pacified since the conquest of Britain by the Anglo-Saxons; Saxons, Frisians, and Danes were continually attempting to find new lines of passage to the inviting shores of the western sea.

B. The Raids of the Northmen

Eventually, at a later date than these phenomena, a Teutonic people appeared, advancing under the stress of a new migratory impulse. The Northmen again drove large masses of the population to leave their homes and seek new settlements elsewhere; their echeloned advance in connection with the western pressure against the Mohammedan barrier may be regarded as the first territorial impulse towards a crusading movement; it was the return wave of a migration towards the southeast, by which the Eastern Empire was carried away in its final attempt to resume the attack against the infidels, a stream which did not spend its force before the middle of the thirteenth century.

A special section has been already devoted to the raids of the Northmen; and the misery which they brought upon all the coasts of northwestern and western Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries has been already considered. Here, however, it is worth while to mention, for the sake of completeness, the manner in which these Viking voyages brought the furthest shores of the southern sea within the purview of western ambitions. The enormous range of their expeditions, which spread from Vineland to the steppes of Sarmatia and to the shores of the Levant, created a new and extended horizon for the crusades, infinite in comparison with the narrow outlook of previous centuries; this horizon for the eastern half of the Old World was further extended to the Sunda islands and to China, through contact with the science and the commerce of the Arabs. This extension of geographical knowledge is the most remarkable result of the crusading movement, and is in immediate connection with the widening of the intellectual horizon. It was the voyages of the Northmen which chiefly enabled the western world thus to extend their view.

The proud heroes of the north were brought to the sanctuaries of the new faith by perceiving the analogies which existed between their own mythology and the story of the Christian revelation. The southward advance of the Vikings goes back to very early times. In 820 they were plundering the French Mediterranean coast, and settled, a generation later, on the Camargue in the Rhone delta. Thence they ravaged the coasts of Italy and Greece in conjunction with the Saracen pirates of Sicily, with whom they were afterwards to wage a severe struggle on the Balearic Isles. In 860 even Constantinople was forced to repel a twofold attack of the Northmen; an eastern fleet advanced from the Black Sea, following the path of the earlier Gothic invaders, and co-operated with the Vikings from the west. Since the time when the descendants of Rurik had settled in the wide river valleys of Scythia, the adventurous spirit, the desire for expansion, and the vague religious yearnings of the northern heroes found a new object in

this part of the world. The sanctuaries of their old mythology were transferred to the southeast, and in their imagination the golden Byzantium was confused with Asgard, the gorgeous residence of Odin. When the Varanger bodyguard of the Greek emperor provided their relatives at home with more definite information upon the sanctuaries of the Christian doctrine, their childish popular etymology identified the Jordan with the source of the Urda at the foot of Igdrasil, the primeval ash-tree; the strong beliefs and emotions of the old and new doctrine blended in one powerful impulse. Hence the origin of those expeditions, not unlike a new migration which carried the superfluous population of the flourishing north to the south, and were the model of those shorter voyages and yearly passages which were to mark the crusading period proper.

The advance of the Northmen to Palestine can be traced almost contemporaneously with the appearance of the Varangians (Warägar, Varinyar; Vol. V, pp. 77, 436, and 447) in Byzantium. The usual road to Constantinople, the "Austrvegr" down the rivers of Russia, which led far to the south through Scandinavian territory, was the obvious road to the Holy Land for pilgrims; they were able to travel in their own vessels to the rapids of the Dnieper, from which point they continued under Byzantine escort. This road was not closed until the Latin conquest of 1204 cut the connection of the Russian principalities with Byzantium. On the other hand, princes and nobles who could fit out large fleets followed the "Vestrvegr" through the ocean and between the pillars of Hercules.[1] For a long period bands of Vikings occupied points on the western coasts as ports of call to secure this maritime route. Such were the islands at the mouth of the Rio Tinto and off Cadiz, the harbours of Brittany, and even those of Normandy, which was colonised by their kinsmen. The road for the peaceful solitary pilgrim, who travelled on foot, was the "Sudrvegr," through the Alpine passes and the Apostolic City, which did not join the sea route east or west until the harbours of Italy were reached. This was the main pilgrim route from central Europe to Jerusalem. It was largely used every year by northern pilgrims, as is shown by a visitors' book of that date from the monastery of Reichenau. This book shows a total of ten thousand names within two and a half years for this one spot, a striking testimony to the extent, in the early Middle Ages, of pilgrim traffic to the south and east.

From the eleventh century onwards the poetry and legend of the north points more definitely to the Holy Land. To this land legend transfers the death of the missionary Olaf Trygvasson, who fell in the battle of Svoldr in the year 1000. St. Olaf, who twice turned back upon the road to Palestine, is brought by legend to the country, perhaps in recollection of the heroic deeds there actually performed by his brother Harold Hardrada (Vol. V, p. 89). After the battle of Stiklastad, where Olaf lost his throne and life, Harold was wounded and fled, a landless wanderer, to his fellow tribesmen in Russia, then to Apulia, and afterwards became captain of the Varanger guard in Byzantium, where he was unknown. For ten years, at the head of this corps, he visited in the course of that time Sicily, north Africa, Palestine, and Egypt. He then became a son-in-law of Prince Yaroslav in Russia, and eventually ascended the throne of Norway

[1] These, if we are to believe Arab sources, were no mere symbols, but actual monuments of bronze, richly gilded, standing on high until the middle of the twelfth century, to point the way to inexperienced mariners and to repel timid sailors, such as St. Olaf, by their silent menace.

upon the death of his nephew Magnus. He met his death when he attempted to seize the Anglo-Saxon kingdom, in conjunction with Tostig, the rebel brother of the Saxon king Harold. Only eighteen days before the victory of William the Conqueror at Hastings, Harold Hardrada fell in the fierce battle of Stamford Bridge. Thus the whole of Europe from the extreme north and northwest to the furthest south and southeast, including the coasts of Africa and Asia, had seen the face and felt the arm of this great hero. He may be regarded as personifying that Scandinavian movement which created the horizon of the crusades.

In the meanwhile the Norman conquest of England had set free large populations for the movement to the southeast. Anglo-Saxons, Danes, and Frisians found themselves driven from the island kingdom, their former battlefield, and in many cases made their way to Byzantium or Syria, and played their part among the maritime people of the First Crusade. The final and immediate impulse to the crusading movement, if we regard this movement as a territorial expansion, is to be found in the seizure of lower Italy by the Normans. The path for this acquisition was prepared by pilgrims returning from the Holy Sepulchre, and the enterprise was completed in the course of the eleventh century. It is no mere coincidence that Pope Urban II spent years among the Normans in banishment before starting from his recovered territory in the south to the synods of Piacenza and Clermont; or that the legend of Peter the Hermit expressly mentioned Bari as the harbour where the pilgrim returning with the Saviour's message first set foot once more upon western soil. The greatest result of the First Crusade was not the capture of Jerusalem, an acquisition of sentimental rather than practical importance, but the establishment of the Italian Normans in a Syrian stronghold of the Mediterranean, little more than ten years after their fruitless attempt to conquer the Eastern Empire, and a short time after the conquest of Sicily from the Saracens. The crusades began almost at that moment when the Norman impulse to expansion was necessarily turned towards the most westerly possessions of Islam.

C. Further Attacks from the West upon Islam

At the same moment, after centuries of inactivity, the attack upon Islam was resumed from other quarters. In Italy this movement began at Pisa, which at the beginning of the eleventh century had suffered severely under the raids of the infidels. In the year 1032 the citizens of Pisa made their first retaliatory expedition to north Africa after they had freed Sardinia (1015–1016) from the danger of a fresh Moslem occupation. This was followed by numerous enterprises against Sicily and Tunis, until a crushing blow was delivered by the allied forces of Pisa and Genoa (1087) under the banner of St. Peter, which had been given them by Pope Victor III, when they attacked the piratical Emir of the Tunisian Mahdia; this victory secured freedom of trade for the Italian maritime towns upon these coasts and in this western gulf of the sea. Pope Urban II was entertained in Pisa before he proceeded to Piacenza; the citizens of Pisa and Genoa supported the First Crusade by sea and turned it to commercial profit. The conquest of Sicily by the Normans removed the burdensome yoke from commerce in the eastern Mediterranean, and turned the eyes of the maritime nations to the coasts of Egypt and Syria. Hence the liberation of Apulia and Sicily from the Byzan-

tines and Arabs, and the disclosure of the Greek and Oriental half of the Mediterranean to the eyes of the Latin half; these may be ranked among the most powerful impulses which influenced the coming migratory movement. The expansion of western Europe against Islam was further stimulated by the advance of the Christian Spaniards against the Arab conquerors during that same eleventh century. Since the middle of the century the struggles in the Pyrenean peninsula had attracted the neighbouring Catalonians, who were closely related to the Spaniards and the Provençals. Even on the north French coasts powerful armies of knights were formed, especially by Norman leaders, to assist their co-religionists in the southwest, when these were once more hard pressed by the Almoravids (cf. Vol. IV, p. 516). "Hispania" and the Saracen territory are equivalent conceptions to several of the Frankish chronicles of the First Crusade. Thus it is clear that from this point also the European movement against Islam received an effective impetus.

D. The Invasion of the Seljuks; the Appeal from Byzantium

At the same time that powerful movement towards the East, which for nearly two centuries flowed back, only to return apparently with revived force, could never have been aroused solely by the independent movements of superfluous populations towards the southeast, or by a new tendency, partly national and religious, partly political and economic, to attack Islam; equally insufficient would have been the adventurous impulses of individuals among the settled nations of Europe (cf. below, p. 364). The proximate cause of the First Crusade is not to be discovered in the conditions of western Europe, but was provided by the Greek Empire. On its frontiers a breach was made into which the overflowing waters poured with destructive violence. The desperate position to which the East Roman Empire had been reduced by the Seljuk Turks (Seljûqes) after the battle of Manzikert (1071; Vol. V, p. 91) called forth that cry for help which the emperor Alexius I sent to Pope Urban II in 1094.

If we consider the response which greeted this appeal in the West, it becomes clear that the opposition of Christians to Arabs was not in itself sufficiently strong, in spite of the Spanish wars, to produce so violent a struggle between two worlds. After the Arabs had become a civilized power in the East, the devotees of Christianity had secured a comparatively safe and profitable position, which was only occasionally disturbed by such Mohammedan fanatics as the Egyptian Caliph Hakim (Vol. III, p. 704); the oppression of the Christians and the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre, which he commanded, were but temporary causes of irritation. It was the cruelties of Turkish rule which made the lot of Christian pilgrims and settlers in Palestine intolerable; it was the desperation to which Byzantium was reduced after the Seljuk invasion of its last remaining and most prosperous Asiatic provinces that produced the idea of a general European rising, of an offensive and defensive alliance, against the new oppressor. It was not so much solicitude for Jerusalem as the hope of reconquering Asia Minor and of strengthening the Byzantine Empire which inspired the great Pope Gregory VII with the first idea of a crusade immediately after the Turkish invasion of the year 1074. His preparations for the accomplishment of this idea were at the moment

frustrated by the struggle with the German kingdom (pp. 96 and 240). So, again, Urban II, a vigorous and clever successor of Gregory, received, if not the most permanent, at any rate the most decisive, impulse to this undertaking from Byzantium. The emperor Alexius had raised the European provinces of his empire from deep destruction to tolerable order and peace; but the reconquest of Asia was beyond his powers. He could not possibly suspect that his appeals for western help would initiate a movement extending far beyond this immediate object, and threatening to overwhelm his empire in its mighty flood.

Thus in accordance with this final impulse the crusades, as almost all previous struggles of the West against the East, were directed not so much against Islam as against the threatening Turkish power which had arisen within the Mohammedan empire. The barbaric vitality of the Seljuks reinforced the decadent power of eastern Islam, even as the expansion of the Normans had revitalised the Christian West; with full justice Ranke compares the Turkish seizure of the decadent Caliphate to the alliance which at the same moment identified the interests of the reformed papacy with those of the Italian Normans. In each case a spiritual authority acquired new influence by a coalition with a new secular power. The importance of the new alliances became world-wide when they rushed into conflict.

3. THE SPIRIT OF THE WEST IN THE AGE OF THE FIRST CRUSADE

THE appeal of the Greek emperor to the West to begin the inevitable conflict with the Seljuks advancing from central Asia roused a spiritual and intellectual movement, which gave this conflict between East and West a material importance, a territorial extension, and a degree of influence unparalleled in previous history; this result was due to the spirit which pervaded the West at the close of the eleventh century. Owing to this spirit the crusades long retained the character of religious wars, in which the peoples of Europe fought with high enthusiasm for their most sacred possessions.

A. RELIGIOUS ASCETICISM AND ECCLESIASTICAL DOMINATION

THE lines which Christian piety had followed in the West for more than a century have been examined elsewhere (pp. 230 ff.). In many quarters they had given the first shock to that heathenism which had long been covered by a thin veneer of Christianity. According to one view the final Christianisation of Europe throughout its breadth and depth was only due to the activity of the mendicant orders (p. 333). We know but little of the intellectual standpoint of the masses during that age when writing was the exclusive privilege of the clergy; the masses, even in the crusading period, were still perhaps under the influence of heathen conceptions and impulses. Among the dominant classes, however, whose thoughts and emotions can be inferred from documentary evidence, Christianity had been from the tenth century experiencing a profound transformation. Origi-

nally there had been little more than an outward acceptance of Christian doctrine; now a feverish anxiety became manifest to secure an inward realisation of religious precepts, and the Western nations displayed a more earnest yearning to secure the blessings of religion. The Romance temperament was the first to be seized with the spirit of renunciation, of ascetic penance, of intense desire to secure the blessings of heaven; for among the Romance peoples even the Church and its members had been overcome by a profound moral degeneration. This habit of introspection, this struggle to secure the secrets of the faith and to gain a personal realisation of its benefits, soon spread to the Teutonic races.

We have seen how the repeated interference of the German emperors had raised the Roman Church from the depths of degradation and decay (pp. 233 and 238); how again the Romance spirit, as expressed in the Cluniac reforms, had based a theocratic ideal upon the principle of self-renunciation, and had used for the realisation of this project the vacillations and necessities of the Empire during the second half of the eleventh century. To outward appearance Gregory VII, the most powerful champion of this ideal, had succumbed before opposing forces; in reality, he had secured for the Church the spiritual supremacy over every department of secular life, and nothing but the invincible obstinacy with which he maintained his principles had prevented him from securing the victory in person. Gregory's successor, Urban II, showed a more opportunist temper, and reaped what his forerunner had sowed. The policy of Leo XIII, following upon that of Pius IX, has displayed a similar change in our own time. Urban's diplomatic skill raised the papacy to a proud position of supremacy over emperors and kings, over souls and bodies. When the Popes had subjugated the whole of the Western world to their commands and theories, they could only find satisfaction in vigorous outward expansion under the sign of the Cross. Urban II possibly regarded the appeal of the emperor Alexius I rather as an opportunity of reuniting the Greek Church to Rome, than as one of reconquering the Holy Sepulchre. In his momentous address at Clermont (November 26, 1095) he was able, first of all, to turn the hearts of his French compatriots towards this object, which had played but a secondary part in Gregory's plans, for the reason that the horrors of the Seljuk invasion had gone home to Christian minds; but at the same time he discovered "a magic word" which unchained the spirit of the age; he was able to realise what Gregory had only projected when he identified "the more powerful current of popular feeling with the hierarchical movement."

B. The Pilgrimages to Jerusalem

It was by no means the Northmen alone whose thoughts and desires were directed towards the Holy Sepulchre at that time. Pilgrimages to Jerusalem had never ceased from the time of the Roman Empire. Augustine's well-known epigram, "Christ is reached by love and not by sea," remained unintelligible to the youthful minds of the barbaric nations, as it had been to the increasing materialism of the age of decadence. As in the case of relic-worship, so also in that of pilgrimages, no tangible or satisfying symbol could be secured unless it implied a personal grasp of salvation, and provided participation in the promises of the faith through the penance and bodily danger incurred upon a perilous pilgrimage.

Even when the upper classes at least had acquired a more spiritual conception of religion, such materialistic theories of the struggle for salvation by no means became extinct. The new personal Christianity continued to employ the weapons of the old corporate Christianity (p. 242); with the asceticism of the eleventh century was combined the fashion of pilgrimages to St. Mary of Einsiedelm, to Santiago de Compostella, to Rome, and especially *oultre mer*, as the French said, to the spots "where the feet of the Lord had stood." From the Frankish Empire, from Teutonic territory, and from the British Isles these pilgrimages brought new adherents, and especially the most recent converts of the Christian faith, to Jerusalem. These pilgrimages had been facilitated and organised by Charles the Great (through his relations with Harun al Raschid and by the outlay of large sums for the building of churches, monasteries, and shelters in the Holy Land), so that legend credited the emperor himself with a pilgrimage to the tomb of Christ (pp. 170 and 195). During the following centuries the number of pilgrimages was to some extent influenced by the greater or lesser toleration of the Mohammedan rulers of Palestine. With the year 1000, which was expected to bring the end of the world (p. 317), the eastward wave of pilgrims began to resemble a small migration.

It was a personal migratory impulse, replacing the older nomadic tendency of the nations, which was at least as important a stimulus to these movements as the asceticism of the period. Europe would never have attempted to extend and to deepen its outlook by means of crusades had there been no previous desire for an extension of the kind. Hence, during the eleventh century, the vagrant impulse is by no means solely expressed in the voyages of the Normans (cf. above, p. 360). During the same period we find in Palestine a long series of Italian, French, German, and English bishops, with counts of Barcelona, Toulouse, Anjou, Luxemburg, Flanders, and Holland. The custom becomes more prevalent for large bands of pilgrims to make their journey in common under some distinguished leader. About 1025, at the instance and with the help of the Duke of Normandy, seven hundred pilgrims started out with the Abbot Richard of St. Vannes (at Verdun); Lietbert, the archbishop of Cambrai, is said to have led out the incredibly large number of three thousand pilgrims in 1054. The largest of these bands amounted to as many as seven thousand men on the most moderate estimate, and included English, Germans, and French, under the leadership of Archbishop Siegfried I of Mayence (1064). This expedition underwent severe struggles in the Holy Land, from which scarce a third of the pilgrims returned home; in its success and ill fortune it was a miniature of the crusades, though it was great enough to provide a precedent for the appeal which Urban II sent forth to the world from Clermont.

4. THE FIRST CRUSADE

A. Economic, Social, and Political Conditions about 1095. The Peasant Crusades

In the meanwhile the advance of the Turks had cut off the overland route to Palestine through Asia Minor, while the barbarous oppression and persecution of

the native immigrant Christians had made approach by sea almost impossible. It is conceivable that the message of the Saviour which Peter of Amiens, according to legend, brought to the Pope with the "letters dimissory" from the patriarch of Jerusalem was an actual cry for help from this part of the Mediterranean to the "great brother" in the West.

Urban thus set free an impulse the energy of which had for centuries been hampered in the strictest and most unwelcome manner. The movement coincided with social and economic distress of every kind, which may not have weighed so heavily upon the world as the usual exaggerations of contemporary chroniclers represent, but none the less inspired in thousands the desire to escape from a distressing situation. The years from 1085 to 1095 are said to have been marked by a disastrous alternation of floods and drought, and especially by pestilence and famine. The north of France was suffering from a dangerous excess of population, while the west and south of Germany had been perturbed for twenty years by the confusions of the investiture quarrel. It was no wonder that the wild and fervent cry of Clermont, "Deus lo Volt," with which the fiery eloquence of the Pope was answered, overwhelmed all misgivings and ran through the country like an epidemic; or that the flame of popular enthusiasm carried from place to place, and fanned by such fanatical preachers as Peter of Amiens, seized high and low like a "psychical contagion." Every movement of popular passion was unchained by the new watchword which flew throughout the land. Of the lower classes, the first to be affected were the French, who were ever especially amenable to such impulses; the movement then passed through Lorraine and the Rhine territories, and burst through all the bounds and forms of organisation under which the appointed leaders strove to bind it. Hence the preaching of the First Crusade produced a strange result, certainly unexpected by Rome.

The peasants sacrificed their property and possessions to buy the means for their long journey, and migrated with wife and child as their forefathers had done. Masses came forth from the towns, who could sacrifice nothing because they possessed nothing; the lower clergy followed, who had long yearned to take the field for the Church; and these, with undisciplined monks, women, and vagabonds, composed the majority in the crowds which passed in wild excitement, during the spring and summer of 1096, through south Germany and Hungary to the east, led by a few adventurous nobles or preaching clergy, abandoned to the wildest license, committing every kind of excess in the name of their faith, and spreading first of all fire, destruction, and death through the Jewish communities in the Rhine towns, — a precedent followed in every subsequent crusade at every time and place. The majority of these masses came to a miserable end in Hungary, where the warlike population mercilessly revenged the outrages of the strangers with their swords (Vol. V, p. 379); others, under similar circumstances, reached Bulgarian territory and were there scattered. One of the largest bands, under Peter of Amiens himself, after a severe struggle, succeeded in reaching Constantinople, the meeting-place appointed by the Pope; their marauding habits and want of discipline infuriated the Greeks, who immediately transported them beyond the Bosphorus. Upon their first advance in Seljuk territory they were annihilated by the enemy's cavalry. Peter of Amiens himself had previously taken refuge in flight; he afterwards collected the scanty remnants of his bands in Constantinople, and played a somewhat derogatory part in the great crusading army as the leader of

vagabonds of every description. The "peasant crusade," upon the most moderate computation and allowing for the incompetency of that age to form any reasonable numerical estimate, must have depopulated western Europe of far more than one hundred thousand men. Its disastrous issue proved that vague national impulses were not in themselves competent to solve the serious problems which the Pope had placed before the crusade.

B. The Crusade of the Princes

We have then to ask whether the organisation of the royal armies and bands of knights, which followed on the heels of these peasant masses, was any more competent to grapple with these tasks. It has already been observed (p. 360) that the only crusade which ended in any small measure of success, namely, the First, owed its result entirely to the calm foresight and the colonial genius of the Italian Normans, who joined the expedition with entirely secular aims and objects and soon became its leaders. Had it not been for them, and especially for their brilliant leader Bohemond, the splendid armies of knights which started in the summer and autumn of 1096 would probably have failed to reach their goal, and perhaps have suffered the fate of the peasant hordes. The nobles of France, Lorraine, and Provence, whose troops formed the nucleus of that army, doubtless realised more clearly than the adventurous leaders of the peasant crusade the material necessities and actual requirements of an armed pilgrimage; but unbridled want of discipline among some and a mystical asceticism among others, and in many cases the combination of these defects, often led even their clear knowledge astray.

(*a*) *The Leaders.* — Probably the most suitable commander in chief of the crusade would have been an experienced churchman. This position devolved upon Bishop Adhemar of Puy as papal legate, after he had been the first to kneel before the Pope at Clermont and to sew the cross on his right shoulder. Adhemar does not, however, appear to have possessed those qualities of supreme leadership which would have enabled him to coordinate the very heterogeneous elements of the crusading army; moreover, fate did not permit him to see the goal of the pilgrimage to which his wise counsel, his knightly spirit, and his well-known piety often proved advantageous.

Of the secular nobles the best equipped army was led by Raimon of St. Gilles, Count of Toulouse and Viscount of Provence; this force advanced in the autumn of 1096 through northern Italy, Dalmatia, and Macedonia to Constantinople. The military success of the crusade had been secured by the count's adhesion to the resolutions of Clermont, though this had apparently been prearranged. The southern French crusaders in general, and this leader in particular, were characterised by a strange mixture of burning enthusiasm for all the mysteries of the faith, and of very mundane solicitude for their own profit and advantage. We have no knowledge of the reasons which may have induced the count to leave his magnificent possessions, presumably for ever, and to seek a new dominion abroad, not even in the neighbourhood of the Holy Sepulchre.

The next crusading prince of importance was Godfrey of Bouillon, equal in

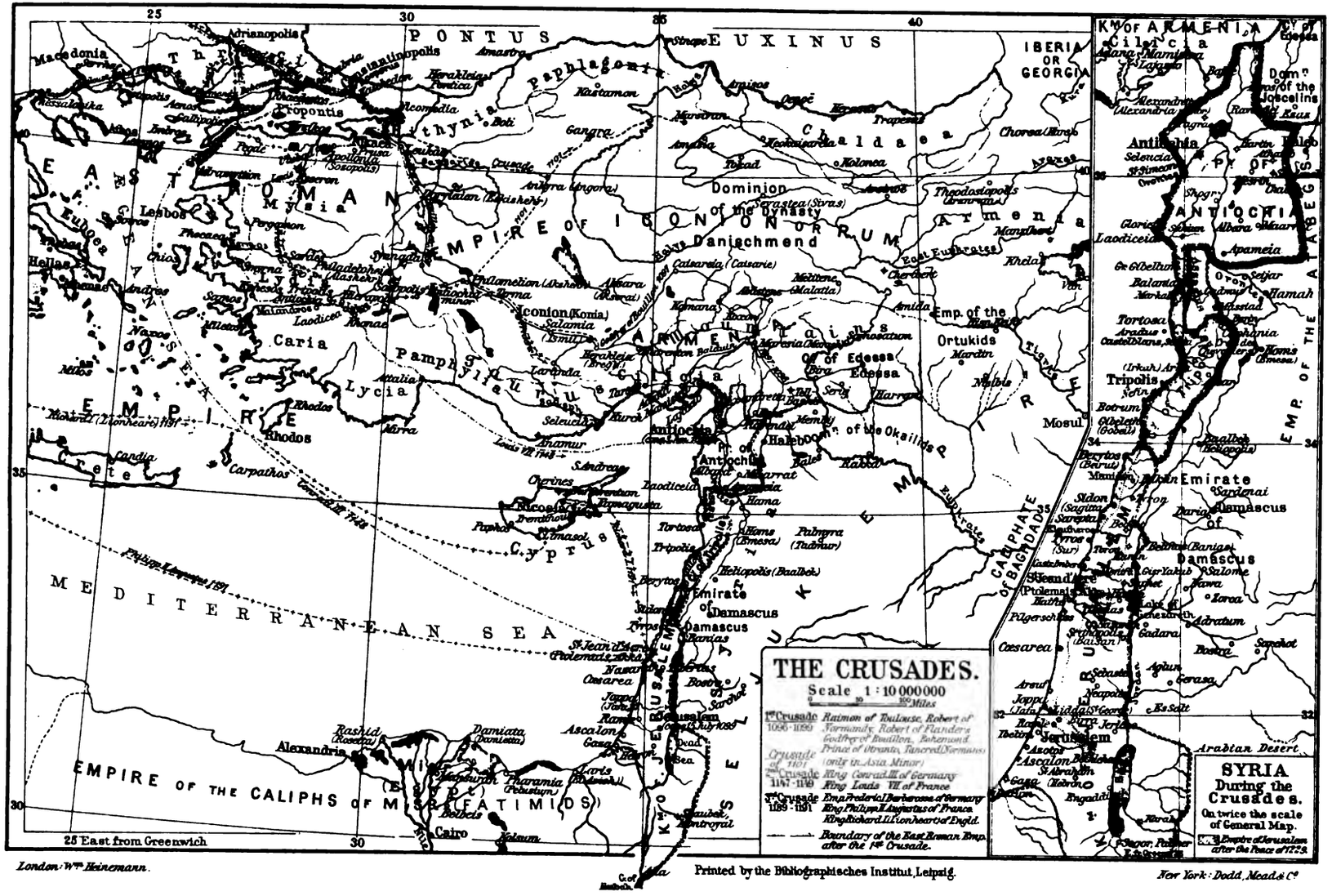
power to Raimon, though subordinate in rank; he was the duke of lower Lorraine, and for more obvious reasons left his home for ever, considering the possibility of return only in the case of utter disaster. He was a product both of the French and of the German nationality; his mother was by extraction from Lorraine, his father was Count Eustace II of Boulogne (p. 96); though his education and language were principally French, his habits and mind were entirely German. He was an untutored warrior, probably long since disgusted by the decaying prosperity of his duchy and the continual struggles which devastated the Empire and his own frontiers. His innate piety probably made him reluctant to enter the struggle against the papal party, and the crusade no doubt attracted him, as it relieved him from the growing burden of supporting a dignity the duties of which did not compensate for its decreasing importance. He was followed by his elder brother Eustace, who subsequently returned to the county of Boulogne, which he inherited after the crusade had begun, and by his younger brother Baldwin, who, like Godfrey, was inspired by religious zeal and desire for action, and hoped to carve out a future for himself. A large army of knights, drawn from Lorraine and the German districts on the left bank of the Rhine, gathered under the banners of the duke, and in August marched through upper Germany, where many other bold champions joined them, advancing southeastward through Hungary.

The third main portion of the crusading army was formed by the north French, Norman, and Flemish contingents. Count Hugo of Vermandois, the brother of Philip I of France, Duke Robert of Normandy, brother of King Henry I of England, and Count Stephen of Blois, brother-in-law of the same monarch (pp. 197 and 516), together with Count Robert of Flanders, were the leaders of this contingent, though men of less importance than Raimon and Godfrey; they marched through Italy to Apulia, and took ship thence with the intention of advancing through Greece. They had been preceded upon this path by Count Bohemond I of Tarento, the eldest son of Robert Guiscard, who had intended to advance upon that line as a conqueror ten years previously; he with his nephew Tancred now led the Italian-Norman army. Between the Christmas of 1096 and the Easter of 1097 the larger part of the crusaders arrived before Constantinople.

(*b*) *The Emperor Alexius and the Crusaders.* — The emperor Alexius found himself in a difficult situation; the size of the crusading army far exceeded his expectations or desires, and for good or for evil he was obliged to use it in the interests of his empire. In place of the auxiliary troops for which he had asked, he found one-half of western Europe levied before him, and constituting a force capable of conducting an independent policy or of acting against his empire. Only a short time previously the Italian Normans had brought his empire to the verge of destruction. The Lorrainers under Godfrey displayed an attitude of hostility upon the march and when encamped before the capital; armed conflicts were frequent with them and with the other armies. The superior culture and the strict administrative bureaucracy of the east Roman state could never enter upon an equal alliance with these forces of barbarism, license, and greed. The Greek emperor adopted a cleverly devised expedient; he availed himself of the forms of western feudalism to turn the crusading movement to his own purpose. Possibly he was inspired by an extravagant imperialism which declined to sur-

render any antiquated claim or any conceivable hope in favour of his foreign allies; possibly he was merely anxious to bind the crusading princes so closely to his person and his empire as to prevent their adoption of any dangerous counter policy. Between these alternatives we can hardly decide; the fact remains that interminable negotiations were supported by cunning and gentle pressure of every kind, and speedily produced discord among the leaders of the Franks. The friction between the bold and far-seeing Bohemond and the pettifogging selfish greed of Raimon played into the emperor's hands, so that at Easter, 1097, Alexius obtained the oath of feudal allegiance from the majority of the Frankish soldiers, and from all of them, a short time later, after the conquest of Nicæa.

Various indications induce us to suppose that, notwithstanding the comprehensiveness of his claims, Alexius had made an agreement concerning the division of the future booty with the leaders, whose insight was capable of weighing political considerations. Otherwise, it is difficult to explain why the crusaders, after they had conquered Nicæa for the Greeks and had cut their way at Dorylæum through the approaching Turkish army, should have allowed the wave of Seljuk invasion to close behind them, and should have made no attempt to establish themselves in Philomelium and Iconium. As the procedure followed in Cilicia and Armenia Minor was wholly different, we may perhaps assume that a frontier line roughly denoted by the Taurus Mountains had been drawn between the two spheres of interest; and that beyond this Alexius had contented himself with an imaginary feudal supremacy over such districts as Antioch and Edessa, which but a short while before had belonged to the Greek Empire. It is, moreover, no mere coincidence that these cities of Byzantine origin became centres of Frankish supremacy. Had not Antioch presented itself to the mind of Bohemond as a worthy prize, the crusading army would have passed by this strongly fortified town, as it passed by Haleb, Tripolis, and Damascus. It seems to have been the intention of Alexius, upon this theory, to push forward the frontiers of east Rome to the base of the Taurus; and to permit the formation beyond that line of smaller Christian outposts, acting as buffer states between himself and the Mohammedan empire, and bound to his own state by a loose tie of allegiance. Our sources of information state that Alexius cheated the crusaders out of Nicæa and Bohemond out of Antioch; but this statement may be nothing more than the form in which existing agreements were reproduced by the incompetent intelligence of a short-sighted leader or by the masses. The increasing tension between the Franks and the Greeks, which steadily endangered the success of the crusade, should be referred rather to the short-sightedness of the masses than to the few leaders of actual power, although at a later date these leaders also paid tribute to time and shared the general prejudice. Furthermore, the emperor Alexius, who must have examined these considerations most carefully, may on his part have failed to foresee the desperate position of the Frankish army, the news of which in the following year obliged him to suspend his triumphant campaign through Asia Minor. Thus the kingdom of Iconium remained intact. In the thirteenth century it was to see the height of Seljuk Persian culture (Vol. III, p. 365); it was now a Mohammedan outpost, a wedge between Byzantium and the Latin principalities, which multiplied the achievements of the First Crusade and condemned them to speedy decay.


THE CRUSADES.
Scale 1 : 10 000 000
Miles
1st Crusade 1096-1099 Raimon of Toulouse, Robert of Normandy, Robert of Flanders, Godfrey of Bouillon, Bohemond, Prince of Otranto, Tancred (Normans) (only in Asia Minor)
Crusade of 1101
2nd Crusade 1147-1149 King Conrad III of Germany, King Louis VII of France
3rd Crusade 1189-1191 Emp. Frederic I Barbarossa of Germany, King Philipp II Augustus of France, King Richard II Lionheart of Engld.
Boundary of the East Roman Emp. after the 1st Crusade.
SYRIA During the Crusades.
On twice the scale of General Map.
Empire of Jerusalem after the Peace of 1229.
PONTUS EUXINUS
IBERIA OR GEORGIA
EAST ROMAN EMPIRE
EMPIRE OF ICONION OR RUM
Dominion of the Dynasty Danischmend
Emp. of the Ortukids
Emp. of the Okailids
CALIPHATE OF BAGHDAD
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
EMPIRE OF THE CALIPHS OF MISR (FATIMIDS)
Arabian Desert
25 East from Greenwich
London: Wm. Heinemann.
Printed by the Bibliographisches Institut, Leipzig.
New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

(c) *The March Through Asia Minor.* — The most important dates of the expedition through Asia Minor have been already mentioned: these were the capture of Nicæa on June 19, 1097, after a siege of six weeks, with the help and to the exclusive advantage of the Greeks, when a relieving army from the Emir[c] Izz eddîn-Qilij Arslân (Kilich Arslan or Sulaiman II), had been defeated; the victory at Dorylæum (Eskishehr) on July 1, which was gained by the timely arrival of the second division of the hard-pressed Normans; the march through the peninsula upon the high-road, which the enemy had surrendered, through Philomelium, Antiochia Minor, and Iconium to Heracleia (Eregli) and to the foot of the Taurus (see the map facing this page, "The Crusades"). At this point a strategical diversion took place; the crusaders had learnt wisdom in the school of the Greeks, and had secured a sufficient insight into the political conditions of the countries through which they were to march. Even in the camp before Nicæa religious enthusiasm had given way to prudent tactical considerations; the crusaders had learnt of the opposition between the Fatimite Caliphate in Egypt and the orthodox Caliph in Bagdad under Seljuk supremacy, and had not refused to open diplomatic relations with Cairo by the despatch of ambassadors. They were naturally still more inclined to secure the help of the Christian Armenians, as being their co-religionists. These people, after the invasion of the Turks, had found new settlements in the Taurus, in Cappadocia, Cilicia, northern Syria, and in the Euphrates district; only a short time previously they had founded the principality of Armenia Minor, which promised well for the future (Vol. III, p. 355). An embassy was therefore sent to the Armenians, upon whose good will depended the use of the road over which the great crusading army passed, in a wide detour to the north, through Cæsarea, Komana, Cocussus (Coxon), along the Taurus, and across the mountain range.

The nearer road through Cilicia was followed only by small bands of lightly equipped troops led by Tancred and Godfrey's brother, Baldwin, for the purpose of rousing the local Armenians and Greeks, and capturing the towns already in posesssion of the Seljuks. The attempt was entirely successful, with the exception that the Norman attempted to establish himself here, probably in view of Bohemond's intentions upon Antioch. Baldwin succeeded in preventing this attempt, though not entirely, as an appeal from the Armenian prince of Edessa summoned him eastwards. After a short meeting with the main army in Marash, the energetic and determined prince, who far surpassed his simpler brother in importance and diplomatic ability, proceeded to enter Mesopotamian territory; there he speedily made himself so indispensable to the Greek Armenian population in the struggle with the Seljuks that Thoros of Edessa submitted to his leadership, though probably not wholly of his own free will. This claim soon became an accomplished fact by reason of a revolution, which was probably not wholly unexpected by Baldwin, and ended with the murder of Thoros. On March 9, 1098, the first Latin principality was founded here as an advance outpost.

(d) *The Struggle for Antioch.* — For the main body of the crusading army the most momentous period of the expedition in respect of exploits and sufferings had now begun. On October 20, 1097, the army arrived before Antioch, and the siege lasted until the beginning of June, 1098. Only the extraordinary condition of the great Seljuk empire permitted the conquest of Antioch, or indeed the

eventual success of the crusade, of which the most material success was the capture of this town. In ages when communication is inadequate, or in lands where it is difficult, every extensive military monarchy is broken up into feudal principalities; the state of Alp Arslan and Meleksâh (Vol. III, p. 355) proved no exception to the rule, and the state of Syrian affairs made itself felt at this point. At the same time, as so often in the course of the world's history (cf. above, p. 355), Egyptian and Mesopotamian influences met in that land which is bounded on the south by the Nile valley and on the north by the valley of the Euphrates. The Shiite caliphate of Cairo had secured partisans among the Seljuk princes of northern Syria, and had used the assassin sect of Lebanon for its further propaganda (Vol. III, p. 360). Palestine, however, which every Egyptian prince regarded as part of his country, was wrested from Turkish despotism by the Fatimite Vizier El-melik el-Afdal (Alafdhal) shortly before the arrival of the crusading army (autumn, 1098). Under these circumstances the Seljuk emirate of Syria was a prey to continual dissensions, and was constantly at variance with its own members and with the central government, while the continual changes of party grouping contributed to prevent for decades any uniform or enthusiastic co-operation against the forces of the West, even in the moment of deadliest peril. Help indeed was offered, but mutual abandonment was equally common, and upon the whole, only feeble attempts were made to relieve the siege of Antioch, which were defeated with comparative ease by the crusaders, though their army diminished at an appalling rate under the hardships and suffering of the siege. The main body of the pilgrims dispersed more and more rapidly over the surrounding territory, in Cilician, Armenian, or in Mohammedan dominions. In harbour towns such as Tripolis, which belonged to a Seljuk emir, the crusaders enjoyed unimpeded powers of exit and entry, and were allowed to celebrate in public their divine service while the struggle was raging before Antioch. Had it not been for this condition of Syria and the Turkish power, the crusade would probably have come to a premature end before Antioch. But the craft of Bohemond secured the town to the Franks on June 3, 1098, through the treachery of the Armenian renegade, Firuz, or rather on the basis of a consent extorted from the other princes. The most critical moment of the whole campaign was approaching.

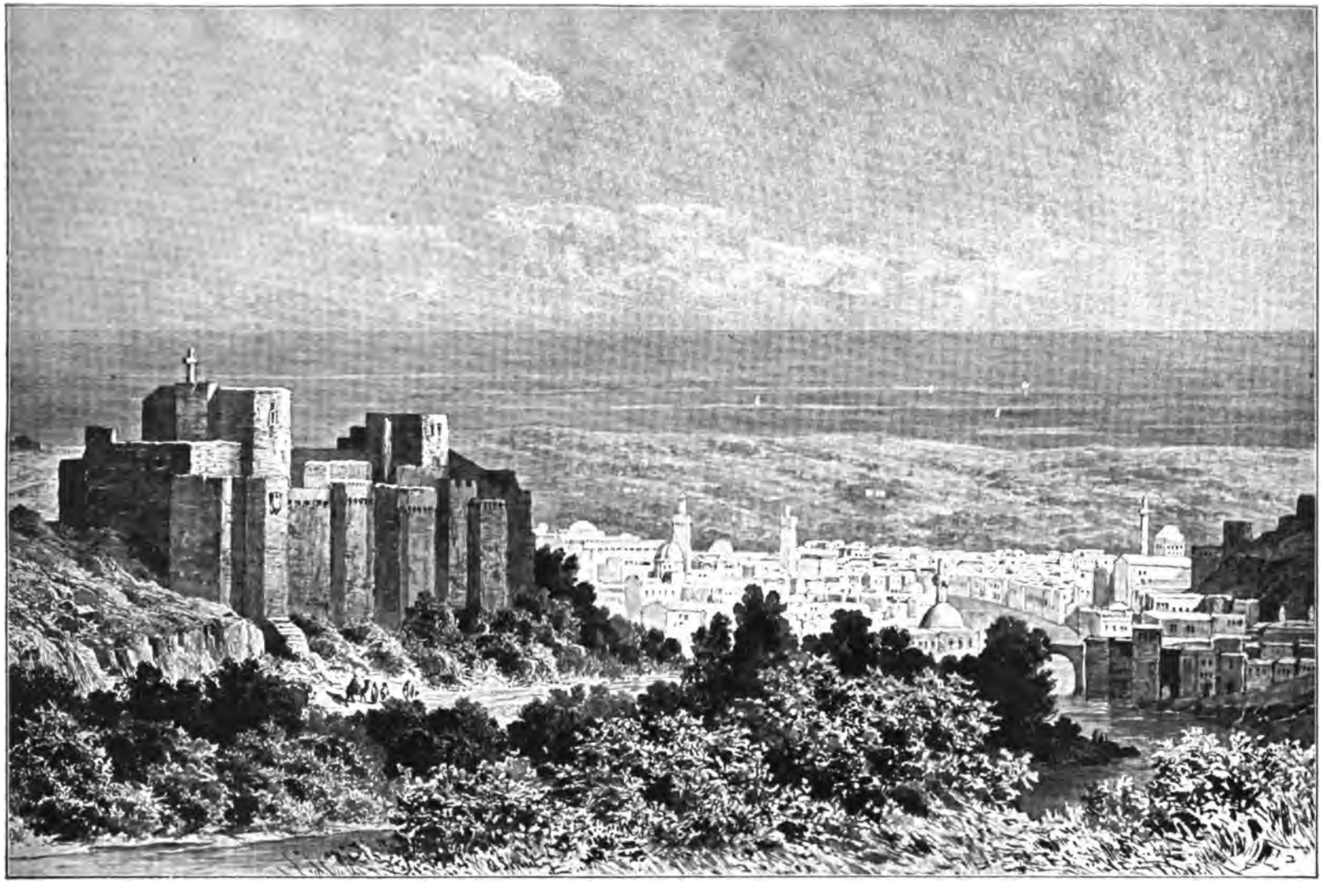
A few days after the surrender of Antioch, the crusaders were blockaded in the town by a great relieving army of the Emir Kerbogha of Mosul, which the Seljuk Sultan, Barkjarok, had at length sent to the help of his hard-pressed vassals. For some inexplicable reason Kerbogha had uselessly spent weeks in the investment of Edessa, which was obstinately defended by Baldwin; had he appeared before Antioch a few days earlier, before the capture of the town, the crusading army would have been reduced to utter desperation. Even now, though possessed of the town, they were in a position of great difficulty. The crusaders were forced to maintain the defence both against the besieging army in the plain and against the garrison of the lofty citadel which they had been unable to capture at the same time as the town; this task proved beyond the powers of the besieged forces, though great heroism was shown by chivalrous courage and enthusiastic vigour. The general exhaustion produced a feeling of despair, and desertions became more frequent. Meanwhile a pious fraud was practised upon the starving masses, who had been raised to the highest pitch of credulity and were ready to accept any marvel. It was a deception highly effective at the moment, though

afterwards employed for very impious purposes; this was the discovery of the "sacred lance" on June 14, by which the courage of the crusaders was revived. The sortie which they made in their supreme distress, when they had nothing more to lose, proved unexpectedly successful. The enemy was scattered, and Kerbogha speedily retreated, a triumph which the crusaders ascribed partly to their own desperate bravery and partly to the miraculous powers of the lance. As a matter of fact some kind of miracle is almost required to explain the strange manner in which the enemy's power was dissolved. There was probably some violent friction among the different divisions of the Seljuk host; the Syrian emirs may have been reluctant to strengthen the forces of the central government, or Kerbogha may have quarrelled with the disobedient vassal princes. In any case the vigour of the Frankish sortie was certainly not of itself sufficient to cause this extraordinary raising of the siege and the hasty retirement of the army of relief. Antioch was now definitely in the hands of the Christians (June 28, 1098).

(*e*) *The Liberation of Jerusalem. — The Origin of the Crusading States.* — The crusade now came to a standstill for many months; the army was entirely exhausted, and the concentration of its scattered divisions became desirable. These were further diminished by the plague; moreover quarrels among the leaders and the masses now broke out with a violence which endangered all previous and future success. The pious fraud of the "holy lance," which was maintained by extremely doubtful methods against sceptics and mockers, led to a deep dissension between the Provençals, who were by nature enthusiastically credulous before such reputed miracles, and the Normans, whose early religious enthusiasm rapidly disappeared before the growing secular temper of the crusade. A more dangerous obstacle was the jealousy between the princes. Raimon found that the success of his efforts was continually thwarted by Bohemond, even during minor enterprises, in the near or distant neighbourhood of Antioch; he was unable to eject his cleverer and more fortunate rival from the newly won territory, to which he considered that he had a superior claim. Eventually, in November, he was forced to retire by a mutiny of his own troops at Maarra. The delay was probably increased by some uncertainty concerning the object of the expedition; as long as the path remained open for some understanding with Cairo, it was a bold but by no means a hopeless plan to attack Bagdad, the centre of the Seljuk power, with an army reconcentrated and strengthened by later arrivals. Meanwhile, however, the hopes of an understanding with the Fatimite Caliphate disappeared after that power had again secured possession of Jerusalem and the purely religious idea of the masses became paramount; they desired, not to conquer the world, but to pray at the liberated tomb of the Saviour. This desire, which was now enthusiastically revived, eventually carried the day. Count Raimon, who was the most influential leader, as Bohemond had remained behind in Antioch, attempted to detain the crusading army for months before Arka (Irkah), the citadel of Tripolis, in order to secure this emirate for himself. Once again his own men set fire to their tents and carried their leader southward, notwithstanding his helpless rage. In the case of the coast towns which they passed they were content to enforce mere neutrality upon the Seljuk emirs; it was impossible to restrain the dominant idea that now guided the army.

On June 7, 1099, they at length caught sight of Jerusalem, and beheld with reverential awe the desired goal of nearly three years' wandering. A siege of five weeks then took place, and in this hot and waterless country the pilgrims tasted all the sufferings of deprivation and also the glories of burning enthusiasm and triumphant joy; eventually, on July 15, the Holy City was wrested from the hands of the infidels after days of fearful slaughter. The attempt of the ecclesiastical party to place the new acquisition under hierarchical government proved a failure; several of the most important leaders, even the ambitious and greedy Raimon, declined the crown of the new state, for reasons that are not very obvious, but are possibly connected with the claim of the church party. Nine days later Godfrey of Bouillon became the "protector of the Holy Sepulchre" as the vassal of the Church. This honourable position he justified on August 12, when he defeated the approaching army of the Vizier Alafdhal at Ascalon with the crusading army, which had fortunately not entirely disbanded. Unluckily the factiousness of the princes prevented the capture of this strong harbour town; but the danger from Egypt, which the most far-seeing of the leaders had wished to meet by an expedition to Cairo before the siege of Jerusalem, had been obviated for the moment. The bands of pilgrims returned homewards across the sea, or repaired to the more inviting coasts of northern Syria, and the state of Jerusalem could attempt to stand by its own resources.

This was no easy matter. In the first place, the country was hardly suitable for the foundation of an independent state; it was largely uninhabited and devastated through the struggles of the last years. The Mohammedan population had been annihilated, or had fled, while the Christian inhabitants were few and poor. The remnant of the French chivalry, that had been willing to support Duke Godfrey in the occupation of the country, is estimated by a tradition, probably not exaggerated, at the number of two hundred pilgrims; that is to say, about two thousand men, when we allow for the due proportion of infantry. Tancred led forth nearly twice this number when he began an incessant guerilla warfare for fame and plunder as the "Prince of Galilee." A year afterwards he was summoned as regent to Antioch in consequence of the misfortune by which Bohemond became a prisoner of the Turks. In this principality, however, the utmost efforts were necessary to make head against the infidels, who could threaten the government from the stronghold of Haleb, and against the Greeks. The Emperor Alexius had broken the convention of 1097 as entirely as the crusaders, and each side proceeded to accuse the other of the first breach of faith. Hence, instead of the desired co-operation, a mutual hostility came to pass, which occupied the whole of the first century of the crusades with but short intermissions. Struggles soon began between the Greeks and the occupants of Antioch, first, for the possession of the harbour of Laodicea, and afterwards for the most part in Cilicia, which remained a bone of contention between the two parties until it became the nucleus of the new kingdom of Armenia Minor; to these differences were added the old feud between the Provençals and the Normans. Raimon of Toulouse joined the Greek opponents of Bohemond and Tancred, but without success; he then perished in the course of an attempt to found an independent government in Tripolis (February 28, 1105). It was not until July 12, 1109, that his son Bertrand succeeded in capturing the town and then the county of Tripolis; this operation was conducted from the strong fortress which his father had built



TRIPOLIS, IN SYRIA. IN THE LEFT FOREGROUND, ON THE PILGRIM'S MOUNT, THE FORTIFIED CASTLE OF RAIMON OF SAINT-GILLES, COUNT OF TOULOUSE, BUILT 1103

(From Lortet's "Syrie d'aujourd'hui"; drawn by O. Schulz)

against the town, the "Pilgrim Castle" on the "Pilgrim Mount," known to the Mohammedans as Sandshîl, from Raimon's title of Count of St. Gilles (see the plate facing this page, "Tripolis and Syria"). The new county, like Antioch and Edessa, was connected with Jerusalem by some loose and almost imaginary tie of subjection, but afterwards naturally gravitated more and more towards the north, and was eventually united to Antioch.

Thus through the preoccupations of the other princes Jerusalem was left entirely to itself, and Godfrey's whole energies were absorbed in resisting the hierarchical claims of the newly founded patriarchate, and in some practically fruitless attempts to add a few harbour towns to his "empire," as harbours were indispensable to secure his connection with the West. Of any actual state or government there was as yet no question, and certainly none of the foundation afterwards ascribed to Godfrey of that carefully organized constitution and judicature which is detailed in the "Assizes" of Jerusalem (pp. 381 and 390). A year later "the protector of the Holy Sepulchre" died on July 18, 1100, poisoned according to rumour by an Arab emir, and left behind him nothing but the beginning of a state. Various legends which have centred about his personality have entirely exaggerated his statesmanship and exploits in the Holy Land; they connect his whole life before the crusade with his divine calling, give him a leading position in the crusading army which he never enjoyed, notwithstanding his many exploits at the head of his German troops, and represent him as the descendant of the mysterious swan knight, as a brilliant ruler at the tomb of Christ. As a matter of fact, this bold German hero was nothing more than a pioneer for later rulers.

5. THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM (1100–1143)

THE real founders of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, in the narrower sense of the word, are the two Lorraine princes, Baldwin I (1100–1118) and Baldwin II (1118–1131); both had been princes of Edessa before beginning their rule in the Holy Land, and in this advanced outpost had received a special training in war with the infidels; both were energetic, clear-sighted, and unscrupulous characters, and indeed no others could secure any solid success amid the difficulties of the situation. Godfrey had conceded the claim of the patriarch to feudal supremacy, but this was entirely disregarded by his brother Baldwin I, who secured his coronation in the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem (Christmas, 1100); this was the birthday of the Frankish state. The capacity of Baldwin I and of his nephew, who succeeded him in Edessa and afterwards in Jerusalem, discovered the exact means and ways for making this empty title a proper reality; at the same time the possibility of founding a colonial state of importance in Palestine was provided from abroad by the continued operation of those forces which we have already indicated as the motive powers of the crusades.

A. THE COLONISATION OF SYRIA FROM THE WEST

THE news of the great exploits and sufferings of the first crusaders affected western Europe in a degree which may be judged from the fact that the simple

minds of contemporaries regarded the vast movement of this holy war as a miracle. News from the East was passed from city to city, from village to village, from town to town, by the road and from the pulpit, and was sung by minstrels. These reports secured the continuance both of the religious and of the military enthusiasm, and of that desire for adventure, with its strange mixture of piety and materialism, which drove hundreds of thousands eastward in the year 1096. A steady communication between East and West now began, which lasted for nearly two hundred years, and attained a vigour unexampled before or since. During these two centuries the East has been compared with a stormy sea which never becomes entirely calm, even when the most violent winds are at rest. To regard the workings of the crusades as entirely confined to the great expeditions, of the traditional list is to take an absolutely wrong view of this age and of its enterprises. The superfluous population of the West was not merely carried to the East by these great expeditions, of which there were many more than the seven usually enumerated (p. 400). Communication between East and West, from the outset of the twelfth century to the end of the thirteenth, must be regarded as similar to the American emigration of our own day, but far more definite in its influence upon the various classes which it affected, especially the upper classes. There was an incessant coming and going by land and sea, a constant flow of pilgrims and colonists, which was speedily organised by the regular "passages" between the Mediterranean harbours of Europe and Syria, which took place at Easter and midsummer.

Immediately after 1100, this movement was naturally only in its beginning; but even then those forces were fully operative which aimed at removing the Frankish dominion in Syria from the restricted sphere of religious interest and military adventure, and making that power an actual and permanent colonial state. The forces in question were precisely those which, from the very outset, had guided the last great expansion of the West in a southeasterly direction.

The impulse to Norman expansion had now expended its strength in a surprising manner. There were, indeed, many great Viking expeditions to Syria. In the years of the first crusade and immediately afterwards, the contingents from the harbours of the North Sea, from England, Flanders, and Denmark, were of high importance; especially noticeable is the expedition of the Norwegian king, Sigurd I, who bore the title Jorsalafare (Jerusalem pilgrim) before any other, and helped to conquer Sidon with his fleet on December 4. Upon the whole, however, the intercourse of the Northmen with the Holy Land was confined to ordinary pilgrimages with no subsidiary objects.

The military expansion of the southern Normans had reached its objective with the occupation of Antioch, and seems to have been exhausted by this effort. In the summer of 1103 Bohemond was released from imprisonment, and re-entered his principality with great difficulty; he then proceeded westward to enlist reinforcements against Islam (January, 1105). His preaching of a secular crusade, which he carried into the depths of France, proved everywhere highly successful; in the autumn of 1107 he found himself at the head of a great fleet and a powerful army. Some remnant of adventurous carelessness then confused the foresight of this most politic among the princes of the First Crusade, and induced him to renew that attempt upon the Greek Empire in which his father, Robert Guiscard, had failed, — an attempt which throughout this century was the root of all evil

for the crusaders. Once again the enterprise failed at its very outset, and after a fruitless siege of Durazzo, Bohemond was obliged to conclude a humiliating peace in September, 1108. A few years later he died at home on March 7, 1111, while making fresh preparations for the East. A year afterwards Tancred also retired from the scene (December 12, 1112); he had succeeded, notwithstanding the aberrations of chivalry, in maintaining and extending his Syrian dominion against the Seljuks and the Greeks.

The Norman power as such thus steadily disappears from this quarter. The kingdom of Antioch, indeed, remained in the hands of the immediate successors of its founder, though in the female line from 1130, and was the only crusading state which thus preserved its continuity. Bohemond's dynasty in Antioch survived the downfall of the original principality after the Mohammedan triumphs of 1268, and kept possession of Tripolis for some decades, while a collateral branch secured the throne of Cyprus (p. 413). But after 1136 Constance, the granddaughter of the first Bohemond (Vol. V, p. 95), married Raimon of Poitou, the son of William of Aquitaine, the "first troubadour." French influence then became preponderant upon the Orontes, and thenceforward absorbed the crusading states after the disappearance of the Lotharingian dynasty from Jerusalem. Many English, German, or Norse leaders entered the country with the great expeditions, or with annual reinforcements; representatives of all nations gathered in the harbours of Syria and the capital of the kingdom. But the main stream from the leading classes, and from the circles which held possessions over seas, belonged principally and increasingly to France. France stamped her character at an early date upon the Frankish states. That character they preserved, with one exception, which became of material importance both to the foundation and to the entire future of these states.

B. The Share of the Italian Maritime Cities

The participation of the Italian maritime cities was of paramount importance for the fortunes of the First Crusade. The sieges both of Antioch and Jerusalem received valuable support from the Genoese fleets; at the end of the summer of 1099 a large crusading army from Pisa reached the harbours of Laodicea, which were then held by the Greeks, and supported Bohemond's blockade, which came to nothing on account of the opposition of the other princes. This force afterwards rendered good service in the rebuilding of Jerusalem and Jaffa, and in the latter place laid the foundation of an afterwards flourishing colony. It soon became obvious that the co-operation of the Italian commercial nations in the construction of vigorous states, and in their maintenance by the crusaders, was indispensable. The opposition of Byzantine policy, and the growth of dissension among the crusaders and the Greeks, closed the land route through Asia Minor; and the possession of harbours on the Syrian coast, though at first despised, became a vital condition to the Frankish states, for only so was it possible to secure connection with the West and to guarantee the arrival of troops and supplies. The mercantile cities of Italy, however, conscious that their fleets were indispensable to the acquisition and maintenance of this valuable possession, steadily used them to support their own interests, the magnitude of which was

much increased by the opening up of Syria and of its trade routes (p. 324). They did not wait for the gratitude of the Frankish princes, but proceeded to formulate their demands. Before the conquest of the several towns, they secured important possessions and privileges as the price of their help. Thus here, as in the Greek kingdom, colonies of Italian citizens arose, which became the most important centres of Eastern trade and also of Frankish dominion, though they stood outside the Frankish political system. But the professional leaders of this system, the nobles and knights, speedily displayed their incapacity. Feudalism was as incompetent to cope with its constitutional tasks in the East as the crusades which it led were inadequate for their object; the colonising spirit of the Italians, on the other hand, displayed a wholly different fixity of purpose, undisturbed by any religious mysticism, by any extravagant enthusiasm or vague desire for adventure.

In the summer of 1100 the Venetians reached Palestine for the first time with a large fleet, and learnt from the lips of Godfrey that had it not been for their arrival he would have been forced to surrender all his conquests. They recognised that their opportunity had come; they offered their help as auxiliary troops from the festival of St. John to that of the Assumption; in return they were to be granted in every maritime or inland town which the crusaders possessed, or should hereafter acquire, a church, together with a considerable site for a market, while they were to be given a full third of any towns that they might now conquer in conjunction with the Franks. They further bargained that the town of Tripolis should be given entirely into their hands should it be conquered, in return for a small yearly tribute; in addition the Venetians were to enjoy freedom from taxation and some other privileges in all the towns of the kingdom. At that moment their successes were confined to the conquest of the small town of Haifa (Chaifa) at the foot of Mount Carmel, with the help of Tancred. The conditions offered to Godfrey remained, however, typical for the future.

A Genoese fleet helped Baldwin I, in May, 1101, to conquer Arsuf and Cæsarea, and carried away from the latter town, amongst other rich booty, the famous *Sacro catino*, which was regarded as an emerald and reputed to be the vessel employed at the "Last Supper" (preserved in the cathedral of San Lorenzo at Genoa). In the imagination of religious poets in the Christian world this trophy became the Sangraal ("sanguis realis"). In the same year a small Genoese expedition co-operated with Raimon in the capture of Tortosa; and on May 26, 1104, a large fleet from Genoa, in conjunction with King Baldwin, secured the Christians in possession of the most important harbour on the Syrian coast, the town of Acre (Akkon). Baldwin then made those extensive concessions which were engraved in golden letters upon a stone behind the high altar of the church of the Holy Sepulchre. They were analogous to those which Godfrey had granted to the Venetians. In Arsuf, Cæsarea, and Acre the Genoese received quarters amounting to a third of each town, and lands on the outskirts of the town to the same extent; they were also given quarters in Jerusalem and Jaffa, and the right to a third of any city which might hereafter be conquered with their help. To these privileges were added a third of the harbour dues of Acre, and complete immunity from taxation within the kingdom. The Genoese thus secured an almost dominant position in the kingdom of Jerusalem, and gained the most important share in the county of Tripolis. On April 28, 1104,

they enabled Raimon to secure Gibellum Minus (Gibelet or Jubail, between Beyrout and Tripolis), as they had secured Tortosa in 1101; in 1109 they enabled his son Bertrand (p. 372) to enter Tripolis itself. Genoa was rewarded with a third of this town and with the whole of Gibelet.

In the previous year the men of Pisa had supported Tancred when Laodicea was finally conquered from the Greeks. Now the Genoese conquered Gibellum Maius for him (Jebeleh; July 23, 1109), and enabled him thus to open connections by land between Antioch and Tripolis. The gap which divided Acre, the most northerly town of the kingdom, from Gibelet, the most southern settlement in the county of Tripolis, was bridged by the capture of Beyrout (May 13, 1110) and Sidon. The Genoese co-operated in the attack upon Beyrout, and the Venetians probably joined the Norwegians (p. 374) before Sidon. Eventually a large Venetian fleet won a brilliant victory by sea over the Egyptians off Ascalon, during the absence of Baldwin II, who had been a Turkish prisoner from September 13, 1122, and helped to secure the capture of Tyre, the last remaining harbour unconquered in the North (July 7, 1124). Apart from the usual third of the towns which they conquered, the Venetians were then given in every town belonging to the king or his barons a whole street, a square, a church, a bath, and a bakehouse, entirely immune from any kind of taxation and implying no measure of dependence. In Jerusalem they demanded a quarter equivalent to the possession of the king in the capital; in Acre they were to be allowed, without interference on the part of the other inhabitants, to bake in their own ovens, grind in their own mill, use their own bath, and enjoy complete immunity from taxation, as in every other locality.

Concession and fulfilment were, however, two very different processes in the Middle Ages; and even if they possessed the power, the Frankish rulers certainly did not always entertain the inclination to hand over the promised privileges to the Italian traders. None the less Genoa and Venice (Pisa soon fell behind; Amalfi, Marseilles in the south of France, and other maritime cities, were but secondary powers from the outset), by means of the territory actually surrendered and the privileges conceded, had founded a kind of colonial empire on the Syrian coast, which formed the nucleus and perhaps the connecting bond of the Frankish feudal states, which were by nature more inclined to disruption than to coherence.

C. The Two Lorraine Rulers, Baldwin I and Baldwin II, 1100–1131

From the outset the partial success of the First Crusade, the existence of the Frankish states and their military supremacy, had been secured only by the existence of that disruptive feudalism which broke the Seljuk power, as it tended to divide the Frankish. Whenever a capable leader appeared on the Turkish side, able to concentrate the Seljuk forces in one direction, if but for a moment, the Christians were reduced to great distress or extreme despair, owing to their want of any similar combination. They were entirely devoted to their individual interests, turning their weapons against one another, and not despising the help even of the enemies of the faith. The eternal geographical differences within the Syrian territory, the northern part of which is as naturally attracted to the Euphrates and Tigris, as the southern to the Nile, proved more effective

than any religious difference; the religious struggle as such often, and at a surprisingly early date, disappeared, to the scorn and anger of devoutly minded pilgrims, and gave way to the special necessities of the individual states in every part of the country.[1]

In the midst of these aberrations, which were further complicated by the constant necessity of opposition to Byzantine claims and attacks, the state of Jerusalem was able to attain a certain solidarity at an early date, for the reason that the acquisition of the coast line had withdrawn it from the immediate neighbourhood of the Seljuk foe, though the kings were constantly involved in the confusions of the North. The Egyptian danger, which became imminent upon several occasions during the first decades, was successfully repelled, and diminished as the Fatimite Empire entered upon the period of its decay; the neighbourhood of Ascalon was regarded as little more than a disturbing factor, and the conquest of this fortress was not undertaken until 1153 (p. 390); on the other side Damascus was rather a protection against the attacks from Mesopotamia than a serious menace, though struggles with the power of Damascus were frequent (p. 355). Under these circumstances Baldwin I showed high statesmanship when he devoted his attention to securing his country against Egypt at a time when no serious tasks awaited him upon the coast line, and when Antioch and Edessa were not in need of his help. To his efforts was due the line of strong fortresses which protected the southern frontier, especially towards Ascalon, including Ibelin and the castles of Beit Jibrin, Beit Nuba, and Tell es-safiye ("blanche garde"), which were built at the time of Fulco. In particular he it was who built Montréal (Mont royal), the great desert fortress situated half way between the Dead and Red Seas. This fortress commanded the routes between Egypt, Arabia, and Damascus, and could thus protect communication between these countries in time of peace, or close it in time of war, as necessity might demand. At a later date this strong outpost was supported by the fortress of Kerak at the east of the Dead Sea (p. 381), and that of Wadi Musa further to the south. The far-sighted policy of Baldwin I in this respect led him to make a bold expedition to the Red Sea in 1116, and eventually to Egypt itself in 1118, where, however, he was overcome by severe illness before he could attempt any further conquests. He died on the homeward march (April 2).

His successor was Baldwin II of Edessa, who was at that moment in Jerusalem. It is not surprising that northern affairs chiefly occupied the attention of this ruler, as for nearly twenty years he had been closely connected with the destinies of northern Syria. At that moment Antioch had been brought to the verge of destruction by a severe defeat which his knights suffered at the hands of the Emir of Mardin, Ilghazi, and in which the regent, Roger del Principato, fell (June 28, 1119). Baldwin II, who undertook the regency, was able to hand over the principality undiminished to the young Bohemond II, notwithstanding numerous misfortunes, when the latter ruler received these dominions, with the hand of Baldwin's second daughter Alice, in the middle of October, 1126. Unfortunately the king did not always obtain that sympathetic co-operation which his services to the principality had merited. On one occasion his son-in-law omitted to support one of Baldwin's most hopeful attempts upon Haleb. The governor of

[1] The reader will recollect the embassy to Cairo at the time of the first crusade, p. 369.

Antioch considered it advisable not to allow the king to become too successful against the enemies of the faith, and Haleb remained unconquered like Damascus, against which Baldwin also directed vigorous attacks. In the one case he was forced to content himself with the acquisition of a large portion of the territory of Haleb, and in the latter case with the surrender of Banias (1129), the outpost of the Damascenes on Mount Hermon at the source of the Jordan, a post that the Mohammedans had hitherto used as a base for incessant raids upon the north of Palestine and the coast towns, whence they had supported the resistance of Tyre, the conquest of which was not yet complete. Banias was recovered by the infidels in 1132, and again recaptured by the Christians in 1140. At that point was maintained, after 1139, the strong crusading fortress, Kalaat es-Subebe, until in 1165 the position was finally and definitely seized by Nur ed-dîn. Upon the whole the successes of Baldwin II were somewhat modest, but the Frankish victories easily counteracted the pressure of the Mohammedans. As evidence of the Mohammedan attitude, we may quote the words of one of their chroniclers, who complains, with some exaggeration: "The star of Islam had sunk below the horizon, and the sun of its destinies was hidden behind the clouds. The banners of the infidels waved over the Mohammedan territories, and the victories of the unjust overpowered the faithful. The empire of the Franks extended from Mardin in Mesopotamia to El-Arish on the Egyptian frontier. In the whole of Syria but few towns remained free from their rule. Even of these, Haleb was tributary to them, and Damascus was forced to surrender its Christian slaves. In Mesopotamia their armies advanced to Amida and Nisibis, and the Mohammedans of Rakka and Harran found no protection against their cruelty."

D. The Orders of Knights

During the reign of Baldwin II arose those associations in which at a later date the spiritual and secular chivalry of the crusading principalities displayed its greatest brilliancy, but which later became almost states within the state, and one of the most material causes of the downfall of the Frankish empire. These were the orders of knights. The order of Templars was founded about 1119 under Hugo of Payns, and was originally a simple fraternity connected with the hospital of St. John to protect pilgrims from robbers and highwaymen. The new foundation speedily lost its character as a military brotherhood and became an ecclesiastical order, the members of which pledged themselves to chastity, poverty, and obedience, and gave their oaths to the patriarch of Jerusalem to fight on behalf of the pilgrims in the holy cities. This conjunction of military service and spiritual exercises proved in complete harmony with the spirit of the times. In January, 1128, it secured the powerful support of St. Bernard, of Clairvaux, at the council of Troyes, and received from him a rule akin to that of the Benedictines; from this date its path was easy. Extensive privileges gradually withdrew its members from the influence of the local clergy and its houses from the supremacy of the bishops; the order speedily acknowledged no superior but the Pope, and rose to great splendour. Members of the superior nobility applied for reception and brought their possessions with them; princes and lords outbid one another in rich grants of land and people. In a short time the order

became one of the largest territorial powers even in the West, and an entirely independent power on an equal footing with the Syrian petty states. The increase of its wealth gave it an importance equivalent to that of the rising mercantile cities of Italy; it became a wholesale merchant and manufacturer, and even a kind of gigantic bank, as no small part of Western monetary exchange passed through its hands. It can bear comparison with modern institutions of the kind; it even became the pioneer of new economic forms, which the Teutonic knights of later date afterwards imitated in their own interest.

The Templars derived their name from their first possession, given them by Baldwin II, a part of the king's palace upon the supposed site of the temple, the so-called mountain mosque (Kubbet es-Sachra); the Knights of St. John derived their name from the saint to whom was dedicated a hospital, with a pilgrims' shelter and chapel, founded before the crusades and in connection with the Amalfitan monastery of Santa Maria Latina, near the church of the Holy Sepulchre. The connection between the monastery and hospital was broken at the outset of the crusading period by the Provençal, Gerhard, who raised the hospital to high prosperity and wealth; his successor, Raimon du Puy, transformed the brotherhood into a strict monastic association and made the struggle against the infidels one of the tasks of the new order, in imitation of the Templars, who, as we have observed, probably originated also in this spot. Thus the possibility was thrown open of a course of development, similar to that of the Templar Order. The difference was that the Knights of St. John (the Hospitallers) were more strongly conscious than the Templars of their original objects, the care of the sick and poor; the latter, in consequence of their complete liberation from any ecclesiastical control other than that of the Pope, drifted into hostility to the authorities of the Church, and, perhaps, eventually became corrupted by Nihilist and Satanist errors, which they are supposed to have borrowed from their supposed Mohammedan model, the mysterious sect of the Assassins (p. 211).

E. The Prosperity of the Kingdom under Fulco (1131–1143)

The rise of the two first knightly orders falls probably within the reign of King Fulco; he had been count of Anjou, and through his son Geoffrey, the son-in-law of Henry I of England, became the ancestor of the Plantagenets (p. 198); he had taken the eldest daughter of Baldwin II, Melisende, as his second wife in 1129, and had been designated as Baldwin's successor. Traditions vary as to his character; they represent him at one time as a powerful and well meaning ruler, at another as a helpless weakling. The fact is that he maintained the empire at that height of power at which he had found it; the consolidation of its basis and the steady increase of its economic prosperity mark his reign as the zenith of Frankish development. The growing disobedience of the vassals, which threatened to destroy the vitality of the kingdom, was vigorously crushed for the moment; the rebel count Hugo of Joppa was humbled, count Pons of Tripolis was reduced to impotence, the intrigues of the ambitious sister-in-law of the king, Alicia of Antioch, were thwarted; she had been anxious to secure her own rule against the rights of her daughter, Constance, who was still a minor. Northern Syria was protected against the invasions of the Seljuks and Turcomans, and

after one defeat had been suffered at the hands of the emir of Mossul, Imad ed-dîn Zenki (July 11, 1137), it became possible to secure a firm alliance of the crusading states with Damascus (1133–1140), which protected Syria for the moment from any serious menace from Mesopotamia. The unchanging geographical conditions had almost precisely reproduced that situation which existed almost two thousand years earlier (cf. Vol. III, p. 118 f. and 204 f.), when the petty states of Jerusalem and Samaria were in similar relations with the East. On the side of Egypt a line of fortresses was built which cut off any advance from Ascalon, and in the Moabite territory Kerak was erected (not to be confused with the Hospitallers' castle, near Tripolis, called Crac des Chevaliers), which, like Montréal, commanded the routes between Egypt and Syria.

Trade and commerce, promoted by the coast settlements of the Italians, now reached their highest prosperity. This development filled the country with the wealth and the luxury of a southern colony, and brought the days of greatest brilliancy to the chivalrous splendour of the courts of Jerusalem and Antioch. This was the golden age of the knightly orders, as yet entirely free from any ominous symptoms of demoralization. The weaknesses inherent in the feudal organisation of the kingdom were less obvious under the first strong rulers. The retention of important privileges affecting military, financial, and legal affairs in the hands of the great vassals, the opposition and separatism of the knightly orders had not yet become so dangerously pronounced as at a later date. The actual administration of the feudal constitution and its law by no means corresponded with the ideal picture which had been traced in the Assizes of the kingdom of Jerusalem. This picture probably dates from the time of Fulco, though its final form belongs to nearly a century later, and is to be regarded as the programme of the feudal system in opposition to the monarchy, and in particular to the claims of Frederic II. The feudal system had hardly been carried during the times of royal power to so dangerous and logical a degree of development. So much, at any rate, is certain, that the idea of the feudal system, which in itself and with reference to the conditions of previous centuries was a great constitutional achievement, attained to its most perfect form in the kingdom of Jerusalem, and to this extent realised the highest possible point of its prosperity; hereafter we shall have to consider why this particular course of development necessarily entailed the most complete downfall (p. 410).

F. Commerce and Civilization in the Crusading States

The prosperity and well-being of the crusading states certainly received its strongest impetus from the flourishing condition of trade and local culture, which was due to the Italian colonists. The merchants of the West had now secured a footing in Asia in the midst of a kindred nationality and under the most favourable conditions of life, protected by their own privileges and concessions, in settlements under their own magistrates, police, judicial system, and church. Any chance visitor to these harbours for commercial purposes could find support, information, and counsel from his countrymen and from the colonial officials; indeed the office of consul originated in this quarter (Vol. V, p. 98). There was no necessity to travel into the interior for the Syrian coast could provide the prod-

ucts almost of the entire Eastern world. Mercantile communication with the Persian Gulf (by which relations had always been maintained with India and China across the Indian Ocean), and with nearer Asia and China (by the land route through Persia, Bucharest, Samarkand, Ferghana, Turkestan) converged upon Bagdad; hence the caravan routes led to the Euphrates, and to Rakka, at which point also the commercial routes from Mossul and Diarbeka reached the river by way of Nisib, Samosata, Edessa, and Harran. From Rakka a northern commercial route passed through Haleb to the coast at Antioch and Laodicea and a southern route advanced to Damascus by way of Hama(th) and Hims (Höms), at which point it joined the great roads from Arabia and Egypt. In this way Damascus had become the starting-point for the Syrian Haj (the chief pilgrim caravan to Mecca), and the meeting-point of mercantile routes in Asia Minor. The city received the products of India and China from two directions and the products of western Asia from the north, with those of Egypt from the south. To this influx of wares from every part of the world were added the native industries. These were silk weaving, especially of gold brocade, which had reached high perfection, and the forging of weapons, which had become no less famous than the silk industry. This great centre of Mohammedan trade and commerce now formed the hinterland of the Syrian coast. The not inconsiderable marts of Hama and Hims sent their wares down to the sea to the harbours of Tortosa and Tripolis; Antioch and Laodicea were in connection with Bagdad, Mossul, and the far East, by way of Haleb and Rakka, but Damascus was but a few days' journey from the great commercial centres of Beyrout, Tyre, Sidon, and Acre. In the intervening territory Tiberias, with Haifa as its export harbour, had become an important commercial centre, because it lay upon the road from Egypt to Damascus, which traversed the country diagonally; Acre, however, upon the coast, possessed the best and widest harbour in Syria, and gradually collected the export trade of the whole East within its walls, as the custom tariffs, which have been preserved, record. From these documents we can see that in Acre were collected rhubarb from east Asia, musk from Thibet, pepper, cinnamon, nutmeg, in short, all the spices of India which were so eagerly coveted during those centuries. Thither also came aloe wood from Assam, camphor from the Sunda Islands, Indian and east African ivory, incense and dates from Arabia, and many other products. In Beyrout documents tell us that pepper, incense, indigo, Brazil wood (cf. Vol. VII, p. 360), and pearls were on sale. The wholesale traders of the East themselves, the merchants of Mossul for instance, seem constantly to have brought their wares to these harbours. Exchange, however, was chiefly carried on through the medium of the Christian and Jewish middlemen settled in Syria; but they found rivals in the Pisan, Venetian, and Genoese merchants of the harbour towns, who visited the markets of Haleb, Damascus, and Muzerib (in the Hauran).

Even at that date the seaports displayed that same mixture of oriental populations which persists at the present day. The inhabitants of Tripolis, for instance, were Latins, Greeks, Armenians, Maronites, Nestorians, Jews, and Saracens. To their carrying trade was added a considerable Syrian trade in the products of the Syrian soil and industry. The fertility of the soil had not yet been destroyed by Turkish misgovernment, and the most careful cultivation prevailed in the warm stretches of coast country. The land produced abundance

of southern fruits, of lemons, figs, and almonds, especially near Tyre and in the garden suburbs of Tripolis, where particularly fine wine was made. Much oil was produced from plantations of olive trees and sesame, while western emigrants here first became acquainted with the sugar cane. The mention of cotton and silk leads us to consider the native industries. These products were exported in the manufactured as well as in the raw state. The silk and carpet weaving of Antioch, Tripolis, and Tyre was then at its best. When Tripolis was reconquered by Kalaum, in 1289, four thousand looms were in use. Tyre had long been famous for its dye and glass works, which were chiefly in the hands of the Jews, and could depend upon a full supply of colour and raw material. In short, provision for heavy exports to Europe was assured by the products of the country itself, while importation was guaranteed by the youth of the colony and its connection with the West, which naturally produced a demand for the many objects of daily use in the old world.

International exchange of an extent and richness hitherto unknown to Western civilization became the source of unprecedented and unexpected wealth. During the early period of the kingdom, a contemporary chronicler, the chaplain of Baldwin I, who had accompanied him upon the First Crusade, writes as follows: "From day to day we are followed by our relations and parents, who without real willingness abandoned all their former possessions. For those who there were poor were here made rich by God; those who had but little money, now possess countless wealth and he who had never had a village, here receives a town from God's hand." The acquisition of masterless land and property was easy; and when to this was added the profits of trade and manufactures, every condition of brilliant colonial prosperity was present. Splendour and immorality, the usual consequences of luxury, were fostered by the southern climate, and speedily became apparent. At the moment, indeed, these darker pictures were hidden by the brighter side; the splendour and brilliancy of western chivalry was conjoined with colonial prosperity and found here the classical soil of its growth, notwithstanding infusions of foreign blood. The incessant struggle against the infidels was an anxiety never entirely overpowered by the inclination to pursue material interests through commercial intercourse; it was an anxiety which produced the most complete military skill on the part of the knights, which made them perfect in the works of war and peace and the determining element in the social and intellectual culture of the Middle Ages. The European chivalry of the crusading centuries never denied that it had originated on the plains of Syria. France was its mother country and gradually became the great centre of the crusading movement, whence it derived its claim to lead civilization. Through France it passed to the other countries of the West, especially to Germany. As its prosperity belongs to the East, so also does its degeneration, the outcome of contact with the excrescences of a colonial civilization which was destined to clear the ground for other economic, constitutional, and social forms.

6. THE DOWNFALL OF THE KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM. THE SECOND AND THIRD CRUSADES (1143–1193)

A. Mohammedan Opposition

The development of the crusading states continued only so long as the opposing forces of Islam were reduced to impotence by disruption and isolation. Whenever capable emirs succeeded in concentrating even but one part of the Seljuk forces for a blow, the Frankish supremacy was reduced to extreme necessity. Evidence of the fact, during the first decades of the crusading period, is provided by the names of Maudud of Mosul, Ilghazi of Mardin, Belek of Malatia, Aksonkor of Haleb; such combination as the Seljuks displayed in the crusades of 1101 (cf. p. 385) and in the battle of Harran in 1104, was of itself sufficient to prevent any wide expansion of the Norman state of Antioch, or any possibility of the complete expulsion of Islam from Syria. These movements, however, were nothing more than isolated phenomena of transitory importance. The union of the Seljuk petty princes in one powerful state, able to confine the Frankish possessions in iron bands, was originally due to 'Imâd ed-dîn-Zenki; the course of development which began with him culminated with Nur-ed-dîn and Saladin (p. 392). Brought up amid the incessant struggles of the Seljuks with one another or with the Christians, the "Atabeg" (administrator or palace mayor) of Mosul was preoccupied only with the thought of reconcentrating and consolidating the Mohammedan forces against the Franks. Nine years of work (1127–1146) enabled this brilliant organizer to achieve his purpose; and only Damascus withheld her allegiance, in virtue of the alliance with Fulco (p. 381), from a supremacy which was now strong enough to take effective action against the crusaders.

Moreover during those critical years from 1137 to 1144, Antioch and Edessa were attacked by the Greek emperor, John II, the son of Alexius, and by his successor, Manuel, and were brought to the verge of destruction (Vol. V, p. 95). The domestic quarrels of the Franks further paved the way for the crushing blow delivered by Zenki in the year 1144. On December 25, Edessa, the advanced outwork of the crusading states, fell into his hands after a siege of many weeks. Upon the death of Zenki in November, 1146, the town was recovered for a moment by Count Joscelin II; but the younger son of Zenki, Nur ed-dîn, who became master of Haleb and the whole of Syria, speedily reversed this success and laid Edessa in ruins.

B. The Effects of the First Crusade in the West

In this critical situation, after the first great success of the Mohammedans, the ruler of Antioch, feeling the danger to be imminent, resolved to appeal to the West for help. The form in which this help was demanded is a matter of dispute. It is not likely that there was any proposal for a great crusade; reinforcements took the form of a crusade, owing to that personal desire for penance and inward contrition, which could only be satisfied by an enterprise upon a large scale. The

views of Louis VII, however, were by no means immediately or readily accepted. Thus we are brought to consider the reaction which had taken place in the West after the First Crusade and as a result of that expedition.

The reports of the exploits of the great crusading army had at first produced that general eastern movement which provided material for the colonisation of Syria; the fleets of the Italian maritime cities brought large reinforcements amounting to crusading expeditions in miniature, but forces also set out for the Holy Land from the harbours of southern France, England, Flanders, Frisia, and Norway. The greatest enterprise of this nature, however, was carried out by land, and was the so-called crusade of 1101, in which for the first time a considerable portion of the German nobility joined the French and Italians in the march to Asia. In respect of numbers, it was one of the most important armed pilgrimages of the crusading age, but like many others has been omitted from the customary enumeration, possibly because the Church had but little influence upon its formation and its conduct, and more probably because it resulted in utter disaster. It was proposed to start from Constantinople and to essay greater achievements than the First Crusade had secured; the power of Islam was to be extirpated, Bagdad to be conquered and so forth; but the project of immediate urgency, the liberation of Bohemond, who was then a prisoner in Niksar, came to a miserable end, owing to the bad advice proffered by various participants in the First Crusade, including Raimon of Toulouse and Stephen of Blois. The Franco-Lombard army was destroyed in July at Marsivan to the northwest of Amasia. A second French force suffered the same fate at that time near Eregli; while a month later, the main body, the nucleus of which was the German and French force, was also annihilated at Eregli by the same Mohammedan confederacy, in which the emirs of Iconium, Sivas, Haleb and Harran were united. Only small remnants of the great expedition escaped to Syria. This severe disaster prevented all attempts at large crusading expeditions for some time; and it was not until the fall of Edessa in 1144 that the impression created in the West revived the true crusading temper, though under conditions which showed that great changes had taken place in the spiritual temper of Europe in the course of half a century.

The First Crusade had produced an unexpected movement towards secularism both among its participants and at home. We have already seen to what extent worldly impulses actuated the crusaders between 1096 and 1099, together with their religious and ascetic motives (p. 265). The progress of the expedition steadily brought these secular elements to the front at the expense of the ecclesiastical; the very object of the undertaking caused chivalrous enthusiasm to overshadow monastic humiliation, while the spirit of renunciation and of personal penance was overpowered by the spirit of practical militarism. The new impression produced by the brilliant colouring of the East infused the unpoetical and matter of fact European temperament with a sensuous and poetical strain of feeling and filled the west with songs and legends, implying a new departure in western civilization which for more than two centuries had been almost entirely ecclesiastical. The laity learned to dispense with ecclesiastical leadership, though it was the Church which summoned them to the holy war, when they found themselves thrown upon their own resources and dependent upon their own exertions in dangerous and responsible situations. This new spirit of independence at once affected the relations of the laity to the Church, and produced, if not a revolution,

at least a modification of them. There had been a danger, as it has been admirably expressed, that the West might become a congeries of monasteries and hermitages, with no intellectual interests beyond or above those of the all-powerful Church. This domination was certainly raised to the highest point by the crusading movement; but for the first time for centuries, a new intellectual principle had been brought into existence side by side with the Church and alien to its spirit.

The intellectual was, as usual, preceded by an economic change. This last was fostered by the rise of commercial intercourse between two civilizations which had existed for a long time in isolation. But within the western world as such, the increase of communication with districts hitherto untouched led to unexpected results. The great international enterprise of the Middle Ages became of unsuspected national importance; the rising nationalities of Europe came for the first time into close contact, and realised for the first time the barriers dividing them, barriers which the equalizing forces of ecclesiasticism had purposely disregarded or thrown aside. From the moment of departure towards their common object, differences of language, of thought, and of customs became an obvious and disintegrating force, which was fostered and stimulated by the inevitable jealousy thus produced. Upon their return crusaders proceeded to attach a higher value than before to their own individuality as compared with ecclesiastical unity and its universal language; the very crusading songs and legends, coloured as they were by Eastern impressions, provided a basis for the poetical development of national vernaculars and for the development of a national literature; as France had taken a leading part in the crusades, so also she was foremost in these after developments, and exercised a stimulating and vivifying influence upon other countries. The "chansons de geste" and the poetry of the troubadours are followed by the poetry of the German minstrel, the chivalrous minnesinger and the popular epic poet. Frau Aventiure, Frau Sälde, Frau Minne and eventually Frau Welt (Frou Werlde) gradually appear in conscious opposition to the dull asceticism of earlier decades, and become the new heralds of an approaching age of chivalry and song, with names not to be found in the calendar of the Church; a healthy realisation of life and its pleasures replaces that hostility to the world and that stupefaction of the senses which had been the ideal of the past age.

The East, however, produced a spirit of immediate criticism of the Church. Eyes that had learned to see, senses that had become practical, proceeded calmly to compare the results of Christianity with those of Mohammedanism; beyond the sea had been discovered a great religion, which was very far from serving the ends of the powers of darkness as had been supposed, but was the basis and the spiritual content of a civilization equal and even superior to that of Europe. The result was not immediately to call in question the claims of Christianity as such, for this was a later development; but a desire for serious investigation in place of blind faith was aroused, and the consciousness of such a necessity when once realised could never be banished from the world. A profound church teacher such as Abelard (p. 243) ventured first to give voice to this desire and his pupil, Arnold of Brescia (p. 327), drew from these revolutionary principles some conclusions highly menacing to the secular power of the Pope; these same conclusions were at that moment also turned by the German Empire against the papacy, in connection with the renaissance of Roman law (p. 103).

Within the Church also one movement at least vigorously opposed the realisa-

tion of the Church by means of the papal claims to universal power in accordance with the Gregorian policy; St. Bernard of Clairvaux (p. 244), who, it should be noted, had gone through the school of Abelard, preached indeed the supremacy of the Church, but a supremacy to be secured by means of internal reform and not by the display of force in external conflicts. This was the first secession from the system which had called the crusades into existence.

C. The Second Crusade and its Results

By the irony of fate this same Bernard received a summons from Pope Eugenius III to preach a new crusade by reason of his unbounded influence over men's minds. He had constantly fulminated from the pulpit against the secular tendencies of the crusaders, asserting that an introspective life at home was more profitable than a life of extravagant luxury in the distant East; at the end of 1145 he was summoned by Louis VII of France, who was anxious to make the expedition, and by his councillors, who opposed the project, to decide between them, and expressly declined the responsibility. The Pope, however, was less scrupulous and issued his orders to Bernard, who, when he found that the Pope supported the project, proceeded to exert his all-powerful eloquence without reserve, and was so inspired by the grandeur of his task as entirely to justify the hopes based upon his efforts. At Vézelay in Burgundy (March 31, 1145) his exhortations in one day secured the adherence of the French nobles; they now joined the king, who had long been ready for the expedition. At the end of the year the emperor, Conrad III, was also persuaded; he had been violently opposed to the expedition, and with excellent reason, on the ground that it would prejudice the welfare of his dominions; but the burning enthusiasm of Bernard's oration at a mass celebrated during the imperial Diet of Speyer overthrew these calmer resolutions. A large number of the princes who were present at the diet now joined the king, having at their head Bishop Otto of Freising, the king's half-brother, and Duke Frederic of Suabia, the king's nephew, afterwards the emperor Frederic I (Barbarossa; Vol. V, p. 241). Bernard's blind enthusiasm, which refused to entertain any worldly considerations, obliged these rulers to leave Germany in the dangerous insecurity of domestic ferment; nor did the soldiers of the great German army in any way further the objects of the crusade, for the reason that the civil war then raging in the country brought many undisciplined soldiers to the expedition, who merely impeded the resolutions of the capable nobles. The German crusade was thus from the outset threatened with the possibility of failure and was in addition under the command of a feeble leader. Moreover, the association of the chief nationalities was politically unfavourable to the objects of the expedition. The French were reduced to co-operate with the Normans of southern Italy and the Germans with the Greeks in view of the common interests and family ties of their rulers (Vol. V, p. 96); but the Greek opposition to the Normans continued unimpaired.

Consequently this gigantic enterprise, though supported for the first time by the authority of the two most important Western states, ended with a disaster almost as disgraceful as the crusade of 1101. The German army, after the usual dissensions and quarrels with the Greeks, who provided no effective support, was shattered in Asia Minor by Seljuk attacks, or by hunger, want, or sickness (in the

autumn of 1147); some few isolated detachments escaped destruction, and of these the majority returned to Constantinople, and thence home, having paid dearly enough for their crusading enthusiasm. Only one small band retained sufficient determination, after the disaster of 1147, to continue the crusade with King Conrad. It was proposed to force a passage through Asia Minor in conjunction with the French army, which had meanwhile reached Constantinople in good order, but the attempt was a failure. This second army was unequally disciplined, though well concentrated and under strong and uniform leadership; it also succumbed to the dangers of the march and to the rising jealousy of the Greeks, which amounted almost to the provision of open support to the Seljuks. The remnant of the German troops once more retreated on Constantinople; the remnant of the French reached Attalia in January, 1148, after great dangers and privations. Eventually the two kings were obliged to restrict themselves to the project of reaching the Holy Land by sea with their scanty forces; this they accomplished in the spring.

Notwithstanding these misfortunes, the reinforcements would have enabled the Syrian Franks to venture upon important enterprises with their united forces, but at this most critical moment their jealousy and separation became paramount. No definite support was given to Antioch, though this had been the original object of the crusade. While King Louis was discussing an expedition against Haleb or Edessa with Prince Raimon, he was forced to make a premature start by the suspicious behaviour of his young wife, Alienor of Poitou (Eleonore of Guienne), and her uncle, the chivalric Raimon. At this moment women and chivalrous devotion to women became a prominent feature in every part of Syria. Melisende of Jerusalem, Alicia and Constance of Antioch, played a leading part, and their love affairs upon several occasions decided the fate of the Frankish states; the asceticism which had been a prominent feature in the characters of the great ladies of the eleventh century, Matilda of Tuscany (p. 322) and others, had undergone a complete transformation. In no case, however, was this new secular and sensual spirit so unconcealed as in the case of the passionate Alienor, whose attractions subdued every man of her time. The blood of the first troubadour, William of Aquitaine, who satirised his misfortunes in the crusade of 1101, flowed in her veins, as in those of Raimon, his son (p. 375), and her unbridled sensuality stood in immediate contrast with the monastic asceticism of her husband Louis. Ten years later, when this ill-assorted marriage had been dissolved, and Alienor was the wife of Henry II of England and the mother of Richard Cœur de Lion (pp. 106 and 199), we meet with a verse, sung for centuries afterwards by German wanderers, "Were the round world mine, From the sea to the Rhine, All would I leave, The Queen of England to have." These feminine attractions, which remain undimmed by the passage of centuries and the dust of parchments and folios, then ruined the prospects of the French crusade.

The reasons why these attempts failed to produce any permanent effect in Syria naturally lay deeper than in the sensuality, selfishness, and recklessness of individuals. In the course of this crusade we first clearly see the opposition of interests existing between the Syrian Franks and the Western warriors, who were still subject to religious impulses. The inhabitants of Antioch and Palestine were anxious to be left as far as possible in peaceful enjoyment of what they had gained, and did not desire the risk of extensive enterprises or the possibility

of diminishing their possessions by undue expense upon their maintenance and protection. The Western crusaders on the other hand, even those of a secular temper, were infinitely more anxious to come to blows with the Mohammedans than were their Christian neighbours in Syria. These latter wished to be left in enjoyment of their territory, even though diminished, and for this purpose, to live at peace with their old enemies provided that the peace protected their flourishing trade and commerce (described on p. 382) and secured their enjoyment of increasing wealth. Hence the last act in the tragedy of the Second Crusade becomes a farce.

After his hasty departure from Antioch with his troublesome wife, King Louis joined Conrad in Palestine. The latter monarch had left Constantinople for the Holy Land in the spring of 1148; and as the numbers of the army had been swelled to a powerful force by continuous arrivals of pilgrims, an attack upon Damascus was planned. In view of the valuable alliance which had hitherto existed (cf. above, page 381), this was a highly impolitic proceeding; but it was undertaken at the instance of Queen Melisende, who was then governing on behalf of her son, Baldwin III. Even this enterprise, though at first hopeful, could not be conducted to a favourable issue. The rulers of Jerusalem suspected that the fruits of victory would not be secured to themselves, but would become the basis of a new western kingdom. The Emir of Damascus explained that he could only make head against the increasing success of the Frankish attacks by calling in the sons of Zenki, Nur ed-dîn of Haleb and Saif ed-dîn of Mossul (Vol. III, p. 361); the Franks then remembered the old desirable arrangement which had constituted their best protection upon this side against the more powerful enemies in the East. They therefore entered upon a regular conspiracy with the Emir Muin ed-dîn Anar to obviate any further attacks from the impetuous Western forces. They induced the besiegers to cease their efforts upon the side which alone offered any possibility of success, and to transfer their operations to the waterless East, where the necessity of a speedy retreat soon became obvious (July 28, 1148). The two kings then returned to Jerusalem with a Frankish army in great exasperation. A success which had seemed certain had been lost, for the reason that the martial spirit which always inspired the West had long since died away among the Syrian Franks and had been replaced by a selfishness content to live in peace and material comfort. After a lengthy stay in the Holy Land the Western rulers found no fresh field for their energies, and therefore returned home in September, 1148, and after Easter, 1149, bitterly undeceived.

The only successes of the Second Crusade were secured in a quarter far remote from its true objective. A fleet on the way to Palestine landed a force of English, Flemings, and Germans at Oporto, and secured the liberation of Lisbon (October 24, 1147), in alliance with the Portuguese. On the Slav frontier a German army, which Bernard had permitted to wear the sign of a cross standing upon a ring, gained some victories over the Wends in Mecklenburg and Pomerania (p. 101). This was a method which promised well for the future, and was afterwards followed by the Teutonic Order. It gave a precedent for the crusades which were preached against the Albigenses, Stedings, and Hohenstauffen.

The connection, however, of these crusades with those in the East is entirely superficial. The West cherished a deep suspicion both of the originators of the Second Crusade and of the Syrian Franks, and these misgivings were shown by the diminution of the reinforcements. When St. Bernard attempted to preach another

crusade in the spring of 1150, his appeal died away almost unanswered. The east was thus left to its own resources, and its imminent fate was even now manifest. On June 24, 1149, Raimon of Antioch lost his kingdom and his life in the great battle of Enneb against Nur ed-dîn, who was now in possession of Mossul. The principality of Antioch was retained, greatly diminished in extent and at the expense of great efforts for his son Bohemond III, who was still a minor, while Nur ed-dîn conquered the remnants of the former county of Edessa in 1150. On April 26, 1154, he was able to capture Damascus, which had been weakened by the misguided policy of the Franks. He then proceeded to menace Jerusalem with overwhelming forces. The last important success granted to the Franks at this period was the conquest of Ascalon (August 19, 1153). This, unfortunately, guided their policy in a direction which was to end in their destruction, namely, towards Egypt.

D. Decay and Downfall

(*a*) *The Period of Baldwin III* (*1152–1162*). — At the same time the reign of Baldwin III, the son of Fulco, who had been ruling independently from 1152, was by no means without its splendour. Something of the old Lotharingian character still existed in the youthful king. He was chivalrous, brave, and affable; he enjoyed great popularity among his vassals and subjects, and succeeded in securing some considerable successes over the infidels with the united power of his army. Thus in the year 1152 he drove back with an irresistible onset (November 23) the invasion of a vast body of Turcomans under Timurtash of Mardin, who had advanced to the very gates of Jerusalem. He even won a brilliant victory, in a battle on the Lake of Tiberias, over the powerful son of Zenki, Nur ed-dîn, who had made Damascus a base for incessant attacks upon the Franks since his occupation of that town. To this success must be added the capture of Ascalon from the Egyptians (1153), which has been already mentioned.

This latter exploit was, however, a purposeless and ill-considered enterprise, as it exposed the kingdom and its harbour towns, unprotected by any permanent fleet, to constant and serious attacks from Egypt, and as such it was typical of the policy of Baldwin III. Any real concentration of the forces of the kingdom was now impossible, and feudal particularism became steadily more obvious and more disastrous. It was at this time that the Assizes (p. 381) were for the most part compiled, though not in the form which our documents have handed down to us. The system thus established raised the privileges of the great vassals to the point of entire independence, and left the kingdom in possession of very little of its usual prerogatives. To these evils must be added the increasing immorality of the colonists and the harm inflicted by the whims of female government. Baldwin III was forced to wrest his rights with the strong hand from his ambitious mother, Melisende. The struggle ended in the siege of the tower of David, and in bloodshed within Jerusalem itself (1152). Shortly afterwards he was greatly troubled by the disobedience of his aunt, Hodierna of Tripolis, and of his cousin, Constance of Antioch. When Constance at length yielded to the general arguments for her second marriage, that the diminished principality might no longer be defenceless, she chose none of the Syrian and French nobles whom

Baldwin recommended but an adventurous knight, Rainald of Châtillon, whose faithlessness to the Greeks and Mohammedans brought Antioch into difficulties, and afterwards caused the destruction of Jerusalem (p. 393).

An outrageous descent upon Byzantine Cyprus in 1155 brought about the interference in 1158 of Manuel, the bold emperor of the Greeks, who now revived all the old claims of the east Roman Empire, invaded Cilicia, and appeared before Antioch in April, 1159. Here he utterly humiliated Rainald, and though he had given his niece Theodora to Baldwin in marriage in September, 1158, he now compelled the Frankish king to become his vassal. The emperor's second marriage with Maria of Antioch, daughter of Raimon and Constance (December 25, 1161), merely confirmed the dangerous claims of Byzantium. The position of the crusaders with reference to the infidels was wholly undermined by this open breach and semi-reconciliation with the Greeks. In 1150, after the fall of Raimon of Antioch at Enneb, the capture of the remnants of Edessa by the Greeks had made the county an easy prey for Nur ed-dîn. Similarly at the present moment the interference of the emperor Manuel weakened the resistance of the Christians, and especially of the Armenians (whom he had subdued in 1158), and brought but immaterial advantages. Nur ed-dîn was careful to avoid a decisive battle, as the mail-clad Frankish knights were still superior to his light troops in the field. He allowed the vacillation, dissension, and luxury of the Christians to work on his behalf, and only took up arms when victory was ready to fall into his grasp. The internal dissensions of the Frankish states furthered his cause. Among the knightly orders, the brilliant display of military qualities was accompanied by an increase of inward degeneration. The knights of St. John were fiercely quarrelling with the patriarch of Jerusalem and with every bishop in the Holy Land, because they used their immunity from the ecclesiastical power of the patriarch to aggrandise themselves in every direction. The Templars, again, in their greed of gain were not ashamed to betray the interests of the country as constantly in later years. An Egyptian noble who had fallen into their power, though ready to become a Christian, was delivered to his enemies at home upon payment of a gigantic ransom.

(*b*) *Amalric (1162–1174) and Egypt.* — Thus every sign of downfall and decay was present when Baldwin III died on February 10, 1162, at the age of thirty-three, leaving no children; poisoned, according to rumour, by the Mohammedan physician of Count Raimon of Tripolis. His brother and successor, Amalric, a clever and learned man, but a tyrannical and greedy prince, saw the completion of that process which had been begun under Baldwin. His desire for gold and booty induced him to invade Egypt, which seemed to lie open to any attack in view of the weakness of the Fatimite caliphate and the dissensions of ambitious Viziers. The Vizier Shawer (Vol. III, p. 362), who had been overthrown, fled to Damascus to Nur ed-dîn, and induced him to send his first general, the Kurd Asad ed-dîn Shirkuh (Sirkûh), at the head of a band of light cavalry to support his own claims. Amalric was thereupon so foolish as not to support the existing government against Nur ed-dîn, but to weaken the ruling Vizier, Dirghan, by attacking the frontier fortress of Bilbais, with the result that the Vizier speedily succumbed to the united forces of Shirkuh and Shawer (August, 1163). Fortune, however, showed herself undeservedly favourable to the Franks. In order to

relieve himself of a troublesome ally, who threatened to reduce him to the position of a vassal, Shirkah appealed to Amalric for help, with promises of great reward. The Egyptians in alliance with the army of Jerusalem succeeded in driving Shirkah from the country after a long siege of Bilbais, which he had occupied (autumn, 1164). At that moment the great success of Nur ed-dîn in the north obliged Amalric to return speedily home. The Atabeg had captured the young Bohemond III of Antioch, Raimon of Tripolis, and the frontier fort of Harim and Banias (August and October); Amalric, however, remained protector of Egypt. At the beginning of 1167 Shirkuh persuaded the prudent Nur ed-dîn to send him out again to the Nile valley with a small army. Shawer immediately appealed to Amalric for help, promised him a yearly tribute of four hundred thousand gold pieces (about £1,500,000 of English money), and admitted the Christians to Cairo as a garrison. Egypt was to be regarded as a Frankish province, although Shirkuh inflicted at El Babain a considerable defeat upon the king, who advanced towards him in upper Egypt (March 19). However, a few days later he was besieged in Alexandria by Amalric, and was glad to be allowed to leave the country unmolested (August).

This was the last great opportunity which the ruler of Jerusalem ever found. He might now if he pleased become actually lord of Egypt, and use both the enormous resources and the animosity of the Shiite Egyptians for the struggle against the Sunnite Turks. But these prospects were ruined by the covetousness of Amalric, which was stimulated by the no less greedy Hospitallers. An attempt was made to extort no less than two millions of gold pieces from the defenceless country, and for this purpose a third campaign to the Nile was begun at the end of October, 1168. A piteous request to Nur ed-dîn for help secured the appearance of Shirkuh, who acted more thoroughly upon this occasion. Amalric retired before him. On January 18, 1169, he murdered the faithless Shawer, made himself Vizier, and upon his death on March 23 left the rule to his nephew, the son of Ayub (Ejjub) Salah ed-dîn Yusuf (Saladin). The new ruler, who had hitherto been a learned dreamer, now displayed a remarkable capacity for government. He soon seized the position of the Caliph Aladhid (el-Adhid), who died on September 13, 1171, and definitely established the dynasty of the Fatimites (Vol. III, p. 703). Amalric in vain attempted, in conjunction with the Greek fleet, to overthrow the new government on the Nile. The siege of Damietta, from the end of October to the beginning of December, 1169, ended in failure. Saladin now obtained time to secure his power for the moment in careful subjection to Nur ed-dîn. When Nur ed-dîn died on May 15, 1174, he had grown strong enough to master his heirs and occupy Damascus. In 1176 he assumed the title of Sultan, and after the death of Salih, the son of Nur ed-dîn, in 1183, he became lord of Haleb and ruler of an empire extending from the frontiers of Cilicia to Mesopotamia and the cataracts of the Nile. He now held the Frankish states in an iron grasp, which the foolish blindness of his opponent had enabled him to close.

(*c*) *Baldwin IV and Baldwin V; Guido of Lusignan (1174–1187).*—The kingdom of Jerusalem, however, was thrown into dynastic confusion by the early death of King Amalric, who died on July 11, 1174, at the age of thirty-eight, and almost at the same moment as Nur ed-dîn. The change to life in a sub-tropical climate had not only weakened the moral resistance of the Europeans to the

temptations of colonial culture, but had also produced physical degeneration. It is a remarkable fact that of the children born to the Frankish nobles in Palestine hardly one reached maturity; the descendants of the Lotharingian-Angevin dynasty all died in early youth. During the thirteenth century this fate precluded that dynastic consolidation which might have brought real leaders to the front. The want of such leaders was especially disastrous during the decade immediately preceding the fall of Jerusalem. Amalric's heir, his son by Agnes of Edessa (he married his second wife, Maria Comnena, in 1167) was Baldwin IV, a man of high capacity, but smitten with leprosy (born 1161). He gained many successes, including a victory over the great Saladin, at Tell-jezer, on November 25, 1177. But the increase of his malady, and the constant quarrels of the barons concerning the regency and the succession, counterbalanced any loss inflicted upon this powerful foe. Of the candidates for the regency, an advisable choice seemed to be Count Raimon III of Tripolis, a distinguished, though possibly over-cautious, character. He was opposed by Count Guido (Veit) of Lusignan, who had married Sibylla in the spring of 1180. She was the widowed sister of the king, having lost her husband in 1177. After the death of Baldwin IV in 1185, Sibylla's little son, Baldwin V, died at the outset of 1186. He was the fruit of her first marriage with William de Longuespee of the house of Montferrat, the eldest of four brothers who did good service in the following decade. In the resulting outbreak of intrigue the incompetent Guido of Lusignan succeeded in securing the crown against the admirable regent Raimon (July 20).

Meanwhile several of Saladin's attacks had been repulsed. He turned his arms in particular against the fortress of Kerak beyond the Dead Sea, which commanded the chief route connecting Cairo and Damascus, and was therefore a constant thorn in the side of the ruler of these two Moslem cities (p. 378). A short time previously the Franks had used this base and the outposts in Arabia Petræa, Montréal (Shaubek), etc., to occupy Ailah on the Red Sea (on the site of the modern Akabah). Saladin had recaptured this position in 1171 and also in 1182, in order to keep the road open for the Syrian and Egyptian pilgrims to Mecca. Kerak, however, he besieged in November, 1182, and in August, 1184, without success. The command at this point was in the hands of Rainald of Châtillon, formerly prince of Antioch, who had long been a prisoner at Haleb. His second marriage, after the death of Constance (p. 390), had made him master of the land beyond the Jordan in 1176. His adventurous audacity shrank from no breach of faith and repeatedly excited the wrath of Saladin. At the end of 1186 he attacked a large caravan in defiance of a four years' armistice concluded by the regent Raimon in 1185 and confirmed by King Guido. Rainald's insolent refusal of satisfaction, even at the king's personal request, proved the final blow which overthrew the empire.

(*d*) *The Battle of Hattin and the Downfall of the Empire.* — In the spring of 1187 Saladin advanced upon the country with the united forces of Egypt and Syria. His invasion was facilitated by the continuance of dissension between Raimon and Guido. Though the Franks were able to take the field against him with twenty thousand men, the chivalry of the kingdom, after displaying its old bravery, was overwhelmed by the devastating blows of Saladin on July 3 and 4, 1687, in the battle of Hattin (Hittin) to the west of Tiberias, a fierce conflict con-

tinued for two days. Saladin is said to have cut down the peace-breaker Rainald with his own hand when the prince was brought before him as a prisoner. He was magnanimous enough to liberate in June, 1188, King Guido and the other barons who had fallen into his hands, but in the meantime he had secured his mastery of the country. After Tiberias, he reduced Acre, Jaffa, Cæsarea, and Sidon in July, with a number of fortresses and castles in the interior. In August he captured Beyrout; in September, Ascalon, Gaza, and the towns between these places and the Holy City; finally Jerusalem itself fell, after a fortnight's siege, notwithstanding the lamentations and prayers of the monks, priests, and nuns, who carried the Holy Cross in procession round the walls. Part of the inhabitants secured their freedom and a safe-conduct to the unconquered harbours at the price of a high poll-tax. Meanwhile Mohammedanism celebrated its re-establishment in Jerusalem with great splendour. Only after some weeks did Saladin leave the city to resume in August the siege of Tyre, which had previously failed. Here he again encountered a heroic defence by Conrad of Montferrat, the second of those brothers who had reached the Holy Land immediately after the battle of Hattin. After months of fruitless endeavour, Saladin was forced to retire on January 1, 1188. An attack upon Tripolis in June proved equally unsuccessful. He succeeded, however, in capturing Arka, Tortosa, Gibelet (p. 377), Laodicea, and a number of fortresses in northern Syria, and reduced Antioch to severe straits. At the end of October Kerak succumbed to repeated assaults. The Templar fortress of Safed was captured on January 5, 1189, Montréal shortly afterwards, and Belfort (Shakif Arnun) on April 11, 1190. Antioch, Tripolis, Tyre, and the Johannite fortress of Margat were the only positions remaining in the hands of the Christians (see the map facing page 369).

E. The Third Crusade (1189–1192)

Only Western help could now save the Frankish rule from annihilation. The failure of the Second Crusade had considerably damped the general enthusiasm on behalf of the Holy Sepulchre. Military reinforcements to Palestine were, comparatively speaking, most scanty during the generation after 1150. The embassies of Amalric and Baldwin IV, informing the Western rulers of the needs of the Syrian states, were honourably received, but returned with no tangible results; for the hostilities prevailing between the empire and the papacy, and between France and England, prevented any general co-operation. Now, however, the disastrous news from the east aroused the deepest grief and the fiercest indignation in Europe, and public enthusiasm rose even to a higher pitch than at the time of the First Crusade. The heart of Pope Urban III was broken by the news of the fall of Jerusalem, and he died on October 20, 1187. His successor, Gregory VIII, at once made peace with the Empire; and upon his death, on December 17, Clement III zealously continued the efforts of Gregory to secure the co-operation of the Western powers in a new crusade. Circular letters were issued to every prince, and instructions for fasting and prayer to all the clergy, while the people were exhorted to purity and simplicity of life. Indulgences and the postponement of creditors' claims were offered to all who might take the cross; all who remained at home, high and low, became liable to the "Saladin tithe" (p. 182).

Thus amid passionate excitement Latin Christendom took up arms almost as one man, and, upon the whole, the movement was both wider and deeper than in 1096. Once again the fire of enthusiastic devotion, scorning suffering or death, glowed in the hearts of the chosen; once again the unusual privileges granted to crusaders were regarded by the larger numbers of worldly wise participants as an excellent opportunity to withdraw with honour from troubles at home, and to gain fame, wealth, and an everlasting recompense abroad. If ever a crusade afforded prospects of complete success, it was surely this which was planned in 1188; for it was joined in rapid succession by Philip II Augustus of France, by his opponent Henry II of England, and by Henry's rebellious son Richard upon his father's death (July 6, 1189) and finally by the most powerful of Western monarchs, the emperor Frederic Barbarossa, whose resolution was taken at the famous "Diet of Christ" at Mainz, on the Sunday called *Lætare Jerusalem* (March 27, 1188).

(*a*) *The German Crusade of 1189–1191.* — Once again one of the greatest military and religious enterprises known to history, born amid tumultuous zeal and burning enthusiasm, died away within a few years, and the united Western armament was eventually shattered by miserable brawls with friend and foe, utterly unworthy of the movement, though it must be said that the causes of failure to some extent lay deeper than in unfortunate events and the antagonism of the leaders. In particular a calamity, which could not have been anticipated, brought to a miserable end the German crusade, one of the best and most capable expeditions which mediæval Germany ever sent forth. The numbers of the army were estimated at one hundred thousand men, including some fifty thousand knights; these figures were doubtless subject to the usual exaggeration, as it is expressly stated that the army was smaller than the German levy of 1147, for the reason that unsuitable participants were excluded by a census (three silver marks), and none but well-equipped and experienced warriors, knights, and trained squires were admitted. This proud host was under the command of the most experienced and successful general of the age, the admiration of East and West, the powerful emperor. Upon the approach of his army, Saladin himself razed the walls of several fortresses in Palestine, that they might not be used as bases by the Germans; and an Arab Christian afterwards wrote: "Had not the gracious providence of God brought death upon the emperor at the moment when he was about to invade Syria, it would have been said of Syria and Egypt in later days that here the Mohammedans once ruled!"

The German army followed the route of Godfrey of Bouillon, and surmounted such difficulties as they encountered with greater ease than any preceding expedition. Hungary and its king, Béla III, were overawed by the reputation of the emperor; Servia and Wallachia offered homage and hospitality. In the Greek Empire the path was more difficult; the dynasty of the Comneni had come to an end in 1185, and the old state of disruption had returned. The Seljuks of Iconium were a standing menace, which had become imminent since the disastrous defeat of the emperor Manuel at Myriokephalon (1176; Vol. V, p. 96), and Byzantine opinion wished to meet this danger by concluding a convention with Saladin, who had overpowered the Seljuk kingdom from Rûm to that point. Thus beyond the Balkans the German army met with doubtful friendship, which soon became

treacherous opposition, but was able, in full consciousness of its power, to override these intrigues without difficulty (the autumn of 1189). Eventually the army succeeded in forcing a passage through Asia Minor and the Seljuk territory, an exploit performed by no Frankish troops since the march of the crusaders of 1097. Here a friendly reception had been expected and promised by the Sultan Izz ed-dîn Qilij Arslan II, who was engaged in a violent quarrel with Saladin, and had sent a formal embassy to the emperor Frederic. But his sons, who made common cause with Islam, secured the conduct of affairs by degrees, and the Sultan was unable to fulfil his promises. Kuth ed-dîn, the new ruler of Iconium, eventually proceeded to open hostilities, and the crusaders were obliged to force an entry into the Seljuk capital (May 17, 1190), and to compel the conclusion of a new treaty, guaranteeing an unimpeded passage through the country and cheap markets. In the friendly state of Armenia, the Christian ruler Leo II accorded a respectful reception to the leader of Christendom, and offered every assistance to the progress of the army. But the fatigues of the march were no less appalling in the ravines of Cilicia than upon the plains of Asia Minor; the endurance of the troops was strained to the uttermost, and nothing but the iron will of the aged leader, whose dominating character proved equal to the most difficult situations, was able to secure the completion of the task.

At length these unspeakable sufferings and toils were rewarded by the sight of the Cilician plains, the foreground of Syria; then the crowning misfortune came upon the army and the crusade in general in Kalykadnos (Salef). Reports differ as to whether Frederic was cut off in crossing or riding through a river to shorten a difficult mountain path, or while bathing upon the completion of a day's march. The aged emperor was carried from the waves of the mountain stream still living (see the plate facing this page, "The Death of Frederic Barbarossa"); for a whole day the doctors strove to save his life, but in vain. He died on June 10, 1190, and with him died the spirit of the German crusade.

Doubtless the contemporary chroniclers are guilty of exaggeration when they represent the crusading army as falling to pieces by a process of disintegration upon the death of Barbarossa. The fact that there was no opportunity for so great an army to retreat, either by land or sea, no doubt enabled the emperor's eldest son, Duke Frederic of Suabia, to preserve a general cohesion among the German forces until they reached Antioch; there the "flesh" of Frederic I was interred in the church of St. Peter on June 21, while the bones were conveyed to Tyre or Acre; their ultimate fate is unknown, and their existence was probably forgotten. It is, however, certain that a number of the crusaders embarked upon their homeward voyage at the Cilician harbour of Korykos, that many bands separated from the main body and were destroyed by the Saracens in the district of Haleb, and that thousands were swept away by a pestilence at Antioch. The majority of the German crusaders probably returned home from northern Syria. At Tripolis, Duke Frederic, notwithstanding the competent guidance of Conrad of Montferrat, no longer felt himself strong enough to force the passes between the sea and the mountains on the road to Tyre; he preferred to make the passage by sea, a mode of transport which necessarily limited the number of troops conveyed. Eventually, after a lengthy stay in Tyre, Duke Frederic is said to have reached Acre on October 7 with no more than a thousand men. The hostility which the Germans there encountered, and which they were unable to resent, — this had

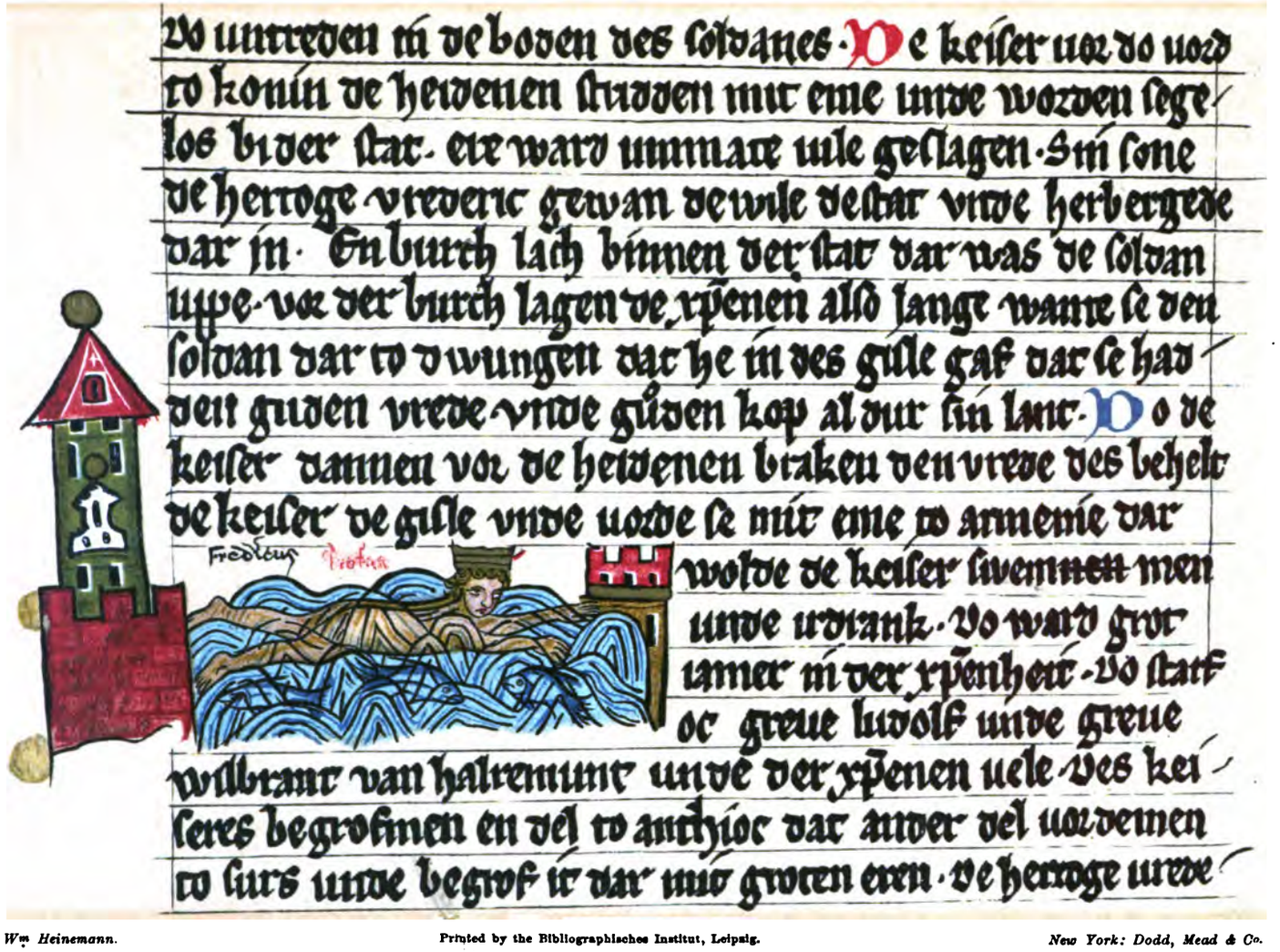
THE DEATH OF FREDERICK BARBAROSSA

From the Gotha Manuscript of the Saxon Chronicle, which concludes about 1250. Written in the second half of the thirteenth century.

Then the messengers of the Sultan left him. The Emperor advanced to Iconium; the heathen fought with him and were defeated near the town, and many of their number were slain. Meanwhile, his son, the Duke Frederick, seized the town and established himself therein. Within the town was a fortress, and therein lay the Sultan. In front of this fortress the Christians were encamped until they forced the Sultan to give them hostages, which secured them a good peace and a good market throughout his country. When the Emperor marched away the heathen broke the peace; in consequence, the Emperor retained the hostages and carried them with him to Armenia. There the Emperor attempted to swim through a river and was drowned, and there was great mourning throughout Christendom. There died also Count Ludolf and Count Wilbrant of Hallermünde, and many Christians. Of the Emperor's remains, part were buried in Antioch, while the rest were taken to Tyre and there interred with great honour. Duke Frederick, the Emperor's son, and the pilgrims, as many of them as recovered, marched to Antioch and thence to Acre, and Duke Frederick died before Acre.

Above the figure of the drowning Emperor, the artist has written the name Fred[er]icus, and by the name is an erasure of the same date.

(The text completed from the edition of the Saxon Chronicle by Ludwig Weiland in the Monumenta Germaniæ, German Section, two volumes)



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DEATH OF FREDERICK BARBAROSSA.
(From the Gotha MS. of the Saxon Chronicle.)

begun before the death of Duke Frederic from camp fever on January 20, 1191, — clearly prove the insignificance of the remaining German troops. Later reinforcements, such as those under Duke Leopold of Austria, fared no better than Frederic's men. The only result of the German crusade was the foundation of the German hospital near Acre by the pilgrims from Lübeck and Bremen; seven years later, upon the occasion of a new German crusade, this foundation was richly endowed at the instance of the emperor Henry VI and came under the German order of the Knights of St. Mary.

(*b*) *The Struggle for Acre and the Anglo-French Crusade.* — Acre, which saw the end of the German crusade, became the centre of those struggles in which the other western nations took part during the Third Crusade, apart from the assistance rendered to King Sancho of Portugal against the Arabs (1189) by numerous crusaders from the coasts of the North Sea and from the lower Rhine. We have already related (p. 394) that with the capital towns of north Syria, Tyre alone remained in the hands of the Franks, and had survived two sieges by Saladin, owing to the energy of Conrad of Montferrat, who had arrived from the West at the time of the battle of Hattin. At the end of August, 1189, King Guido, who had lost his possessions, and had been released from imprisonment about a year after his defeat, appeared before Tyre and demanded admission in vain; the priests then readily absolved him from his oath, not to take up arms again against the Sultan, and, with the fugitives and pilgrims who had meanwhile gathered on the coast, he was taken southwards under the protection of the first fleet which had arrived from the West and mainly from Italy. The famous siege of Acre then began at the end of August, 1189, in the course of which the whole remaining strength of Christian Syria and of the West was concentrated about this town. At the moment when the besiegers began operations, Saladin appeared with a relieving force, and a titanic struggle began upon two fronts, in the course of which the chivalry of the Christian army displayed powers of heroism and endurance worthy of the great memories of the First Crusade. The assailants were continually harassed both by the garrison and by the relieving army; their position depended entirely upon the maintenance of their communications with the sea, and marvellous bravery and tenacity were evinced in the accomplishment of this difficult task. For nearly two years Acre was surrounded by the iron circles of the Christian besieger and their Saracen assailants. Not until the spring of 1191 did Philip II Augustus of France arrive, followed by Richard I of England in the summer. These Christian reinforcements secured the surrender of the fortress and the retreat of Saladin on July 12.

These monarchs should have arrived at a much earlier date, seeing that their expeditions had been arranged and begun as a common enterprise. But the unstable and refractory temperament of Richard "Lionheart" had caused bloody quarrels in Sicily during October and December, 1190, first with the native population and then with the French knights, and had ended in serious friction between the leaders themselves. Richard had, in consequence, repudiated his betrothal to Alice, a sister of the king of France, and a further cause of dissension and deep mistrust thus separated the two kings and nations who were already upon bad terms. Six precious months were wasted. At length, upon March 30, 1191, the king of France started, leaving definite orders to his English vassal to follow;

Richard delayed twelve days longer, and was then driven by stress of weather to the island of Cyprus, which fell into his hands from those of the usurper, the "emperor" Isaac (of the house of the Comneni), by a remarkable conjuncture of events. This chance conquest of Cyprus was almost the only permanent achievement of the Third Crusade. After the final loss of Syria, the island became a valuable outpost of western civilization, and its close commercial relations with the eastern world secured its prosperity until the Ottoman conquest of 1571 (p. 416). King Richard, however, entertained no such projects when he attacked the island; to his volatile mind the capture of Cyprus was merely a knightly adventure, and this again was the attraction of the Syrian coast, which urgently needed a ruler to oppose the genius of Saladin. Philip Augustus of France was, on the other hand, a true king as compared with Richard; but his powers were paralysed by the quarrel which his English vassal had forced upon him, and in which the latter's superior resources generally secured the victory. In exasperation, and despairing of the success of the expedition, he sailed home, three weeks after the fall of Acre, by way of Tyre and Antioch.

The fate of Jerusalem was thus left in Richard's hands; and under conditions which imperatively demanded statesmanship, he displayed nothing more than a reckless bravery and an audacious daring, with tales of which Mohammedan mothers used to horrify their children in later years. Before the arrival of the two kings a quarrel concerning the meaningless kingdom had broken out among the Syrian princes. A further source of strife was the usual dissension among the Italian maritime towns, which ended in open conflict before Acre under the eyes of the enemy. The capable Conrad of Montferrat, who had declined to acknowledge Guido's supremacy, was induced to accept an agreement upon the point in March, 1190; but the question was reopened in November by the death of the queen Sibylla, and by Conrad's hasty marriage with her sister Isabella, whom he abducted from her legal husband, Humfred of Turon. Richard, with characteristic imprudence, espoused the cause of the incompetent Guido, and it was only with much difficulty that the succession was secured to Conrad (July 28, 1191). The lionhearted king further tarnished his knighthood by his indiscretion in tearing the banner of Duke Leopold of Austria from a tower of Acre, and by his cold-blooded massacre of three thousand of the bold defenders, for the reason that their appointed ransom did not arrive at the time arranged (August 20). A year was expended in purposeless marching and countermarching; and though many successes were secured, including the capture of Cæsarea, Jaffa, and Ascalon, these towns were soon lost once more. No vigorous attempt was made upon Jerusalem, though this was the main object of the expedition, and though the army reached the immediate neighbourhood of the Holy City. Negotiations with Saladin were constantly begun and as constantly broken off. Richard's chivalrous imagination extended so far as to confer knighthood (March 29, 1192) upon Saladin's nephew, afterwards the Sultan Al-Kâmil. The wild project was even discussed at the end of 1191 of a marriage between Saladin's brother Aladil (Malik al-'âdil) and Richard's sister Joanna. Saladin was exhausted by five years of fierce conflict; he showed a readiness to make concessions, and would probably have gone so far as to sacrifice Jerusalem. But the Arab chroniclers emphasise the difficulty of conducting negotiations with Richard: "Whenever an agreement was arranged with the king of England, he immediately annulled it: he continually made changes

in the terms of a convention or raised difficulties in the way: if he gave his word, he took it back again, and was ever the first to break the secrecy which he had required." The end of all this purposeless struggle was a three years' armistice, which began on September 2; it secured the Christians in possession of the seaboard from Jaffa to Tyre, and gave them some fortresses in the interior. Jerusalem, however, was left in the hands of the infidels, and Christians were allowed to visit the Holy Sepulchre only in small companies and unarmed; since 1187 the Sepulchre had been guarded by Syrian priests, and Christian prisoners had performed their tasks around it under the lash of their tormentors.

The kingdom was named "Jerusalem" as though in mockery; and before returning home Richard of England was obliged, at the urgent wish of the barons, to grant the crown to Conrad of Montferrat, who was shortly afterwards murdered by assassins (April 28, 1192). Conrad's widow, Isabella, was ever ready for a fresh marriage, and her inheritance now passed with her hand to Count Henry of Champagne, a nephew of the king of England. Richard had invested his favourite, Guido, with the kingdom of Cyprus on April 5, 1192; the Templars, to whom the island had been originally intrusted, had been expelled by a revolt. Thus began the Cypriot dynasty of Lusignan;[1] eventually this dynasty renewed its claim upon Jerusalem (p. 402).

King Richard left the coast of Syria on October 9, 1192, and was captured (December 21) on the homeward journey by Leopold of Austria, whom he had insulted. After months of imprisonment in the castles of Dürnstein and Trifels (see the upper half of the plate, "The Emperor Henry VI at the Height of his Power," facing page 328), he reached home on March 13, 1194. In 1199 he met with a death which was as chivalrous and unkingly as his life, in a miserable feud before the castle of Chaluz. His great adversary, Saladin, died even sooner after the crusade, on March 3, 1193; his royal power and military capacity had enabled him successfully to bear up against a world in arms.

7. THE SECOND CENTURY OF THE CRUSADING PERIOD

A. The Crusading Theory in the East and West

During the century from the outset of the Third Crusade to the fall of Acre the history of the crusading states is confined to a narrow strip of coast line, which, apart from Antioch and Tripolis, contains only the seaboard from Tyre to Joppa, with some small territory inland occupied by the fortresses of the military orders, and only extended at intervals and never permanently (see the map facing page 369). Our description need not enter upon details. We are no longer dealing with a living constitution, interesting for its inherent solidarity and its inspiring ideas, the realisation of the contrast between the Eastern and Western worlds, regarding the struggle with a hostile faith and an alien civilization as the essential condition of its existence. The history of the Frankish states rather becomes an account of a rich and prosperous commercial colony in a hostile land, where the

[1] Male line extinct in 1267; continued by Hugo III of the house of Bohemond (p. 374), whose mother was a daughter of Hugo I.

great traditions of the past never became wholly extinct, but were subordinated to the aim of securing possessions desirable and even productive within their restricted area, and to the pursuit of trade and commerce, manufacture and agriculture; in a word, gain and wealth, not faith and power, now became the ideal. The deadly hatred of the Mohammedans was no less intense, but was weakened by the recurrent forces of disruption. Throughout the century the struggle to maintain the Christian settlements continued with varying success, the Christian frontiers being advanced or contracted with the fortunes of the fight; but it was a fight that rarely rose to great decisive moments or blows, and rarely inspired the adventurous militarism or the wild enthusiasm of the past. Eventually the fire died down for lack of fuel; the diminished territory was definitely lost in one final catastrophe. The fact was then proved that the struggle hitherto had been waged merely in defence of existing possessions, that the crusading theory and the religious ideal no longer availed to inspire new efforts, that the days of Bohemond and Godfrey were past for ever; men whose genius and whose zeal could secure inconceivable results from inconsiderable resources were no longer available.

Facts, however, which are true of Christian Syria both now and in former times can by no means be applied to the West as a whole, and here we have the distinctive feature of the crusade movement in the thirteenth century. The crusading idea and the enthusiasm for it was not extinct or disappearing from Europe after the Third Crusade, or indeed for a long time to come; the contrary was the case. In the twelfth century enthusiasm never died away entirely, but could be stirred to fire only by the large and comprehensive schemes of the crusaders proper. Periods of excitement alternated with periods of comparative calm in the West. During the thirteenth century the crusading idea entirely dominated men's minds, and became especially the immovable basis of ecclesiastical effort.

The age of its greatest development began for the Church under the imperious Pope Innocent III. The Church naturally attempted again and again to realise the theory which gave the clearest and most universal expression to her powers, for the reason that in this particular department her ill success was most frequent. Preparation for a crusade, and the leadership upon occasion, displayed the papacy at the height of its universal power even as opposed to the secular arm. The system of crusade tithes was made more vigorous and thorough (a system borrowed, characteristically enough, from Frankish Syria). Apart from the strict bureaucracy of Frederic II's government upon the Mohammedan soil of Sicily, the Church secured results by means of this system, which no constitutional power in the West had yet dared to attempt. The Church was herself but reaping the first fruits of the seed which had been chiefly ripened by the experiences and the stimulus of the crusades. It was always possible through the existing organisation to secure supplies for a holy war, and hence, during the first quarter of the thirteenth century and later, preparations for the Holy Land never ceased. Expeditions went forth to the Syrian coast in such numbers that contemporary historians became doubtful which enterprise should be selected for special notice, and in consequence no fixed enumeration of the number of the crusades is possible from this period. But the fate which overtook all these enterprises was one and the same. The West was ready to fight and to shed blood on behalf of the Christian faith and in order to extend the Christian dominions; the ideal of the

East, on the other hand, was the peaceful maintenance of the positions acquired, a task which was made increasingly difficult by the mutual quarrels of the Franks. Western reinforcements often provided knightly adventurers rather than a permanent increase of power, but the difficulty of utilising western piety and enthusiasm for the real service of the Latin states steadily increased. The zeal of the reinforcements from the West was dissipated by the pettifogging policy of the Syrian rulers; and enterprises upon a larger scale were checked by the impossibility of achieving any decisive result at the given centre of action.

The cause of Islam, however, could hardly show any counterbalancing achievement during the first half of this period. Saladin upon his deathbed had resumed the disastrous Seljuk tradition of imperial partition, and had thereby endangered his own achievements and those of his predecessors Nur ed-dîn and Imad ed-dîn. Frankish Syria and the West secured in consequence a breathing-space more than sufficient to allow for a reconcentration of their forces for offensive measures. Saladin had been blessed with seventeen sons who were continually fighting with one another; when his brother Malik al-'âdil had united the great part of the empire under his own rule, the struggle broke out again (1200–1218; Vol. III, p. 691), and proved highly disastrous to the empire after the appearance of the Mongols. But during those critical years the Franks made no effective attacks, as they were mutually destroying each other in Syria with internecine feuds. Eventually the rise of the Mameluke Sultans, including warriors and statesmen such as Beibar and Kalaûn (1260–1290, Vol. III, p. 690 f.), united Syria and Egypt under one permanent rule and enclosed the Frankish coast-states in an iron grasp.

B. The Crown of Jerusalem to 1291

The kingdom of Jerusalem steadily lost its real importance, and soon became at home and abroad nothing more than a legal fiction. At first it was passed from hand to hand with the rapid succession of husbands taken by Isabella, the last daughter of Amalric I (p. 398). Her second husband, Conrad of Montferrat, was murdered by the Assassins shortly before his coronation, and his place was taken a few days later by Count Henry of Champagne (p. 399). The queen, who was twenty years of age, gave birth to Maria (Iolanthe), her second husband's child, during her third marriage. The crown of Jerusalem was assumed in place of this child by Isabella's fourth husband, her brother-in-law Amalric of Cyprus, who had succeeded his brother Guido in April, 1194; he held the crown of Jerusalem from 1197, when Count Henry met his death by an accident (September 10). Amalric II died on April 1, 1205, and Isabella soon afterwards, at the early age of thirty-three. On September 14, 1210, the derelict crown passed with the hand of Maria to John of Brienne, who was approaching old age; after Maria's premature death in 1212 he governed on behalf of her little daughter Isabella, and was obliged to retire on November 9, 1225, in favour of the legal heiress and her husband, the emperor Frederic II. The sturdy old man was shortly afterwards identified with the crown of Byzantium, which he held for nine years, as regent for the Latin emperor Baldwin II during his minority (1228–1237). The empe-

ror Frederic II was now king of Jerusalem, and after him King Conrad IV, Isabella's son, whose birth cost the young mother her life. During the confusion produced by the revolt of the Syrian barons against the Hohenstauffen rule, the claims of Conrad and of his son Conradin were hardly recognised. The bearers of the crown from that date were practically deprived of all power by the independence of the barons, knightly orders, and Italian colonists; but the dignity belonged to the kings of Cyprus of the house of Lusignan, who claimed it through their descent from the last marriage of Isabella I, with Amalric II. There were at the same time many other claimants to the throne. Charles of Anjou (pp. 113 and 348) bore the title of king of Jerusalem, on the basis of a purchased claim and as the rightful successor to the Hohenstauffen in Sicily. But the final loss of the "kingdom" in 1291 hardly affected its nominal rulers.

C. The German Crusade under Henry VI (1197)

The great enterprise of the emperor Henry VI (1196–1197) is the only exclusive German crusade, apart from that of Frederic I, and perhaps for that reason has been omitted from the traditional enumeration. During its progress Amalric of Cyprus at his request, made through the imperial chancellor, Bishop Conrad of Hildesheim, received the crown as a fief of the Empire (1197). Shortly afterwards he became king of Jerusalem (see above), so that he and his successors in the realms of Cyprus and Jerusalem were vassals of the Holy Roman Empire, except when the emperors themselves assumed the crown of Jerusalem. The power of the Empire under the vigorous Henry VI was also shown by the fact that, in 1194, Leo II of Armenia followed his father's precedent (p. 394), and sent an embassy to request the feudal protection of the Empire and the grant of the title of king, which would enable him effectively to oppose the Greek claims. On January 6, 1198, this coronation was performed in Tarsus by the imperial chancellor, Archbishop Conrad of Mainz. Thus both states were now feudal members of the Empire. Possessed of greater vitality than the vanishing kingdom of Jerusalem they realised the political ideal of the crusading state, and preserved their existence long after the crusading period.

For the rest the German crusade of 1197 was as barren of results as its predecessor of 1189–1190. As the personal leadership of the emperor was still lacking, lightly won laurels were sought and found by means of several incursions into the interior, by the occupation and devastation of Sidon and Beyrout, which had been abandoned by the enemy, and by parrying the attempts of Malik Aladil, brother of Saladin and governor of Damascus, to raise the siege. About the end of the year the Germans concluded their campaign by an attack on the fortress of Tibnin (Turon). A lengthy blockade ended in a disgraceful retreat, for the news of Henry's premature death was made known, and the besiegers, hearing rumours that a relieving army was approaching, abandoned the hope of maintaining their position. The last event of this unsuccessful crusade was the formation of the Order of Teutonic Knights (mentioned on page 397) in the Templars' Palace at Acre, March 5, 1198, for the promotion of German authority in Jerusalem, which was now a fief of the Empire.

D. Innocent III. The Fourth Crusade, 1201–1204

Soon after the death of Henry VI, Innocent III (p. 245, 400) became supreme head of the Church and also (on account of his guardianship over the boy Frederic II) of the Sicilian Hohenstauffen Empire. He devoted his whole energies to the object of inflaming anew the enthusiasm of Christendom for the Holy War; for him the recovery of Jerusalem was at the same time a religious necessity and the most pressing question of papal policy.

He remained steadfastly true to his great ideal in spite of the unfavourable temper of the times, in spite of the struggle for the German crown between Philip of Suabia and Otto the Guelph, in spite of the war which had again broken out between France and England, and of the inevitable return of the heretic Albigenses into the bosom of the Church. At the beginning of the new century France again proved most responsive to the call of the cross; there Fulk of Neuilly, a saint after the manner of Peter of Amiens and Bernard of Clairvaux before him, won thousands for the new crusade by his powerful exhortations to repentance. In Alsace and southwest Germany, Abbot Martin of Paris followed in Fulk's steps, and contrived to strike more worldly chords in the hearts of his hearers. An army of 4,500 knights, 9,000 squires, and 20,000 foot soldiers — for the first time we find reliable figures at our disposal as a result of the contract which had to be made with the Venetians for transport — were brought together to Venice (1202). These troops were conveyed thence to the mouth of the Nile, since this crusade aimed at the stronghold of Islam. The powerful Venetian Republic, in conjunction with the German king, Philip, and aided by the fact that the sum stipulated for transport could not be paid in full, succeeded, in spite of the vigorous resistance of the Pope, in making this magnificent army of knights and squires serve its own purposes. In this way the crusades were drawn into the old feud between the Eastern Empire and the republic.

The conquest of Constantinople by the allies for their protégé, Alexius IV, on 17th July, 1203, was only preparatory to the second capture of the city, which took place on the 12th and 13th of April, 1204, when the crusading army — after the antagonism between Latins and Greeks had in the meantime again assumed its full violence — subdued the imperial capital, and devastated it in a terrible manner with slaughter, plunder, and fire. The Fourth Crusade was finally diverted from its original aim by the division of the spoil between crusaders and Venetians, and by the creation of the Latin Empire, together with a number of minor Frankish states, and a great Venetian colonial empire.

The idea of appropriating the resources of the Greek Empire for use against Egypt was no longer entertained. On the contrary, the energies of the Frankish colonies in Syria, and the ideals of the crusades, were permanently weakened, owing to the formation of new Frankish states, and also to the fact that they existed even after the retaking of Constantinople by the Greeks (1261). Various opportunities for utilising these energies and ideals were afforded both to knights and merchants in the Latin Empire itself, and also in the Frankish principalities on Greek soil, and in the duchy of the archipelago.

These incidental products of the crusade for the most part outlived by cen-

turies (like the kingdoms of Armenia and Cyprus) their prototypes, the Frankish colonial states; and in a much higher degree than the crusades themselves have succeeded in bringing about that close connection between the culture of Byzantium and that of the Latin West which became an important factor in the humanistic renaissance of the occident. Those are indeed issues which were far removed from the thoughts of the rude incendiaries and plunderers of the Fourth Crusade; they merely wished to reduce the hated nation of Greeks, who had for a whole century placed every obstacle in the way of the crusades. They did not see the realisation of their desire; for the destruction of the Greek Empire came too late for their purpose, since the boundary between the West and Syria had in the meantime become impossible in consequence of the fortification of the Seljuk Empire by Iconium and the inroad of the Mongols.

E. The Fifth Crusade

(*a*) *The Preparation in the West.* — The diversion of the Fourth Crusade to Greece had in no way weakened the enthusiasm of the West for the cause. Although there was still no assent to the demand of the religious world for access to the Holy Sepulchre, all the worldly ambitions of the crusaders had found unexpected satisfaction in the treasures of Byzantium, and a whole empire, the oldest of the Christian world, but a continual eyesore to the pilgrims, had fallen as a sacrifice to their greed for plunder. These two facts powerfully strengthened the desire for new pilgrimages to the East. Contrary to his expectations, and indeed against his express demand, Innocent III saw fall, like a ripe fruit, into the bosom of the Catholic Church the object which for centuries had been the aim of unceasing efforts; but the winning of the Eastern Empire for the Roman Church only intensified the wish of the bishop of Rome to rescue Jerusalem from the enemies of the faith, and to form a united Christendom under the rule of the fisherman, with its original home as centre. The policy of the Pope and the emotional movement of the West were united in the same hope. At this time the mendicant orders were springing up from the lowest depths of the people, amongst whom the zeal of a Francis of Assisi and Dominic de Guzman had thrown broadcast the seed of a new piety. What the reforms of Cluny and of Gregory had brought to the ruling classes was only now being experienced by the lower orders; that is to say, the purifying effects of a personal Christianity not unlike the benefits which Luther's Reformation were to bring three centuries later to the German people in particular. And, again, this new Christian revival of the West directed all its energies towards other countries. It was only emotional outbreaks, such as the crusade of the children, around which such legends have collected, and religious wars like that against the Albigenses, that first loosened the tension which was manifest in the religious life of the lower classes.

As was natural, the troops of children and the undisciplined bands which thronged together under the shepherd Stephen in France and the boy Nicholas in Germany for the most part perished miserably before they reached the shores of the Mediterranean, where the cunning of unscrupulous slavedealers took possession of the remnants of this strange crusade.[1]

[1] The legend of the Pied Piper of Hamelin is not to be connected with this sad entre-acte of the crusades, but is a sad record of a defeat of Hamelin at Sedemünde on July 28, 1259.

The Church, however, did not allow herself to be discouraged by such disastrous results of her preaching. Even Innocent III only saw in the fate of the unfortunate children the finger of God pointing reproachfully at men, and he refused to release from their oath those of the youthful pilgrims who had escaped destruction. He would only agree to a respite, and unceasingly directed his energies during that time to comprehensive schemes for the organisation of the Western powers to cope with the problems of the crusade. Preaching and taxation were deliberately chosen as two important factors in this scheme. While the entire administrative apparatus of the Church was set in motion for the actual preparation for the Holy War, the great Lateran Council of 1215 drew up a detailed programme of work. By the influence of enthusiastic men, such as Robert of Carzon in England, Jacques de Vitry in France, and the cathedral schoolmaster Oliver of Köln in north Germany, men's minds were made receptive to the papal summons.

(*b*) *The Crusade of 1217 and the Expedition to Egypt* (*1218–1221*). — Finally, however, in spite of the fact that Innocent III had died in 1216, and his successor, Honorius III, was by no means able to keep alive his fiery enthusiasm for warlike preparations, in the autumn of 1217 there were gathered together on the Syrian coast for the first time great hordes of crusaders, Bavarians and Austrians, under Duke Leopold, and more especially Hungarians under their king, Andreas. Should one wonder why the exertions of this army to undertake an effective expedition against Malik al-Adil from Acre remained fruitless, it is only necessary to turn to the writings of Jacques de Vitry, who was appointed bishop of Acre at that time. After reading his account of the moral condition of his flock, one can realise how impossible it was to co-operate with a people in such a state of degradation. The king of Hungary returned home after a few months. The remaining Germans were strengthened, in the spring of 1218, by a fleet of Rhinelanders and Frisians under Count George von Wied and William I of Holland. This fleet arrived at the Holy Land after almost a year's delay, caused by the inevitable struggles with the Moors on the Portuguese and Spanish coasts. Then the attack, which had been so often planned against Egypt, was finally attempted. Under the leadership of the brave King John, and aided by the skill of the Frisian sailors in erecting besieging engines, such lasting success was achieved against the steadfast and populous town of Damietta, which was the key to Egypt, that it fell into the hands of the Christians (November 5, 1219). The Sultan Al-Adil, who had always endeavoured not to incite the Franks to war, but to preserve peaceful relations with them during the progress of the crusade, was struck with apoplexy, August 31, 1218. His son Malik al-Kamil, who succeeded him in Egypt, while Al-Muazzam (Sheref ed-din 'Isa) received Damascus, was of the same peaceful temperament. Perhaps the fact that Al-Kamil had received knighthood at the hands of Richard Cœur-de-Lion brought him into closer touch with the Franks than was becoming for a nephew of Saladin. At any rate, threatened by troubles at home and alarmed by the reinforcements from the West, he offered in return for peace no less than the surrender of the whole kingdom of Jerusalem according to the boundaries fixed in 1187, with the exception of the castles of Kerak and Montroyal.

This unexpectedly favourable offer was refused with incredible haughtiness.

by the papal ambassador, Cardinal Pelagius, and the Church party in the army, who were filled with a confidence of victory, by no means justified by earlier events, but supported by the apocalyptical writings which were then appearing, and which prophesied the approaching end of Islam. Al-Kamil repeated his offer again in the spring of 1221, after the conquest of Damietta had brought indeed no great advantage to the Christians, but rather occasioned the usual dissensions and crippled their activity for a long time. But the hopes based on the appearance of the young emperor of Christendom, Frederic II, seemed rapidly approaching realisation. The army of the Franks had been strengthened by numerous German lords, among others Lewis, duke of Bavaria, and these, acting as the emperor's forerunners and filled with fresh zeal for action, had begun the advance on Cairo in spite of Frederic's express command to await his arrival. They were besieging the strong fortress of El-Mansura when Al-Kamil's second offer was made. With an inflexibility characteristic of the courtier and the priest, Pelagius succeeded in procuring a second refusal in spite of good advice and earnest admonitions. A few weeks later, however, the doom of the Christian army was sealed. By adroit use of the Nile floods, which hindered the movements of the enemy in the intricate windings of the canals which form the delta, the sultan arrived in their rear, destroyed their fleet, and by piercing the dams between the channels succeeded in cutting off their retreat, so that there remained to them only the choice between surrender and death by drowning. Owing to the gentle nature and clever foresight of Al-Kamil, free retreat and a truce for eight years, which could only be withdrawn by a crowned head of the West, were granted on August 30 to the army, which had been defeated in spite of many brave exploits, in return for the evacuation of Egypt. A fresh fleet which Frederic had despatched to Damietta came too late to be of use. Once more a vast expenditure was disgracefully wasted, and an incomparable opportunity of winning back the inheritance of the Lotharingian princes and of further development was thrown away.

F. The Crusade of Frederic II (1228–1229)

The expedition, which came to such a miserable end with the peace of El-Mansura was the last which represented the entire West. From this time crusades were undertaken only by individual nations, or rather by individual princes. The misfortune of the colossal efforts which had been organised by the Church in the second decade of the thirteenth century for the cause of Jerusalem, made it appear by far too difficult to repeat them on a similar comprehensive basis, more especially since, chiefly as a result of the struggle between Pope and emperor, disorder and schism had again broken out in Europe. In spite of this there were two other crusades, namely that of the Emperor Frederic and that of St. Louis, which promised to bring lasting help to the Syrian Franks. At his coronation at Aachen, 1215, the youthful Hohenstauffen, Frederic II, had taken the Cross. The reasons why he was repeatedly obliged to postpone the fulfilment of his oath belong less to the present subject than to the history of the Empire and its relations with Papal Italy.

After the misfortune of 1221, Frederic at once proposed another expedition to the Holy Land, but was obliged several times to abandon it until almost the

entire respite granted by the eight years' truce with Al-Kamil was at an end. In the meantime the emperor had acquired a personal claim to the crown of the Holy Sepulchre by his marriage with Isabella, the only daughter of King John of Brienne. The offspring of this union, Conrad IV, born April 25, 1228, was called king of Jerusalem while still in the cradle. Frederic, by employing his imperial power to set aside both his father-in-law and his son, asserted the questionable right of interfering with the affairs of Syria not only as feudal lord, but with supreme authority.

Frederic, who was learned in the wisdom of the Arabs and resembled a prince of modern times in his clearness and freedom of thought, possessed, in a greater degree than any other despot of the Middle Ages, insight into the real heart of a situation. In addition to his warlike preparations, secret negotiations were already being carried on with the Sultan of Egypt. Frederic had rightly estimated the combined strength of Germany, Italy, and his own inheritance, Sicily, which occupied a unique position by reason of the rigid centralisation to which it was subjected. This combination of resources, even if it had been entirely under his control, regarded from a purely military point of view, was quite worthless after all the experience of the crusades.

The emperor was glad of the opportunity of taking advantage of the fresh quarrels among the successors of Al-'Âdil for the throne of the Ayub dynasty and arriving at his goal by peaceful agreement instead of by the force of arms. An exceptionally clear-sighted emperor of the West could not be sufficiently certain of even the moderate resources which would have been required under these conditions to win back the entire Christian possessions, to prevent him from preferring those negotiations which, it is true, brought back into his hands part of what he aimed at, but which also made parts of his efforts unnecessary. On September 8, 1227, after having already begun the journey to Syria, he had again to abandon it through sickness, and was compelled to postpone it for the last time.

Then arose the long-threatened dispute with the Curia and with the zealous Pope Gregory IX. On September 29, Frederic fell under the ban to which he had laid himself open if he should again delay his departure. He actually sailed June 28, 1228, followed by the open hostility of the implacable Church and threatened at home by an attack of Papal troops on his hereditary dominions; he set foot at Acre on September 7.

The reception of the outlaw was not enthusiastic. The return of many pilgrims, who had become tired of the delay, had weakened the army then in the land. The emperor's own following was small and in addition his supreme command was taken away from him by express decree of the Pope; only the Germans and a few Italians proved faithful. The Syrian Franks were absolutely unreliable; the Orders of the Templars and Hospitallers defiantly refused obedience. During a short stay in Cyprus the emperor had made use of his suzerainty in such a domineering manner, by taking away the guardianship of the youthful king, Henry of Lusignan, from the head of the mighty house of Ibelin, John of Beyrout, that the imperial barons realised from the beginning what they might expect from him. In face of the open mutiny of the Orders and of the Syrian lords the outlawed emperor had to agree that all commands should be expressed only "in the name of God and of Christendom" without mention of his name. In the mean-

time bad news had come from Italy concerning the projects of the Pope against Sicily; thus troubles were fast gathering round Frederic at the beginning of his enterprise. Accordingly it came about that the military measures with which the emperor could support his demands on Malik al-Kamil were very insufficient. His language in a letter which the Sultan received from him sounds almost humble if one disregards the possibility of adroit diplomatic calculation or oriental forgery. All the same it is easy to understand that, under such conditions, the Sultan did not hurry with his concessions. The agreement which he desired did not come into operation till February 14, 1229, and was then only granted owing to internal conditions of Islam into which we can no longer examine, and perhaps also owing to danger of the Mongols, who even at that time were threatening the shores of the Mediterranean. To the emperor was assigned Jerusalem with the exception of the temple circuit, — especially sacred to the Mahommedans, which remained, under the protection of Moslem magistrates, in their own jurisdiction and was free to pilgrims of both religions, — further Bethlehem, Nazareth, Sidon, and a number of castles and townships, by the possession of which the Christians acquired control of the routes from the coast to the Holy Places. All prisoners were to be given up; the emperor and Sultan pledged themselves to mutual help against all enemies even against Christians. The states of north Syria, Antioch, Tripolis, and the castles of the Templars and Hospitallers situated there, were expressly left out of the treaty, which was to be in force for about ten and a half years beginning from February 24, 1229. That is all which could be obtained by the power of the Holy Roman Empire and the king of Germany, Burgundy, Italy, Sicily, and Jerusalem. Malik al-Kamil was censured by the Islam world for having allowed even those negotiations. Frederic was indeed more severely blamed by the administrative authorities of the Church and by the Frankish nobles who would gladly have realised a much greater gain without their assistance. It was, moreover, imputed to the emperor as a gross breach of faith that the north Syrian principalities were not included in the peace. Frederic, however, only wished to fulfil his oath, and on March 17, accompanied by the rejoicing shouts and warlike songs of the faithful Germans who disregarded the prohibition of the patriarch to set foot in Jerusalem, he entered the town after it had been evacuated by the majority of Mussulmans with lamentations and cursing.

On the next day (Mid-Lent Sunday), in the absence of all the high prelates, Frederic set the crown on his own head in the Church of the Sepulchre. An explanatory speech read by Hermann von Salza the Master of the German (Teutonic) Order related the history of Frederic's oath and exonerated, in conciliatory words, the angry Pope. But in the midst of this universal and welcome rejoicing the archbishop Peter of Cæsarea appeared in Jerusalem by command of the Patriarch Gerald and laid an interdict upon the Holy Places themselves. The pilgrims were greatly incensed, and Frederic, having perceived that it was impossible for him to remain there, galloped out of the Jaffa gate in consternation, without taking farewell or making even the most necessary arrangement. His followers overtook him with difficulty.

At Acre, whither he now withdrew, the animosity between the servants of the Church and the emperor continued; the latter saw that he was hemmed in on all sides, and hindered in every attempt to pursue his country's interest. In the churches of Acre disorderly scenes were witnessed on the 8th of April, between

the clamouring mendicant orders and the soldiers of the emperor. Frederic himself was compelled to bear with patience the excesses of the fanatical population, before his departure on May 1. Bad news from Italy drew him home, where he soon succeeded in creating order and in compelling the Pope to loose him from his ban on August 28. He never again saw the Holy Land, which like Cyprus he had recommended to the protection of a bailiff appointed by himself, and where he had strengthened the position of the faithful Teutonic Order, nor did his son Conrad set foot on the land which he had inherited. Christian Syria fell now by mutiny against its rightful lord into a condition of constant ferment, continual brawls and disorder, which resembled a self-laceration and hastened its end.

G. The Abolition of Kingly Power. History and the Feudal System

The struggles for the mastery in Cyprus, as in Jerusalem, which had sprung up soon after the departure of Frederic II and which lasted longer than ten years and destroyed the modest success which Frederic's crusade had brought, are not of universal interest, even if considered from the Eastern and Western points of view; they have all the pettiness of local party factions. They changed the war of West against East into the permanent organisation of Christian Syria; armed the individual seigneurs, the knightly orders and the Italian colonies against each other; and led finally, it is true, to the removal of the Hohenstauffen dynasty and of its vigorous ally the Marshal Richard Filanghieri by means of the Syrian barons in the summer of 1243. They led at the same time to conditions of anarchy which more and more excluded the possibilities of a combination of forces against Islam.

These struggles have, however, handed down to us two important literary productions. First, the historical work of Philip of Navarre, written in the form of memoirs and interwoven with poems. This work has not lost its attractiveness, although only known to us at second hand through the "Gestes des Chiprois." Philip of Navarre, who was both poet and hero, continued with his pen, in a style of charming freshness and originality, the war which he had formerly waged by satire and the sword in the service of the proud Syrian-Cyprian dynasty of Ibelin against Frederic II and his party. The social life of the times is reflected in the historical writings of the crusades. The First Crusade and the period which immediately succeeded it were crudely pictured in the rude Latin chronicles of the clergy and laymen who took part in them. These are embellished here and there by the rude fantasy of camp songs and minstrels' tales. The actual facts had been augmented by the renewed delight in story-telling and by the poetical imagination which the wonders of the crusades had inspired. Soon after this we find historians of more pronounced personality. At the time when the crusading movement was at its height there was written the great Latin historical work of the Archbishop William of Tyre, who described from personal experience the times from the first years of decadence to the loss of Jerusalem. This work ranks among the most important productions of the Middle Ages, and like the majority of them was continued from time to time by later writers. About this time the influence of the crusades, which revolutionised the thoughts and the speech of mankind, made itself felt. From the poetry of the troubadours and Chan-

sons de Geste (p. 386), there grew up records of national history which were entirely free from the tedious and pedantic Latin of the monastic scriptorium. Geoffrey de Villehardouin, one of the leaders of the Fourth Crusade and the founder of a Frankish principality on Greek soil, stands at the head of the Frankish memoir writers with his charming account of the conquest of Constantinople. Philip of Navarre is a further link in this chain, which is brilliantly concluded by Jean de Joinville's History of St. Louis (p. 197), a delightful re-echo of the crusading spirit in its mixture of chivalry and piety. Here, also, as in all productions of the period is shown the transformation from the stupor and constraint of the Romance times into a vigorous revival of nations and individuals.

From the scene of the struggles with Frederic II and his strivings after absolutism we have handed down to us another literary legacy of the crusading times, namely, the code called the Assizes of Jerusalem, which was begun by Philip of Navarre and finished by the younger John d'Ibelin, a descendant of that powerful Frankish dynasty which was allied by marriage with the ancient royal house. Mention has already been made of this code and of the spirit of feudalism which permeates it; that feudalism which was carried to such extremes, and which, after having destroyed the ancient kingdom and completely paralysed all civil authority in the restored but still disorganised state, finally wrought its own destruction. The original aim of the Assizes was to furnish direct means by which, thanks to the unique legal procedure of the Haute Cour (great feudal court), that authority could be rendered null and void, on the ground that in practice it was variable and complicated. The Haute Cour had been the active source of law even in the latter years of the old empire; it was the wielder of sovereignty, it bound together the feudal nobility in a close union of interests, and in its unlimited legal supremacy had more and more displaced even the kingship itself. Those checks which had hampered feudalism at home did not affect it as it appeared in Palestine. This may be due to the older monarchical traditions, it may be a result of the more modern institutions which were springing up. Thus the spirit of brotherhood among the knights found more forcible expression in Palestine than elsewhere. The lack of combination among the political powers which is characteristic of the feudal system rendered possible the constitutional law of the decadence. When Frederic II had attempted a second time to create for the monarchy a decisive position in political and military affairs, which alone would have made that combination possible, recourse was had to that legal procedure which completely annulled the old civil law and even the later feudal law of the kingdom, in order to put a permanent stop to similar despotic ambitions.

H. The Beginning of Disintegration

This desultory attempt at administration, which passed itself off as legal order, was just as little able then as fifty years later to assert itself against hostile superiority by the exercise of its own faculties. At first, however, al-Kamil, in spite of many challenges from the Christians, kept the truce which he had signed with Frederic II, and its expiration fell at a time, immediately after the death of the Sultan (March 8, 1238), when the war, which had again broken out concerning the Ayoubite succession, disorganised Islam no less than the dissensions of the

Frankish camps had disorganised the Christian hosts. More than once the rulers of Damascus made common cause with the Christians against the rulers of Egypt. The Franks were confident that the fate of the Ayoubite dynasty was sealed. There was no lack of reinforcements from the West. After 1239 the truce with Egypt had expired. Campaigns such as those of Theobald IV, count of Champagne and king of Navarre (1239–1240, p. 191), and Richard, earl of Cornwall (1240–1241), were quite capable of greatly extending the Christian dominion. King Theobald was not able to avenge an attack on Jerusalem by the Ayoubite ruler of Kerak, Malik en-Nasir Dawud; but by means of a treaty with a younger brother of al-Kamil, Malik es-Salih Ismael, Sultan of Damascus, against al-Kamil's son, Malik es-Salih, Ayoub of Egypt, succeeded in obtaining the restoration to the Christians of the Templars' castles, Safed and Belfort, as also the land between Sidon and Tiberias. This extraordinary compact, however, led to a severe defeat of the Christian at Gaza, since the Mahommedan part of the army went over during the battle to their own people. Soon after, at the end of September, Theobald, like so many crowned crusaders before him, disgusted with the hopelessly disorganised condition of the Holy Land, turned his back upon it. Richard of Cornwall, who arrived October 11, was able (by means of a successful conclusion of the negotiations which Theobald had begun with the Sultan of Egypt) to secure for the Christians the chief extensions of territory which had been promised under the treaty with Damascus, and to rebuild Askalon. If he had been able to prevent civil strife among the Syrian Christians, a considerable increase of Frankish power might have been hoped for, but party quarrels made this impossible. Thus ruin crept on. In 1244 the position of 1240 was repeated. The Sultan Ishmael of Damascus, in league with the emirs of Hims (p. 382) and Kerak, offered the Christians the entire land on this side of the Jordan and the cession of the Temple precinct in Jerusalem if they would combine with them in arms against Egypt. The Christians accepted, but only enjoyed the sole possession of the holy places in Jerusalem for a short time. The Sultan Ayoub, thus menaced, called to his aid the hordes of the Kharismians, the offscourings of the Mongols, who since the overthrow of their empire had wandered through Mesopotamia and Western Asia. With plunder and murder they poured their troops first over North Syria, and then, after an unsuccessful attack, threw themselves a second time on Jerusalem (August 23, 1244). The town was taken by storm, the Latin inhabitants were put to the sword; a number of holy places, among them the Holy Sepulchre itself, were desecrated and laid waste, and the graves of the Frankish kings were violated. It was the last hour of Christian Jerusalem. A few weeks later, on October 17, the doom of the Frankish arrière-ban was sealed. They met with a reverse similar to that which they had experienced four years before, but more complete and permanent in its results. When the allied Mussulmans and Latins met in fight, the Egyptians, who had been reinforced by the Kharismians, at whose head appeared for the first time Rokn ed-dîn Bibars I., who later became Sultan, the Mahommedan soldiers left the Christians to their fate. Almost the entire body of Frankish knights, the Syrian nobles, and the members of the military orders, perished in a general slaughter. Some were taken prisoner, only a few escaped. Jerusalem, Nablus, and Hebron fell into the hands of the victors. In the autumn of the following year the Sultan Ayoub took possession of Damascus, Hims, and Balbek, so that the ancient empire of Saladin

was again almost completely restored. In 1247 the Christians lost Tiberias and Ascalon. Thus their possessions were reduced to the position of 1192, and the loss of the rest was only a matter of time.

I. Crusade of St. Louis (1248–1254)

The crusade of Louis IX of France could but temporarily mitigate the distress of the Latin colonies. The crusade was in reality undertaken against the wish of the French nobles and people, and had only limited resources at its disposal. A fresh expedition from the united West was never realised.

The Council of Lyons, 1245, had again offered peace for four years and the payment of a twentieth for the Holy Land; but the fanatical animosity of Pope Innocent IV towards the Hohenstauffen empire diverted all the resources and powers which were available for the crusade to the struggle against Frederic II, the Antichrist, who had been excommunicated a second time, and against whom the Pope ordered a crusade to be preached as against heathens and heretics, under promise of the crusader's absolution. Thus the host which the chivalrous and pious king of France brought together at the beginning of 1248 was only an army of French knights, while a popular movement, which chiefly affected northern France, some years after the departure of St. Louis, the crusade of the "Pastoureaux" (June, 1281), met with the same fate as the crusades of the peasants and children, while still in France. The army of Louis IX, which early in the summer of 1249 sailed for Egypt from Cyprus, forms a striking counterpart to the Damietta crusade of 1218–1221 (pp. 405 ff), except inasmuch as it met with a swifter end. After a sudden assault on Damietta, June 7, the siege of el-Mansura was begun in December, and as in 1221 was diverted by adroit use of the aqueducts and canals of the Delta to the disadvantage of the French, who were unacquainted with the country. The heroic chivalry of the king, his barons and the Templars, prevented the Egyptians from making deliberate use of the advantage they had gained by their diplomacy. This time the offer of peace, for which al-Kamil had at one time been prepared, was proposed by the Christian ruler, but refused, and on the eventful retreat to Damietta, April 5 and 6, 1250, a great part of his army was defeated by the pursuers, while King Louis, with two of his brothers, Alphonso of Poitou and Charles of Anjou, numerous nobles, and thousands of less important people, fell into captivity. In return for the evacuation of Damietta and the promise of a ransom of eight hundred thousand pieces of gold, the king, with the rest of his army, was released, and reached Acre May 13, 1251.

Louis IX spent four years in the Holy Land without achieving any definite result. His own power was too feeble, and the Syrian lords had not yet recovered from the reverses of the last years. The appearance of the Mameluke dynasty in Egypt (in place of the last Ayoub, who had only been held in tutelage since the death of the Sultan Salih Ayoub, and was soon set on one side) offered certain prospects, inasmuch as the Ayoubite Sultan of Damascus, Malik en-Nasir Yusuf, revolted against the usurpation of the Mamelukes, and repeatedly offered an alliance to Louis. Unfortunately, however, the king adhered to the Egyptians, who had constantly proved the stronger in the war which had broken out

between Cairo and Damascus. Now, however, he was compelled to see them defeated by the soldiers of Damascus, and they were obliged to renounce the land on this side of the Jordan, which they had promised to their ally, the king of France. This happened at the beginning of April, 1253. For a whole year Louis IX sought in vain for more profitable activity than the erection of castles and fortresses, and on April 24, 1254, he finally returned home after six years' unprofitable absence. The glory of his chivalrous deeds and of his piety is strikingly told by his faithful seneschal and valiant fellow-warrior, Jean de Joinville (p. 410). Chivalry and piety, however, were no longer able to avert the impending doom from the Holy Land.

K. The End

In the course of the next generation this doom was realised. In the West, it is true, the crusading spirit and the enthusiasm for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre were by no means dead. But the condition of the empire and of Italy rendered permanent help for Syria impossible during the interregnum and for some years later. In the East the Latin empire of Constantinople was in its death struggle, while the other Frankish states on Greek ground had deprived Christian Syria of the power which would otherwise have been at its disposal. France was still suffering from the crushing effects of the last great crusade. When Louis IX decided in July, 1270, to undertake another expedition against the East he did not go to the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, but advanced to Tunis, which he hoped to win to Christianity. There his camp was attacked by pestilence, and the whole gain of the expedition fell to the lot of his politic and crafty brother, Charles of Anjou, the king of Sicily, who, as successor to the Hohenstauffen, called himself, in addition, king of Jerusalem, and who, on the journey to Acre, 1277, had personally exercised royal privileges. Only two great crusades found their way at that time to the Syrian shores, a Spanish one sent by King James I of Aragon (Vol. IV, p. 526), and an English one under Prince Edward, later King Edward I. The resources of the first stood at the disposal of the Franks from 1269 to 1270, those of the second from 1271 to 1272. Nothing was achieved, partly because the factions of the Christians prevented a combination of forces, partly because the power of Islam was at last concentrated in the hands of a powerful ruler. The strife on the part of the Christians which had enfeebled their last powers of resistance had assumed enormous proportions in the last centuries. At Acre itself, in the year 1257, war broke out between the Genoese and the Venetians, in which also the Pisans and the ever-hostile Templars and Hospitallers were involved, first on the side of the Genoese and then on the side of the Venetians. For two years regular battles were fought about Acre and Tyre, which cost the lives of twenty thousand men, occasioned losses of ships and property, and so devastated the town of Acre that it was almost annihilated. This was the beginning of the war between the two naval powers which lasted about one hundred and twenty-five years. In the first period the Genoese avenged themselves for being driven out of Acre by in their turn expelling the Venetians and Latins from Constantinople, while they later almost entirely destroyed the power of their weaker opponents, the Pisans. Under such conditions affairs in the Holy Land

were trending to a catastrophe. It seemed at first possible to ward off destruction by the help of unexpected allies. Since the beginning of the century, when the Mongols under Genghis Khan had made inroads into Western Asia, the Christians had cast hopeful looks towards them as a result of the naturally hostile attitude which they had adopted against Islam. The Fifth Crusade had already fallen under the influence of the mysterious legend of the Christian Prester John, who was to appear with an army from the Far West to help the crusaders. In time rumours of the friendly feelings entertained by the Mongols for the Christians grew in force. Like his brother and overlord Mangu, Hulagu, a grandson of Genghis Khan, who conquered Bagdad and destroyed the Abbasid caliphate, was entirely on the side of the Christians. His favourite wife was a Christian, and she was able to procure every advantage for her religion. Her son Abaka celebrated the Holy Communion with the Christians several times, and also again a few days before his death. His brother and successor, Tagudar Ogul, had been baptised as a child, a profession of faith which he afterwards most emphatically disavowed, for immediately on his succession to power he went over to Islam under the name of Ahmed-Sultan. The policy of the Ilkhans, which was friendly to the Christians, was again adopted by his nephew Argun, the eldest son of Abaka, who dethroned Ahmed after a short rule. From the days of the First Council of Lyons, 1245, until late in the fourteenth century, their courts were open to ambassadors of the Popes and of the Western princes, particularly to Franciscan friars, while Argun, for his part, sent ambassadors to Rome and France. Thus the hopes that the Mongols would interfere in favour of the Syrian Christians against the power of Islam were justified, and the last council, held at Lyons, 1274, which considered the affairs of the Holy Land, was under the influence of the ambassadors of Abaka, who were present, and by their own request received baptism. Unfortunately, however, this favourable attitude of the Ilkhans to Christianity subsided with the approaching decline of the empire. A defender of Islam appeared in the Sultan Rokn ed-dîn Bibars I of Egypt, who resembled Saladin in his statesmanship and powers of organisation, and continued the religious war with, if possible, greater audacity and valour, certainly with more cunning, perfidy, and cruelty. He resisted with such constant success the inroads of the Mongols in Syria, by which they had already conquered Haleb and Damascus, and pressed forward to Gaza, that the last hopes of the Christians vanished. In the respites granted to him by the Mongols, Bibars proceeded with deliberate plans and aims. He led eight campaigns (1261–1274) against the Christians, during which Cæsarea and Arsuf, 1265, Safed, 1266, Jaffa and Belfort (Schakif Arnun), 1268, and soon afterwards Antioch, fell into his hands, and were terribly devastated. In 1271, after he had conquered a number of strong castles belonging to the military orders, amongst them the celebrated Castle Kurd (Hisn el Akrab; p. 380) belonging to the knights of the Order of St. John. The remainder of the Frankish possessions fell like ripe fruit into the bosom of his third successor, Saif ed-din Kalaun. For some time previously the Christians, having fully realised the impending destruction, had begun their return journey to the West and Cyprus. Before setting out, they were hastily selling their goods or bequeathing them to the military orders, and rescuing documents and title deeds. On May 23, 1285, the castle of Margat, which belonged to the Hospitallers, and on April 26, 1289, Tripoli, which had been weakened by civil strife, were both taken by the Egyptian who called him-

self Malik el-Manssur. Now only Acre, Athlith, Beirut, Haifa, Sidon, Tortosa, and Tyre remained to the Christians, when in April, 1291, Kalaun's son, Malik el-Aschraf Salah ed-din Khalil, advanced to Acre with a powerful army. Once more marvellous deeds of bravery were achieved under the influence of the old crusading spirit, till on May 18 an assault of extreme force led the infidels to their goal. Only a portion of the defenders escaped by sea, the majority of the inhabitants perished by the sword. The last heroic resistance of the Templars in their castle was ended, ten days after the conquest of the town, by the undermining of the walls, which in their fall engulfed Christians and Mussulmans alike. That was the end. The last Christian possessions were either forsaken during the next weeks by the inhabitants or given up after a short blockade. Thus the entire work of the crusades was annihilated.

8. AFTER EFFECTS OF THE CRUSADES

A. The Crusading Spirit in the Fourteenth Century

Even with the complete loss of Syria the crusading spirit by no means entirely disappeared. As it lived in the hearts of the pious, so it occupied the thoughts of politicians, aroused the lust of adventure in the knights, and inspired the phantasy of the poets. The fourteenth century witnessed many a hopeful aspiration to organise armed crusades and still more ambitious plans among which the hope of an alliance with the Mongols, even if their conversion to Christianity was no longer possible, played an important part, while the enemy who had first to be conquered, namely, the Ottoman Turks, came more and more into prominence. But as their advance towards Europe diverted the struggle between West and East into another direction and compelled the West to fall back on a hardly maintained defensive position, so the spirit in which in the fourteenth century crusades could be considered and planned was essentially transformed.

The Papacy which, immediately before and after the year 1291, under the unwelcome influence of the embassies from the East had devised and set on foot many a fruitless effort to avert the fate of the kingdom which it had created soon after realised that it had forever lost the leading position which it had held when it had called into life and conducted the wars of the Cross. The œcumenical policy of the Church gives place to the development of national stability and territorial demarcation. While the first crusade was distinguished by the effacement of natural differences and the unifying influence exercised on men's minds by the thought of the Ruling Church, the later crusades became more and more the enterprises of individual nations. Moreover in the fourteenth century a crusade could no longer be regarded as an aim in itself, but rather as a means of effecting national and political designs and of expressing the adventurous spirit of individual classes belonging to the several nations, amongst which early and late the French nobility took a leading part. From its ranks were still drawn the outposts of Western civilization, the Frankish potentates in Greece, the lords of the Cypriote kingdom and also the noblest members of the military orders; only Genoa and Venice maintained an interest equally strong, even if essentially different in character, in the relations of the West with Islam.

Thus all the plans which had been contrived for future crusades in succession by Popes, by a Roman emperor, by able men of affairs such as the noble Venetian Marino Sanudo (p. 342, note), or by deep thinkers such as the Frenchman Pierre Dubois, in execution only served the purpose of advancing the interests of the Venetian Republic or of the French knighthood. They do not belong to the history of the crusades in its proper sense if one looks deeper than the name.

B. The Kingdoms of Cyprus and Little Armenia

Much more does the history of Frankish Cyprus deserve to be treated as a sequel to the crusades. Its kings, sprung from the House of Lusignan (though after 1267 only in the female line, while on the male side they belonged to the Antioch-Tripolitan princely race of Bohemund and in reality therefore to the house of Poitou p. 375), had, on account of their manifold claims to the inheritance by marriage, worn the crown of Jerusalem or held the regency in Palestine during a greater part of the thirteenth century. When crown and country were ultimately lost many valuables which lay hidden in the land were brought over to Cyprus. Even before this the island, by constant intercourse with the West and with the Frankish colonies, had been richly sown with the seeds of culture which now, when Cyprus had become "la frontière puissante et necessaire de la Chrestienté Catholique" (the powerful and necessary frontier of Catholic Christianity), yielded an abundant harvest. Commercial towns, like the settlements of the military orders, found in Cyprus a new home. Famagusta became a second Acre. There, thanks to a vigorous intercourse carried on through the Syrian Christians, the papal prohibition of commerce, issued after the fall of Acre in the West, but which were by no means inviolably kept, remained ineffectual, and the riches of the soil, increased by considerable agricultural industry and by an almost tropical climate, resulted in a very high level of cultivation, which almost exceeded that of the Syrians. Powerful rulers such as Hugo IV, 1324–1359, who helped the Hospitallers to win Smyrna, and Peter I (1359–1369), who summoned an actual crusade and from his own resources could provide means for a temporary conquest of Alexandria (1365; cf. Vol. V, p. 371), maintained the small state at the height of its power. Decay approached first, when the quarrel of the great maritime republics, which had already been the destruction of the Syrian empire, made its influence felt here also. Genoa took possession of Famagusta in 1373 and her monopoly of the commerce of this great harbour crippled the industrial strength of the island; while the strife which resulted, continuing almost a century, was fatal to the political power of Cyprus. Her last king, James II (1460–1473), by his marriage with Catarina Cornaro sought the protection of the Venetian Republic. Under its rule the power of Cyprus revived until August 1, 1571, when after an eleven months' siege it fell into the hands of the Ottoman like the whole inheritance of the Crusades (Vol. V. p. 155).

The fate of Armenia was accomplished much earlier. In the second century of the crusades the small Cilician state had become like Cyprus a kind of offshoot of the crusading movement, although it preserved its national individuality and the proud traditions of its arms and religion. Its ruling house, the Rhupenids and Heltumids, stood, by means of dynastic alliances, for a time in the same relations

with the principality of Antioch as Cyprus and Jerusalem, except that they came more frequently to declarations of hostility. But the state and society, in particular the usage of war, and the administration of justice and commerce came in a great measure under the influence of the Franks. The effects of this Western culture were a considerable intellectual advance and a substantial strengthening of the power of resistance. After the fall of Acre the harbour of Lajazzo (now Ajas, opposite to Alexandrette), became for a long time equal with Famagusta as a centre of exchange between the East and the West, chiefly because intercourse with the Orient was unresisted there and the province of the Mongols on the frontiers of Western Asia touched the shores of the Mediterranean at this spot so that Lajazzo became the western entrance of an empire which extended over a greater part of the world.

Meantime the enmity of the Ilkhans, who at first had been allies, and that of the Ottomans, especially of the Mamelukes, quickly annihilated the military power of this small state which had originally been so great. As early as 1347 Lajazzo, which had already been plundered and laid waste more than once, fell a prey to the Egyptians and the rest of the empire succumbed finally to an attack of the Mamelukes (cf. Vol. V, p. 204). The last ruler of a collateral branch of the Cyprian Lusignans, Leon VI, who had escaped from captivity in Cairo, lived till 1393 in Paris as a prince without a country, having assumed the extraordinary title of king of Madrid.

C. The Military Orders

It was reserved for the orders of knighthood to carry on the traditions of the crusades up to the threshold of modern times, or rather, if one disregards the numerous imitations of the three great orders, especially in the West, this honour was reserved to the only one of them which was able to continue its existence as a kind of civil organisation. By reason of their rich possessions in Syria the orders assumed supreme civil authority, especially the order of St. John which already exercised such rights in an almost unlimited measure on its chief castle, Margot (el Markad) in North Syria. The activity of the Teutonic order (whose chief castle was Starkenberg [Montfort] near Acre) on Syrian ground had always been much more moderate; however, long before the loss of the Holy Land events had occurred which separated the fate of the order from that of Palestine, but which made it appear the true heir of the crusading spirit and of the culture developed by the crusading movement (cf. pp. 285 ff). On the other hand the order of Templars did not long survive the loss of Syria. Its capital was fixed till August 14, 1291, at "The pilgrim Castle," Athlith, south of Haifa (p. 414); and at Limasol on the island of Cyprus, for two decades after the fall of Acre.

From here the order made several attacks on the infidels. But the central stronghold of the order lay in the West; here its members, 20,000 in number, living in the 10,000 "Manors" of the order, led the existence of an all-powerful nobility, exceedingly wealthy in estates and treasures, but hated by clergy and laity alike on account of their arrogance and encroachments. With the disappearance of greater projects in the East their zeal for power made itself of necessity felt in the West. A state in embryo, like France, which was advancing towards

greater consolidation and more modern organisation, and which included the chief possessions of the orders, was constrained to feel their mere existence as a thorn in its own flesh, and made strenuous efforts to extirpate this *imperium in imperio*. The annual revenues of the orders, if calculated according to present value, would amount to fifty million francs, while the French crown demesnes at that time did not bring in more than two million. Philip IV, the Fair, the first prince "in whose reign the spirit of more modern times was felt," availed himself of the feebleness of Pope Clement V and the wide-spread belief in the heresy of the Templars, which was strengthened by their lame defence in the course of the Papal lawsuit which was carried on from 1307 to 1314 with all the devices and horrors of the Inquisition, and the abolition of the order was proclaimed on March 22, 1312. The burning of the Grand Master James de Molay at Paris on March 11, 1314 (not March 18, 1313, as on p. 212), formed the end. The lands belonging to the order in France and in some other states which followed Philip's example fell for the most part to the crown. The Hospitallers took possession of the remaining part of the property of the Templars, and to them also was transferred everything which had escaped the funeral-pile, the prison, or the cloister.

Thus the "Brothers of St. John of the Hospital" remained sole heirs of the crusades. Although they resembled the Templars in luxury and selfishness, and had by their constant and often bloody strife assisted in the downfall of the Syrian state, yet they showed at the beginning of the fourteenth century such great martial zeal against the Mamelukes, Seljuks, and Ottomans that they escaped the danger of succumbing to the fate of the Templars. On the southwest shores of Asia Minor, principally on the islands off the coast, they created after 1306 a state of their own, of which the centre after 1310 was Rhodes. Here, like the Frankish-Italian provinces, they formed on the soil of ancient Hellas and the Cyclades a strong outpost of Christendom against the evermore threatening Ottoman force. They outlived the fall of Constantinople, 1453, and victoriously resisted the celebrated siege of Rhodes by the Turks from May till June, 1480 (Vol. V, p. 146), and only surrendered to them on December 21, 1522 (Vol. V, p. 149). After this, in 1527, they emigrated to Malta, from where they continued the fight against the infidels, in a less extensive way, for centuries. The small state of the knights of Malta only fell a sacrifice to a modern crusade, the expedition of General Bonaparte to Egypt, 1798 (Vol. III, p. 713; VIII, p. 28). On the contrary, the organisation of the order as such, like that of the Teutonic order, defied the storms of the Revolution and stands out as a unique survival into the present just in the same way as the title king of Jerusalem.

9. THE CAUSES WHY THE CRUSADES FAILED

THE task of the crusades remains unaccomplished to the present day; any modern attempt would from similar reasons be as ineffectual. The plan of the united countries of Europe, which Pierre Dubois (above, p. 416), a bold innovator and clever thinker, whose flight of ideas was far ahead of the political line of thought of his time, called into existence for the deliverance of Jerusalem, did not come any nearer realisation than those of former times; and although it would be easy at the present time to take the birthplace of Christianity from the

hands of the Turks, the mutual jealousy of the western states would make it difficult to establish a vigorous state there. Men have puzzled and striven over the reasons why the crusades failed, without earnestly considering if their aim could be achieved at the present time. But the difficulties with which a modern Christian state of Jerusalem would find itself confronted were present to a greater degree during those centuries. Men confine themselves to superficialities when they place the moral responsibility for the downfall of Christian Syria upon the strife between Papacy and Empire, between Greeks and Latins, Normans and Provençals, French and English, between the individual crusading states, Templars and Hospitallers, Genoese and Venetians, or when they impute the whole blame to the selfishness and immorality of the Franks, and to their lack of discipline and cynicism. All these were facts which accompanied or resulted from the crusades, and which could not be separated from the plan or accomplishment of the enterprise, just as the secularisation of the Holy Wars and their issues. It is just as superficial to argue that, on account of the tremendous number of men sacrificed in the crusades, no permanent occupation of Syria from the West could take place. The solution to the problem is rather to be sought in the rivalry between the lofty religious ideals and enthusiasm of the West and the trivial interests of the Syrian miniature states. Just as the ardent religious emotions of the crusaders themselves were often transformed in the Syrian harbours to worldly ambitions and sordid desires, so the crusading fever was ultimately extinguished among the dwellers in Palestine, to whom, as they enjoyed the wealth and luxury of a colonial culture, it seemed futile to undermine the foundation of this culture by continual strife and bloodshed with their nearest neighbours.

How thoroughly Frankish and Moslem ideas were fused in Syria is shown even in the twelfth-century records of the Arabs, whose higher culture quickened their insight for such things, *e. g.* the instructive memoirs of the emir of Schaisar, Usama ibn-Mumkidh. In the thirteenth century also we find further proof in the works of such Christian writers as James de Vitry, William of Tripoli, Ricoldo da Monte Croce, and several others, who make more direct allusions to the relations with Islam. In daily life, however, these relations are more distinctly marked than in literary productions, which are always somewhat restricted to the official view of things. That might be said to be true of the narrow sphere in which people lived. Moreover the hope, which was embodied in the great idea of the crusades, of expanding the narrow boundaries and developing a fuller, freer life, had vanished within a few decades, perhaps with the appearance of Genghis (p. 384), and two generations after Bohemond and Godfrey, restrictions were still further increased through the growing military and political consolidation of Islam.

Thus the warlike spirit, which had always been highly valued and cherished, together with chivalry and knighthood, were fettered in their powers of action, and even if these had become free they could not have succeeded here, where combination and unity were all-important, owing to the tendency of the mediæval world towards dismemberment. Whilst at home the feudal system had arisen naturally from the existing social and economic conditions, it was established abroad on a soil totally unsuited to it with such an exactness and completeness, that it weakened the central power as soon as the first strong

impulses of the movement had somewhat relaxed. Thanks not to the exertions of the West, but to the weakness of the East, this moribund condition lasted a whole century. For lasting services either in war or to the state, it showed itself unfit, and the efforts of the West to help its more and more endangered outposts came to naught. From the Second Crusade onwards, — the first expedition had achieved some results, although not proportionate to the effort expended, — all the Holy Wars were nothing but great tragi-comedies, played on the stage of universal history. But the noblest emotions of the soul of the mediæval age, the utmost exertions of its energy and of its heroism, the radiant glories of chivalry, and the bright religious enthusiasm were nothing but brilliant fireworks, useless for the desired end. The time was not yet ripe for the solution of such problems.

But here is the essential point: that age was indeed capable of great aims and of inspired feelings, of heroic deeds also, if feelings and aims were enough to achieve these. And the equality of the masses, the uniformity of conditions, the want of individuality made the expression of such feelings and aims on the part of the people as a whole, more original, more impressive, more irresistible, than would be the case to-day. But what was wanting, and necessarily wanting to those times, was the well thought-out combination and direction of the whole civilized world on a single aim. That the Middle Ages were a period of small states has been said in another connection; the forces of those centuries were confined and restricted. Where not arising out of the needs and sensibilities of the time, but transmitted as tradition from a richer and more all-embracing culture, higher ideas did indeed survive and act as guides to the aim of a world religion and a world monarchy; but apart from those offices which served as the bearers and preservers of such traditions — the Papacy and Empire — there was wanting every effective inducement, if not for the comprehension, at least for the accomplishment of such great general tasks. It is true the Church had been able to establish at the right time that valuable uniformity and discipline of minds, which it made sufficiently serviceable to its aims and demands. On the other hand, the idea of a national or indeed of a universal state embodied in the Empire, hovered in the air only, so long as the real, federative, public life of the nations moved within the narrow bounds, and the care for economic and communal interests was confined to secluded valleys or groups of neighbouring villages, or at most to the district or the tribe. The cause of the failure of the mediæval empire lies in this, that it rested on a mere idea, without the necessary foundations and supports, above a number of isolated powers, which felt no need of unity. The failure of the crusades is explained in the same way. These were inspired by the spiritual rulers of the West; they certainly represent the most powerful spiritual movement the Middle Ages have seen; but there was no possibility of an effective material combination, directed to the desired end. In the centuries between the extinction of ancient political tradition, and the dismemberment of the universal monarchy of Charles the Great, and the growing suitability of the European world to the modern forms of life, which in one place earlier, in another later, became established, there were generally no combined political or military enterprises which were planned on a large scale, or which produced any lasting results. Such results were, as it were, only in passing, in the achievements of lucky adventurers, won half by good fortune. The seizure of Italian territory by the Normans and their conquest of England form an example. On the other hand the

German emperors, even under favourable circumstances and by the expenditure of great forces, were as little able to cope with Italy as with the internal problems of their own nation. The fate of the crusades has been that of the imperial expeditions to Rome; the plan on which they were based belonged to the recognised horizon of the Orbis Romanus, of the universal state, whilst on the other hand the means on which they depended for success belonged to a very much narrower conception.

The reason for the failure of the crusades is expressed in these words. A project, which presupposed the idea of a world-state, and which could only be carried out, by an absolute military monarchy, men wished to accomplish by means of an organisation which had dismembered the state and diminished its powers; they wished to lay hold of the political, social, and economic forces of the East, which rested on the foundations of an ancient civilization, to lay hold of them by mean of the Feudal system, which had its roots in much more simple economic and social conditions. This system, however, was not yet sufficiently barbaric to destroy entirely that older world by the exuberance of rude, unconquered youth. It required combination, whilst the peculiar position was that of isolation, and the circumstances themselves were of such a nature that their underlying principles were raised to a written law first of all in Syria, and scarcely anywhere else. Is there any wonder, then, that on the one hand, no single state was able from that time to achieve the longed-for success in any of the numerous campaigns in the East, which often demanded all the available forces of the West, and that, on the other, the dispersion of the forces on Syrian soil could never be prevented? That the first crusade, almost alone of all, had any success, although a pitiable one, in view of the enormous external demonstration of power with which Europe began it, was simply owing to the fact that the predominant military power of the East, at that time the Seljuk monarchy, had been, like the West, disintegrated by feudalism. That was perfectly recognised on the Moslem side; when Imad ed-dîn Zenki began again to combine the forces of Islam, and with this aim immediately created a kind of standing army, then he forbade his soldiers to acquire landed possessions, that is, he put a bar to the decay of military monarchy in great and small fiefs. Thus the powerful kingdom of the Atabegs was created, and only its re-dismemberment under Saladin's successors, the Ayoubites, gave to the moderate momentary success of the third crusade an influence which lasted for another century. When an irresistible opponent to the Christians of Syria arose in the Mameluke state, then their end was indeed come. Unity was arrayed against disintegration, the state against the nobility. The work of the first crusades was shattered through this contrast of the opposing outer forces, just as through the contrast of opposing cultures political and moral decay set in. That which remained over from the ferment of this period was the sole, but still a most important, contribution of the crusades to the welfare of mankind.

10. THE IMMEDIATE AND LATER RESULTS. A REVIEW

It has already been pointed out in the introduction (p. 356), that the object of this section cannot be to place in proper relation with each other all the causes and influences of the crusades, and by so doing to treat here in a comprehensive way the whole Western development of civilization, in its transition from the

early to the later mediæval period, from the times of spiritual bondage to those of the enfranchisement of the human mind. The attempt has so often been made since A. H. L. Heeren's famous essay "on the Development of the Results of the Crusades in Europe" (1808), that for the present a concise treatment will perhaps be more attractive than a repetition. In estimating the strong impulses which the progress of European culture received between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, doubtless in part from the crusades, there is an undeniable danger of overlooking those which were just as powerful, and which were due to the inner development of the West. The influences of the crusades in their true relation to those internally developing forces of civilization of middle and east and west European history have been treated in other parts of our series (compare Vol. IV, pp. 40–44, Vol. V, pp. 99–106, and p. 110, and besides the sections in the present volume, also Vol. VII, pp. 2–11, and Vol. VIII, pp. 391–395). Therefore it is desirable at this point, where we are only concerned with the crusades, to lay stress as it were, on those features in which their influence on the course of European civilization is unmistakable. But even these few hints will suffice to strengthen the correctness of the view, that the most fruitful germs of modern, as opposed to mediæval ideas, have sprung from the soil of the crusades, and from the products of that soil. A desire to base our review on a more exact portrayal of this original soil, and of the state of civilization in the Latin principalities, would inevitably involve us too deeply in the details of daily life, in its political, social, economic, and intellectual aspects, so that we must here omit them.

Indeed there lie specially in the domain of every-day and domestic life the most important points of contact of the two spheres of civilization, hitherto sharply divided, which by means of the crusades have had a beneficial influence on the West. But here it is necessary to make a limitation. The diffusion of Moslem, above all of Arabic culture in European life has been produced by contact in other spheres than that of the Syrian coast-line, and has been there able to work more quietly, but more continuously, and therefore perhaps more permanently. The rôle of mediation on the part of the Byzantine empire has been already indicated (compare Vol. V, pp. 55–63), but quite apart from this, the Norman kingdom of Lower Italy established on a Saracen basis, with the state of Frederic II, immediately succeeding it on the one hand, the Iberian Peninsula, with its interpretation of Arabic and Christian Roman ideas, extending over nearly eight hundred years, on the other, — had even before the crusades produced a mixed civilization, which was continued to a certain extent for some time after their decay. Whether the Arabic civilizing influence perceptible in the West came in any individual instance through Spain, Italy, Byzantium, or Syria, it is extremely difficult to prove, and in the review of the Oriental sources of our mediæval civilization, special care is therefore required on this very point of evidence of origin. In doubtful cases the crusades have the presumption in their favour, because the points of contact were everywhere else very limited, and in any extension beyond these bounds could show but a limited effect — whilst the "Orient" of the crusades for practically two centuries had exercised an almost unbounded influence over the West.

Within the already mentioned limitations, we must first of all speak here of the important changes in the conditions of life, which, passing over from a superior economic state to a much more primitive and simple one, have permanently

altered the spirit of the lands affected. The crusades have been called "voyages of observation" in this, as well as in other more far-reaching respects. But the European languages alone show, in an unusual abundance of Oriental loan-words, what a mass of culture the West has received in these centuries from the Mohammedans. Only to mention a few, the words cotton, muslin, damask, baldachin (canopy) — sofa, matrass, alcove, carafe (decanter) — bazaar, barracks, magazine, arsenal — admiral, amulet, elixir — douane (customs), tariff, zechin, — are cases of such Arabic loan-words. In the Romance languages they are particularly conspicuous.

To give another illustration, the crusades have brought over to the West a knowledge of the Eastern animal world, and still more of many cultivated plants. The cultivation of the sugar cane, together with its name, and that of syrup, only became known to the majority of crusaders on Syrian soil. And from the same source come the sesame lily, the carob tree (Johannis brotbaum), and saffron. Pistachio nuts and lemons still bear their Arabic names. Apricots were for a long time called "Plums of Damascus"; the little shallot onion is really the "ascalonette"; the onion of Ascalon. And the watermelon (Citrullus vulgaris; also called "Arbuse"), used to-day in Europe as an article of common food, came to Europe, if not from Syria, at all events through the crusades; the Arabic name "pastèque" has reached France, the Greek name "anguria" is used in Italy.

Of plants which are of industrial importance, cotton, the name of which is in French "coton," in German "kattun," has an Arabic origin. It first came into more extensive use in Europe through Syrian commerce, and brought with it the Arabic invention of cotton paper, in place of the less convenient parchment. Of other clothing materials, atlas (satin) and samite (velvet) bear at least Byzantine names, brought over with the objects themselves, at the time of the crusades. We learned then for the first time to value and imitate the arts of carpet-weaving and embroidery. A knowledge of dyes and of dyeing materials came mostly from the East. Crimson and lilac are Arabic terms, as also azure and other shades of colour used in the escutcheons of the crusaders. Very extensive were the changes in costume and clothing, the result of trade intercourse, and the necessity of adaptation to other climatic conditions. To confine oneself to philology, camelot, kaftan (vest) burnous, even the old Bavarian "joppe" (jacket) are Arabic words and objects. Besides many a new weapon and warlike ornament (target, chainmail, bow) we have also to thank the more luxurious East for the name and use of the slipper (pantoffel, pantoufle). From the East and Byzantium came, during the age of the crusades, elegant fashions for ladies, objects for toilet use, and means for beautifying, such as rouge. Glass mirrors, instead of polished metal plates, were first known and valued in the East, and the use of vapour baths was first introduced from there. Such striking innovations as revived fashion of wearing the beard, is the result of contact with the bearded sons of Mohammed. It was principally the sphere of luxury, in which the closer intercourse with the East, and the increasing participation in its wealth, had permanent effect. A complete change in domestic and social life passed over the nobility and clergy, to be taken up soon afterwards by the most successful members of the new monied class — the citizens of the town.

Mention must also be made of the technical and industrial inventions

which the youthful civilization of Europe derived from old Asia, of the already mentioned changes in weapons of attack and defence, and with them of tactics, and of the enormous acquisitions to architecture, of plainer ecclesiastical buildings and more ambitious civil monuments. These latter are still to be seen in ruins on the soil of Syria, where, as dumb witnesses, they keep watch over the memories of those great times, — more especially the magnificent castles of the military orders, from which a new era in the art of fortification arose under Saracen-Byzantine influence. On the much contested question, as to the origin of Gothic architecture, we are to-day inclined to attribute a decided influence to the connection of Syria and Cyprus with Lower Italy, the Spanish and South Italian Moorish style, with its well defined pointed arch.

If we pass from such greater changes, which do not merely mark turning-points in the history of art, to the trivial and external, we shall hardly recognise customs which are everywhere in use to-day, such as the lighting of houses to express public joy, as borrowed from the Saracens, which they undoubtedly are. Ecclesiastical life itself bears witness to such enrichment from the East; the common use of the rose wreath in the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries originates in an oriental custom. But to go still further, a number of features are especially remarkable, the knowledge of which we derive from Sagas; thus the deep impressions and secret horror, with which they heard at that time of wonders and curiosities, such as birds trained to speak, etc. Legends and poetry have preserved for us a mass of such oriental traits. Not much less than the poetry of the Romance nations, is that of the Middle High German heroic school (such as Orendel, König, Rother, and Parzival) permeated by such impressions; Walther's Lyrics and Freidank's "Spruchdichtung" (anecdotal poetry) bear witness to the events of the crusades. The impulse of new life, which the spirit of Western poetry received chiefly from the crusades, has been already spoken of (p. 386); but everything external and particular in this sphere always brings us back to such inner and general changes.

The attempt to refer the change in the state, namely, the increase in the power of the princes, and the rise of the middle classes, to the influence of the crusades, is much more doubtful than is the case in private life and in the intellectual sphere. If we connect the growth of national feeling (p. 386) with that of political unity, then it becomes clear that the monarchies in the nearest countries affected by these, especially in France, are indebted for their growth and vigour in no small degree to the crusades. If we are right in ascribing also to the crusades the merit that, through the enormous waste of men, they thinned the ranks of the feudal nobility, which everywhere contributed the chief obstacle to the growth of a powerful kingdom, then we can, with no less justice, ascribe the reaction of a strengthened and refined feudalism on their companions of equal rank at home, as a check to kingly power. Indeed, this feudalism, after having reached a position of the most refined culture and striking activity in Syria, brought about its own dissolution and destruction. In this matter of the production of proofs, one must consider that directly opposing arguments may without any difficulty be set against each other, and further the danger already mentioned, of substituting outer effects for inner developments. This ground is too uncertain. It is enough to affirm that chivalry, the essence of which marks so distinctively not only the civilization, but also the political organisation of the thirteenth cen-

tury, has to thank the crusades and Frankish Syria for some of its strongest impulses, and for a large portion of its outward manifestations, just as much as for its speedy deterioration, which goes hand in hand with the decay of the crusade spirit. Here may be averred of chivalry what has been said generally in our introductory remarks (p. 356) respecting the mediæval world of ideas. The crusades brought them to their full development, but their unsatisfactory course brings every blossom which had unfolded under their influence to decay, and every fruit which their hot-house atmosphere had allowed to ripen, to rottenness.

This self-destruction through the influence of the crusades is most evident where the crusading idea had been born, and where it was cherished and nourished with a steady purpose, as the crowning point of the great mediæval world of ideas — *the papal church.* The two crusading centuries coincide with the period in which the papacy, although often violently opposed, still, judged by the claims of the Gregorian system, in the main victorious — stands at the head of the Western world. The Church of Rome as leader of the Holy Wars had at this time reached the summit of her power and of her universal supremacy, and whilst she subjected the minds of men to herself, she exercised at the same time an influence in temporal matters never seen before or since; the levying of the crusade tithes (pp. 394 and 400) is a very palpable proof of this influence. Meanwhile we have already seen, in our first review of the impressions made by the crusaders on the West (pp. 385–386), why a secularist reaction of necessity immediately followed the overstraining of the Church's share in the crusade-idea. That lay primarily in the inner nature of things, in the necessity of moving purely worldly forces for the attainment of a sacred aim. The rest (also already estimated) was the result of closer contact with Islam and its confessors. In the twelfth century this contact had already been sufficiently close, as long as the forces on both sides were equally balanced. In the thirteenth century there resulted from this contact the permanent influence of a superior culture which had demonstrated its efficiency by political success. It finally came to this, that a missionary like Ricoldo da Monte Croce held up the Mohammedans to his own fellow-Christians as models worthy of imitation, with respect to moral seriousness and austerity of manners, with respect to religious faith, zeal for knowledge, sociability with strangers, and harmony among themselves; and so there remained but little of the zeal for warfare which was characteristic of the preaching of the crusading period. That the welfare of the Syrian Christians was doubtless benefited by the weakening of religious differences has been repeatedly explained. The spirit of tolerance appeared, however, in immediate and direct opposition to ecclesiastical universalism; from this opposition originated the doubt regarding the right of one Church, a right which appeared so much the more open to attack, the more the Church as leader of the crusades became responsible for their failure, as in those fateful days of the Egyptian campaign in the Fifth Crusade, where the bare "all or nothing" of a papal legate (p. 406), destroyed irrevocably the greatest success that a campaign in the East has ever obtained. From such special experiences, and from the generalisation of lines of thought taken from them, may have proceeded the heretical movements which were ascribed to the order of the Templars, although they could hardly be accused with justice of organised heresy. But such lines of thought certainly had a share in the growing

opposition to the Catholic system, which appeared in the twelfth century, and brought to the fore heretical sects of all kinds.

But outside the Church, the alienation from a system which has made every spiritual emotion subject to the ecclesiastical conception, produced out of the gloomy fanaticism of the ascetic the spirit of a healthy secularism, which reawakened or recreated chivalry, homage to women, joy of life, and love of song (cf. p. 388). Quite in the midst of a movement which the Church had created out of the spirit of religious repression, renunciation of the world, and the exercise of penance, there were forced on the minds of the crusaders through the mere extension of their intellectual horizon, the hitherto unsuspected greatness, wealth, and beauty of the wide world; and not like Tannhaüser with closed eyes "its wonders not to see," did the pilgrim wander through the plains of the South and East. Halfway in this development from the self-tormenting renunciation of the world to the most decided acceptance of it, there stands the spirit of chivalry born of the union of inspired ecstasy with the new secularism, a peculiar blending of "fanatical devotion of enthusiastic bravery, and of passionate love:" — all features which can be traced directly to the influences and impressions of the crusades — to their ecclesiastical guiding ideas, as well as to their Virgin worship, a blending of enthusiasm and refined sensuousness, to the love of battle with its growing worldly impulses, and not least to the vision of a strange world of wonders.

On the *soil* of the crusades, chivalry became the formative influence of the later centuries of the Middle Ages. It created a whole system of social regulations, of courtly customs, and of refined culture, in the centre of which stand alongside the tournament, the love of romancing, and a hitherto unknown graceful homage to women. Not by chance is the first troubadour, Count William of Poitou, also the first crusader poet who is known by name to us; the age has dawned when the theme of chivalric love rules the poetry of Provence, as well as that of Germany, and like the "Minnelied," the popular and court epic shows at every step traces of the East (p. 409). But in this new social edifice, which the crusades erected as the consummation of mediæval culture there came forth unmistakably the special tendency of this period of perfection and transition to decompose and destroy its own creations. With unexpected rapidity the beautiful world of tournaments and love and song sank into decay. It would lead us too far to examine in detail the causes of its decay; there can, however, be no doubt of this, that the keen morning air, descending from the fields of action of the crusades, blew so cuttingly on the dreamland of the Middle Ages with its chivalric ideas, that it faded away and vanished for ever. New and far more permanent conditions of life in the Western world were created by the economic movement of the crusades; which in its course has elevated the hitherto lower ranks of labour, trade and commerce, — in short, the middle class. When Europe entered on the crusades, she stood for the greater part still in the agricultural stage, in that of the so-called natural economy, with its separate self-sufficing social units, devoting themselves to the production of all the necessities of life, without desire for interchange with other communities. In this primitive condition which does not recognise labour and trade as distinct callings, and which had hardly need of trade and commerce, the possession of land was the only source of power, its favoured possessors the nobility and clergy were the only cultured classes, and feudalism was the most suitable, if not the only possible form of government.

This form of government was indeed brought from Syria, but the state which had been erected there on quite other foundations of a richer culture had also necessarily to fall to ruin. So much the more did the economic forms which we meet with on this old field of civilization take root and thrive. Remains of the old financial system had been everywhere preserved in the West together with the original forms of barbaric culture, and the transition from the lower to the higher economic stage would have been also completed in the course of inner European development. Nevertheless the enormous intercourse which the crusades brought about greatly hastened this development. In the constantly increasing need of exchange, and in the immeasurably increased facilities for exchange, the importance of movable property continually increased. From the Syrian harbours flowed principally the stream of gold which brought to the impecunious West wealth, and with it new forces in the desire for production and enterprise, and which brought to fruition the new spirit of the cities and knightly class (Vol V, p. 106). In Italy, the country most nearly affected, which had even before the crusades proper experienced the blessing of international intercourse, this new spirit was first awakened, nourished from those springs which flowed towards it through the activity of the Syrian ports; Venice and Genoa, into whose lands Eastern trade after driving back much Italian, French, and Spanish competition, gradually gathered itself, were the first to feel it, and soon became its pioneers across the as yet inhospitable Alpine passes, into the land of the Germanic barbarians (cf. p. 374). Then dawned the golden days of Augsburg, Nürnberg, Bourges, and Lübeck; the golden age of Upper German trade just as much presupposes the changed routes of the crusade period, as crusaders have shown the way to Flemish and Hanseatic navigation.

But with this let us return to the starting-point of our review; to the general broadening of the western horizon through the crusades (p. 356), to which economic enrichment and intellectual elevation, political progress as well as social achievements, can ultimately be traced. The period of the crusades corresponds with the dawn of a new light from the Greek and oriental portion of the Mediterranean into the Roman portion (p. 361). From this narrower world of the mediæval West, the new enlightenment spread over the whole world. Already the early crusaders found their way gropingly into a region entirely strange to them, and sought to extend their boundaries beyond this; even the camp songs of the first crusaders transfer the seat of the hostile power into far Samarkand, and very soon the active commercial intercourse of the Syrian coast is the medium by which the horizon of the West is extended to the utmost limits of Moslem power, — a commercial intercourse (p. 382), which at all events on the Christian side remained in the main a passive one. It cannot be shown that, from the commercial centres of crusading countries, longer commercial journeys were taken into the interior of Asia beyond Bagdad or the Persian Gulf; beyond Damascus and Haleb, the Frankish merchants of the coast hardly ventured, partly because the fanaticism of the Mohammedans increased towards the interior of their dominions, and partly because numerous customs barriers had laid troublesome obstacles in the way of that kind of intercourse.

Greater still was the revolution brought about by the formation of the enormous Mongol kingdom which swept away these barriers and displayed the utmost tolerance to all religions. Of the manifold plans for winning over

the Mongols to Christianity, we have already spoken (p. 414); and the mission journeys of a Lombard Dominican friar, Nicholas Anselin (Ascelin), who in 1245 in company with the Franciscan Giovanni da Piano de Carpine (John of Plano Carpini) was sent by Innocent IV to the East — of an Andrew of Lonjumeau, of a William of Rubriquis as far as the court of the great Khan at Karakorum (south of Lake Baikal, now Kara Baghassum) — have already been described in Vol. II, pp. 99 ff. Thus not only was the way opened up to their numerous followers in mission work, and for the adventurous merchants who followed in their footsteps. These commercial relations the brothers Niccolo and Masseo Polo initiated by their journey from Constantinople to Pekin, the residence of the great Kublai Khan, and by another also to China, undertaken in 1271 from Lajazzo with Niccolo's son Marco Polo. Here a stay of seventeen years (1275–1292) as Kublai's confidant, official and ambassador (to India, etc.), enabled Marco Polo to supply the West with the most thorough description of the far East; a description which was to have considerable influence on the voyages of Columbus (Vol. I, 350). Thus it is in the atmosphere of the crusades that the age of discoveries is prepared, until it is forced into a new path, through the blocking up of the continental trade route (Vol. III, p. 377).

Are we then to speak of the extension of the physical as well as of the moral sciences? The influences of Arabic on Christian science are well enough known; however, it is excessively difficult just here to determine the relative influence of the two where they met on common ground. It suffices to remember how important a part was played by Arab intermediaries in the renaissance of classic studies in the West, and what an influence Byzantium exercised in this respect; for the closer contact of the Eastern Empire with the Latin West, was also brought about by the crusades. Ecclesiastically as politically, socially as economically, materially as intellectually, the crusades brought in their train the dissolution of mediæval life after they had, during their sway, brought it to full development. But this self-annihilation of mediæval life in the time of the crusades is reflected above all in the fate of the crusading ideal on its classic ground, as well as in the places of its achievements. At one time the longing for the salvation of mankind could only be satisfied by personally visiting the Holy Places. Now the circumstances under which personal contact had taken place, led up generally to a refined spirituality, to an aversion from the need of mere material contact and from all external symbols. It was, as Hegel says, "as if the answer to the Christians from the Holy Sepulchre had been the same as that to the disciples who sought the actual body of the Lord there. 'Why seek ye the living among the dead? He is not here, He is risen.' The principles of religion must not be sought in the material world, in the sepulchre with the dead, but in the living soul within. That is the actual result of the crusades. The West has taken leave of the East for ever at the Holy Sepulchre; at this point there begins the dawn of self-reliance and of independence." It is the new age at the entrance to which stands Dante's "Vita Nuova" and at its close, Luther's "Freiheit eines Christenmenschen" (Freedom of a Christian Man).

X

THE GERMANIC NORTH

By DR. HANS SCHJÖTH

I. GENERAL OUTLINE

A. Physical Features of Scandinavia

THE northern part of Europe, or Scandinavia, consists of Denmark and the so-called Scandinavian peninsula (Norway and Sweden), to which we may add in a physical sense the peninsulas of Kola and Finland. The island of Iceland, which has been peopled by the Norwegians, may also be considered as belonging to these northern lands. Scandinavia forms the most northwesterly portion of the European continent; but thanks to the sea which washes its shores on almost every side, and the influence of the warm Atlantic currents, it has a mild climate in comparison with its high latitude. It is owing to this fact that Scandinavia, although partly an arctic land, is the most productive region in so northerly a situation. Nevertheless the climate is not alike in all these northern regions; it varies according to the altitude and distance from the sea. Denmark and western Norway enjoy a climate of insular character, while eastern Norway and Sweden are continental in their variations of temperature.

Denmark, physically a portion of the mid-European plain, is much more indented by the sea, and consists of two natural main divisions, — the peninsula of Jutland (Jylland) and a group of islands. Western and central Jutland have been little favoured by nature; on the whole the soils are unfertile, and the west coast, which is sheltered from the North Sea by the dunes, is without a single harbour, and on that account dreaded by seafarers. East Jutland and the islands are, on the contrary, very fertile, and well watered by small lakes and streamlets; the fiords and bays, which are formed by the sea along the whole coast line, make, in addition, good harbours. Denmark was formerly covered with rich forests, but is now almost bare of wood; the land lends itself to agriculture and cattle-breeding, and the sea, which surrounds the country on every side, has always been a source of wealth to the country, and has developed the Danes into skilful seamen.

The Scandinavian peninsula is a continuous range of mountains. In the west, where they reach their highest point (Galdhöppigen, eight thousand five hundred feet), they rise almost precipitously from the Atlantic Ocean, and then decrease gradually in height towards the Skager Rack, Kattegat, and the Baltic

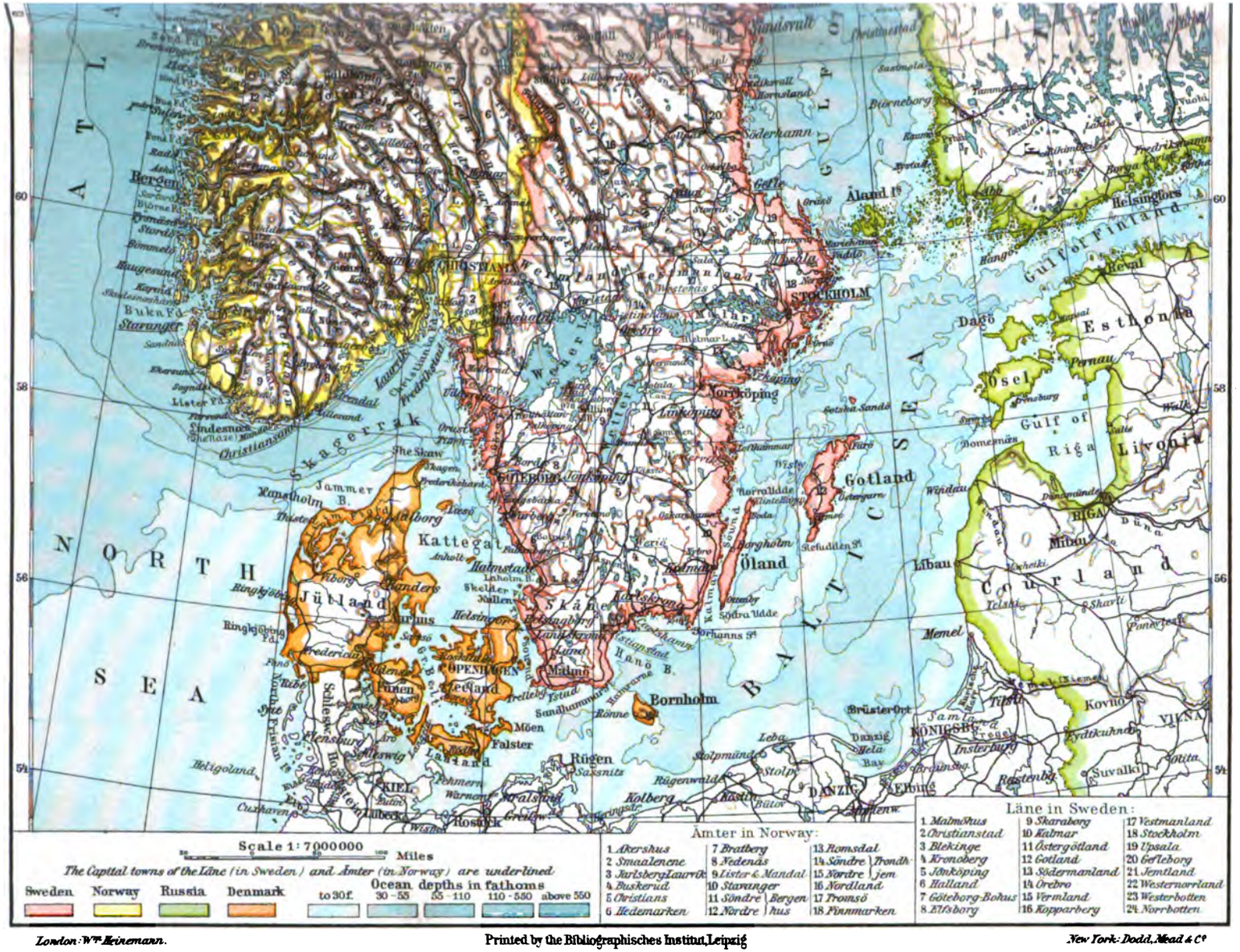
Sea, until they sink into lowlands, and further south emerge gradually as the Danish isles. We thus see that Norway, which forms the western portion of the peninsula, is a much more mountainous country than Sweden. The northern range consists almost entirely of primary rocks, and of the oldest and hardest slates, which are not easily disintegrated by the weather, and are therefore only covered with a thin layer of feebly productive soil. The south of Sweden is less barren, owing to the greater disintegration of the rocks. The higher regions of the mountainous areas are fairly level, forming extensive plateaus at different elevations, embossed with prominent peaks and heights, and separated from one another by gorges and deep valleys. These formations are most wonderful on the western side, where the sea has forced its way into some of these deep gorges, thereby changing them into long narrow fiords, encompassed by steep rocky walls. (See the accompanying map of Norway and Sweden.) From these rocks, at one time well wooded, but now showing only here and there a single tree, gush forth streams, forming magnificent cascades, which are partly fed by the large glaciers covering the mountain heights. The extent of land adapted to agricultural purposes is small, but the grazing and rearing of cattle and sheep form important industries. It is, however, the sea to which the inhabitants now look, as in earlier times, for their livelihood. Ships form the most natural and easy means of communication between fiord and fiord, and the numerous islands of different size which stretch along the coast afford good harbours and safe navigation.

Further inland, where the mountains fall softly away, the deep valleys broaden out, and plains are gradually formed. The valleys are still well wooded, and watered by streams abounding in fish. There are also many lakes; in Norway and the northern parts of Sweden these conform to the long, narrow shape of the valleys, while in the central regions and in the south of Sweden they become larger and broader. Cattle-rearing, agriculture, and the timber trade formed even in the earliest days the chief means of subsistence in these parts. Mining is also of importance, as the peninsula is rich in useful minerals and metals; and in the forests there are different kinds of game, which well repay the sportsman for his pains.

Finland, the eastern continuation of the northern range of mountains, is a low plateau covered with forests, innumerable lakes, and marshes; called by the Finns for this reason "Suomi," that is, Fenland. The coasts, in the west low and flat, and in the south hilly, are encircled by cliffs and ridges; the Aland islands in the southwest form a natural bridge in the direction of Sweden. The wealth of Finland consists in its forests; agriculture and cattle-rearing are also of some importance. There is a scarcity of metals.

The island of Iceland, situated in the North Atlantic Ocean between Norway and America, is a mountainous mass of volcanic origin; bare peaks tower over wastes of ashes and lava; large glaciers and streams of lava cover wide areas of the interior, and make them quite uninhabitable. Even now volcanic eruptions occasionally take place, and there are numerous hot springs scattered about the island. The north and west coasts are broken up by numerous fiords into peninsulas and islands. The climate is in winter comparatively mild, but in summer rough and stormy; on this account the grain harvest seldom ripens, and there are no forests. There is, however, fine meadowland, and sheep-breeding is, together with the fisheries, the chief means of livelihood.

SCANDINAVIA.



London: Wm Heinemann. Printed by the Bibliographisches Institut, Leipzig New York: Dodd, Mead & Co

B. The Earliest Period

We do not know to which race the people who first inhabited the northern regions of Scandinavia belonged. From any traces they have left behind, we see that they stood on a low level of civilization. They were without knowledge of metals, and their weapons and utensils were made of stone, bone, horn, or wood. The country was in the stone age covered with immense forests, and the people, who supported themselves by the chase and fishing, lived on the banks of rivers, the shores of lakes, or on the coast, where they obtained means of subsistence.

By degrees they began to clear the primeval forests, to engage in cattle-rearing, and to cultivate the land; they also built ships, and came into communication with their southern neighbours, from whom they learnt the art of working in metal. The metal which they first learned to use was copper, or rather bronze, a mixture of copper and tin, which was exchanged for amber. We learn, from weapons and pieces of ornamental work, that the civilization of this bronze age reached an advanced stage of development. The rudely executed pictures and drawings which are found cut on rocks and stones also belong to this age, and furnish us with important information regarding the life of that period (pp. 5 and 8). Written records of this time are just as rare as those of the stone age; and as the language of the inhabitants is unknown, we cannot well determine their racial affinities. Archæologists are nevertheless of the opinion that, since the stone age, one and the same race has inhabited these northern regions.

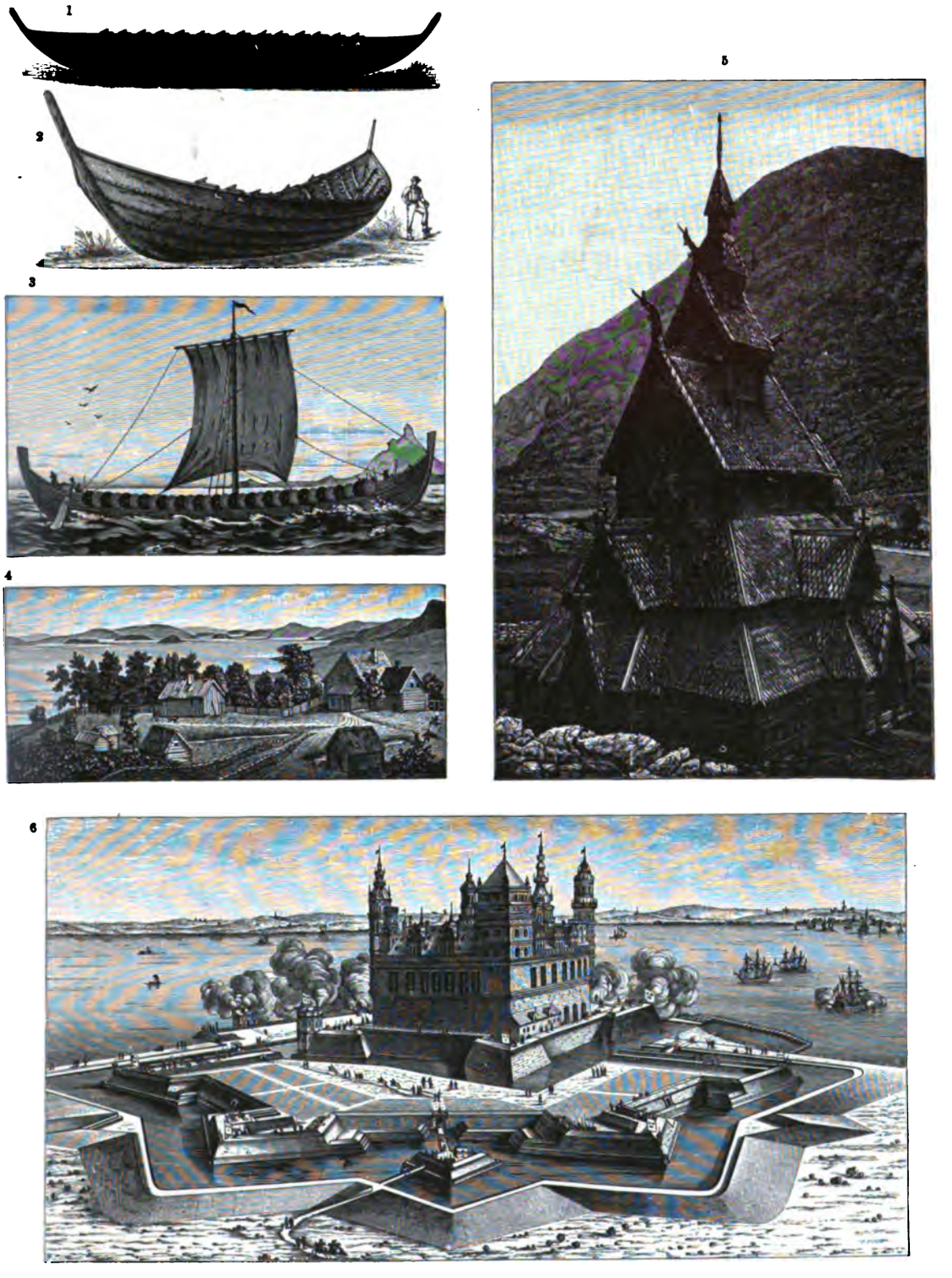
For the last centuries before the Christian era this northern race first became acquainted with iron, and about this time the old writers (Pliny, Tacitus, who calls the Swedes "Suiones," and others) inform us that the northern peoples of the iron age were Teutons. Scandinavia derives its name from the "island" of "Scandia" or Scandinavia (more correctly Scadinavia: Skáney, Skaane, Schonen), which was known to the Romans. From the oldest literary records which the Northmen have left us we learn also that even five hundred years after Christ one and the same language (the oldest Scandinavian) was spoken throughout the north, and that this was closely allied to Gothic and German. The runic letters used by the Northmen were borrowed with modifications from the Greek and Latin alphabets, which they had learned through contact with the southern Germans. We may therefore conclude that the northern lands, at least since the last centuries before the Christian era, were inhabited by a Germanic race. This race had gradually worked its way from south to north. Jutland and the Danish isles were the first to become inhabited. After this the Northmen reached southern Sweden and Norway, and then penetrated further and further, until they gradually came to the Polar seas, where they came into contact with the Ugrian peoples, the Lapps, who even at that time had wandered so far north.

It is only after the ninth century A. D. that we have any definite knowledge of the social and political conditions of the north, and that comes to us through the Frankish, Anglo-Saxon, and Irish chroniclers. The Northmen themselves only commence about the twelfth century to keep any kind of historical records; their memories of earlier periods were transmitted in the form of oral legends. The social conditions of the north were at that time essentially the same as those of the southern Germanic races during the migration period. The people were

divided into freemen and bondsmen. There was really only one class among the freemen, that of the peasants, and they all had equal privileges and duties. There were a few, however, who had gained position and influence, perhaps through illustrious ancestors, personal bravery, or great wealth; indeed even before this time, more especially in Norway, a nobility had arisen. The land was as yet little cultivated, and although much importance was attached to agriculture, still cattle-rearing, the chase, fishing, and commerce remained the more important means of livelihood. The peasants in Denmark and Sweden lived chiefly in villages; in Norway, on the contrary, where the natural condition of the country prevented this, in scattered homesteads, as is still the case. Property regularly descended to one of the sons, the others were therefore obliged to seek a maintenance by clearing uncultivated land. The majority, however, preferred to seek their fortune on the sea, and often became sea-robbers, or Vikings as they were called, because they usually lay in wait in bays (Vik) and sounds for the ships of merchants; for the sea was at that time, when natural conditions made travelling by land so much more difficult, the principal highroad of commerce, and thus from early times the Northmen were trained to a seafaring life. They became capable shipbuilders and bold seamen (Figs. 1 and 2 of the accompanying plate); and thus even at an early period an active intercourse arose between these northern lands and other countries.

The Northmen possessed a strong feeling of independence; the highest aim of a freeman was to be his own master. Intelligence and prudence stood high in their estimation, but they did not despise the exercise of cunning; they possessed quick perceptions, made ready and appropriate answers, and for poetry they had a decided aptitude. Strength, courage, and bravery, were most of all valued, and battle was their highest aim. They fought often for fighting's sake, and their desire for battle rose sometimes into real fury ("Berserker rage"). Their customs were wild and rude; when they became enraged they showed a cruel, revengeful, and implacable spirit, and in their passions they were insatiable. On the other hand, their behaviour towards enemies was, as a rule, open and honourable, and they possessed in the highest degree the knightly virtues of good faith and honour. Their institution of "battle brotherhood" is well known; all the members of the brotherhood mixed their blood, and swore to share good and bad fortune with one another for ever. They had a feeling for family life, and in the home the wife was the counsellor of the husband. Indeed women enjoyed the greatest respect, and occupied in general an independent position, even taking part in public assemblies and the banquets of the men.

Northern mythology is in its origin common to all Germanic races, but it was on northern soil, where it came under the influence of nature and the characteristic life of the people, that it received its independent development. Our knowledge of this mythology is obtained from the old Norwegian poetry and sagas (from the younger and elder Eddas, p. 467,) which were only collected and written down in Iceland in the thirteenth century. Thus we are not acquainted with them in their original form. Some of the later investigators are of the opinion that the myths contained in these Eddas originated first during the Norman period, under the influence of a baptised people (the Anglo-Saxons and Irish), and do not represent the religious aspects of an older period and of a peaceful people, but the ideas of the Vikings, whose ideal was a life passed exclusively in warfare.



THE GERMANIC NORTH IN THE VIKING PERIOD AND IN LATER CENTURIES

EXPLANATION OF THE PICTURES OVERLEAF

1 & 2. The great Viking ship for twenty-eight oars, dug up on August 16, 1863, at Nydam (Neudamm), near Duppel, on the peninsula of Sundewitt, in Schleswig, now in the Museum of National Antiquities at Kiel. It is built of oak, is 77 ft. in length, and 10½ ft. in breadth; while the method of joining the ribs to the planks, enables us to realise the high perfection of North Germanic ship-building in the fifth century A.D. It could carry thirty men.

(Drawn from the original by Magnus Petersen)

(From Konrad Engelhardt's "Denmark in the Early Iron Age," London, 1866)

3. The Viking ship of Gokstad in Norway reconstructed; built of oak and provided with a mast of the ninth century. Ribs and planks were joined with bast-cordage or strips of leather, while the joints were made water-tight with the hair of animals or woollen stuff and a sticky kind of pitch. Little use is made of iron, and nails are replaced by wooden pegs. On either side, about fifteen oars of oak some ten feet in length were placed, the blades of which were twice the width of the handle, as at the present day. On the upper bulwark the oars were prevented from moving backwards or forwards only by means of a peg, while the tiller was passed through a ring fastened to the peg and made of twisted leather or bast. The steering oar, of the same shape as the others, hung through a strong ring, on the stern, at the right-hand side; a lateral mode of steering which survived until the thirteenth century.

(From a drawing by Harry Schoyen)

(From N. Nicolaysen's Langskibet fra Gokstad ved Sandefjord beskrevet, Christiania, 1882)

4. The Battle Field of Hafrsfjord at Stavanger in Norway, where Harald Harfager (the Fairhaired, died 933) conquered the previously independent Norwegian provinces in the year 872, and united them into one kingdom.

(From a woodcut by H. Kofahl)

5. The wooden church of Borgund and the mountainous Norwegian district of Sogn, one of the most remarkable and characteristic monuments of mediæval Norwegian architecture.

(From a photograph)

6. The Castle of Kronborg in Seeland, with the fortifications as restored in 1659 by the Swede, Erich Dahlberg. This castle was built between 1574 and 1585, in the Dutch Renaissance style at Oresund, by the Danish king, Frederick II.; it was besieged from August 15 to September 6, 1658, by the Swedes under Karl Gustav Wrangel, and finally conquered. The coast of the Kattegat lying opposite the castle is the Swedish duchy of Schonen; in the background at the right, a glimpse is seen of Helsingborg. In the foreground on the right, it was necessary to destroy a portion of the town of Helsingör, to make room for the new fortifications. The five outworks in the foreground from left to right, are named Gustavus Carolus, Princeps Carolus, Hedwiga, and Eleanora.

(From Samuelis liberi baronis de Pufendorf de rebus a Carolo Gustavo Sueciae rege gestis commentariorum libri septem; Nuremberg, 1696)

According to the Eddas, the gods, "the Ases," dwell in Asgard, in the centre of the world. From this dwelling-place a bridge, "Bifrost" (the rainbow), leads to Midgard, where mortals live; towards the north lies the cold Jotunheim (the home of the giants (Jotnen, the enemies of the gods). The highest of all the gods is Odin. His dwelling-place is "Gladsheim," with its hall Valhalla, where he holds his court, and where those who have fallen in battle meet together in joyous feasting, the Valkyries, Odin's maidens, pouring out the mead for them. Tyr is the god of war; Thor, the god of thunder; Balder, the god of all goodness and wisdom, of purity and innocence; Brage, the god of poetry; Heimdal, the guardian of the Ases; Njord and Frey, gods of fertility and peaceful occupations. Among the goddesses may be mentioned Frigga, Odin's wife and the goddess of marriage; Freya, the goddess of love; and Idun, whose apples brought eternal youth to the gods. The gods are always at war with the giants. Through the malice of Loki the pious Balder loses his life. The time has come when violence and evil penetrate to the world, its end draws near, and will finally take place at Ragnarok, at the last battle between the gods and the giants. A new and beautiful world will afterwards arise, in which Good shall rule. The gods were worshipped by sacrifices (*Blot*) which were offered under the open sky, in sacred groves and by holy springs, or in temples (*Hov*). The principal places of offering in the oldest times were Leire, in the neighbourhood of Roskilde (Zealand), Upsala in Sweden, Maren and Skiringssal in Norway. There was no distinct priestly class; every man offered sacrifices for himself and his family. The king or chief, who, in his capacity of sacrificial priest, was called "Gode," offered sacrifices for the whole nation.

The Northmen were divided into several main tribes: Denmark and Scania were inhabited by the Danes, southern Sweden and the coasts of the large lakes Wener and Wetter by the Goths (Götar; p. 27), who were separated by great forests from the Svear, who lived in central Sweden; Norway was inhabited by the Norwegians. These tribes were subdivided into "folks" (cf. German *Volk*), each of which had its own political organisation. The district belonging to a folk was called "land" or "landschaft" by the Danes and Goths, "folkland" by the Svear, and "fylke" by the Norwegians. The "landschaft" consisted of several "harden" (herred, hundred), comprising the estates of those families who had formed the original basis of society in that district. At the head of the harde stood the "herse;" he was president of the herreds-ting (hundred-moot), in which the peasants drew up their laws, passed resolutions, and decided lawsuits. The "landschaft" also had its assembly ("fylkes-ting"), where affairs which concerned the whole "landschaft" were settled; in this assembly one of the chiefs (in Sweden the "lagman") was president. If war was declared, the peasants chose a leader, and from this institution the kingship gradually developed. The king ("konungr") was originally the leader of a band of five warriors, who had sworn fidelity to him. With this band of followers ("drott," "hird") he undertook military expeditions in order to win renown and wealth. If he was successful in this he rose in the estimation both of his followers and of his countrymen; he became the leader of the national host. His influence increased also in the assembly; he became king of the "landschaft." As a rule his office was inherited by his sons, and in this way royal families had their origin. The kingship was at first very limited with respect to locality. Ambitious kings, however, were not contented with a "landschaft," but

contrived to extend their domain by violence or by other means. This was done in quite early times in Denmark and Sweden. Yet local autonomy continued in force. The power of the king was virtually limited to leading the army in time of war, defending the country, superintending law and justice, and offering sacrifices to the gods for the people.

We do not know when the Danish and Swedish kingdoms were founded. According to legend the Danish kingdom, which had its royal residence at Leire, was founded by Skjold, the son of Odin, and on this account the old Danish kings were called Skjoldunger. The Swedish kingdom is said to have been founded by the god Yngve-Frey, the founder of the race of Ynglinger. Norway remained divided up into small kingdoms longer than the other northern countries. There the "fylks" were not united into one state until the end of the ninth century.

2. THE EXPEDITIONS OF THE NORTHMEN

BEFORE the ninth century A. D. little or nothing was known in the south and west of Europe about the northern peoples. But about the year 800 the Northmen, who were too cramped in their own land, began to visit the countries in the west of Europe (cf. Vol. VIII, p. 397). Soon every sea was covered with their fleets (see Fig. 3 of accompanying plate, "The German North in the Viking Age."), and scarcely any European coast was free from their plunderings. The chief cause which drove out the Northmen from their native country was poverty. The badly cultivated land could not nourish the steadily increasing population, and the inhabitants were compelled to look elsewhere for their maintenance. The Viking expeditions were therefore originally nothing more than pirate raids undertaken for the purpose of earning a livelihood. Excess of population was, however, by no means the only cause of these raids. In accordance with the Norse view of life and religion it was more honourable to earn a livelihood by the sword than by the plough. The Viking life was to them a lawful and glorious profession of arms, which was practised by their noblest men and even by their kings. The exploits of the Vikings were admired by the people and glorified by their poets; only he who had fallen in war was received by Odin into Valhalla.

The political situation in the north was another cause of the emigrations. In Denmark in the ninth century two royal families were struggling for the supremacy; victory fell now to one, now to the other, and the conquered claimants, who were compelled to leave the country, tried to establish new empires in foreign lands, or at least to win for themselves wealth and glory. About the same time Norway became united under one king, and many princes left their homes to preserve their freedom, since they would not tolerate the authority of a superior.

The Northmen (or Normans, as they were more commonly called in western Europe) were far superior in strength, courage, deeds of arms, and seamanship to the peoples whom they attacked. Moreover England, Ireland, and the Frankish Empire were at this time weakened by internal strife. It was this fact which ensured the great success of the pirates. At first they appeared only in small bands, landed on the coasts, which they laid waste with fire, and then departed with their booty. When they saw that they encountered little or no resistance they became bolder. Large armies were formed, which had their own laws and

were generally commanded by several chieftains who were equal in power. They carried on their warfare according to a settled plan, and were no longer satisfied with plundering the coasts. They spent the winters in the estuaries or on islands lying off the coasts. In summer they sailed up the rivers far into the interior, which they devastated, plundering chiefly churches and monasteries, where they knew they would find the richest booty. At last they made it the object of their conquests to provide a new home for themselves; they accordingly settled in the land they had conquered, and founded new states. Then the raids ceased; the fierce pirates accepted baptism; savage warfare gave place to peaceful activities, agriculture, commerce, and navigation. The Normans blended with the native races, to whom they imparted new strength and whom they influenced in many ways.

All three of the northern peoples — the Swedes, the Danes, and the Norwegians — took part in the expeditions of the Northmen. The districts which they infested were the coasts of the Baltic Sea and the countries adjoining the Atlantic Ocean and the North Sea.

A. The Swedish Vikings

After the Swedes had for some time been visiting as pirates and merchants the countries of the Baltic Sea, which were inhabited by Slavonic and Finnish races, they settled shortly after the middle of the ninth century on the coasts of the large Russian lakes, where they founded an empire called "Gardarike," with its capital "Holmgard" (Novgorod). According to the Russian chronicler Nestor the circumstances were as follows: The Warjager or Waräger (Norse, Varæger or Væringer), Swedes from the country on the other side of the Baltic Sea, were accustomed to go to the races living on the large lakes and levy taxes. But in 861 these races refused to pay and drove out the Waräger; they wished to rule themselves, but soon became disunited. Family arose against family and war broke out everywhere. Then they summoned the Waräger again into the country in 862 to make peace. The three brothers, Rurik, Sineus, and Truwor, from the Warägian tribe Rus (Ruotsi; Vol. V, p. 436), advanced with a troop of Warägers across the sea and settled in Novgorod, Bělosersk, and Isborsk. As Sineus and Truwor died shortly afterwards, Rurik became sole ruler in the kingdom, which had received the name "Russia" from his tribe (cf. Vol. V, pp. 447 ff.). Some of Rurik's warriors advanced further south, marched down the Dnieper and founded a kingdom in Kiev, which was conquered in 882 by Rurik's successor Oleg. Soon the Warägers extended their raids as far as the Black Sea. At the beginning of the tenth century they had even sailed past the Crimea to the Sea of Azov and down the river Don; they then dragged their ships overland to the Volga, sailed down this river to the Caspian Sea, the coast of which they laid waste, and then returned laden with booty. The Russian kingdom stood for a long time in friendly relations with the northern countries and their princes, and the Russian princes often employed Northmen in their services. These friendly relations did not cease until the Swedish element had gradually succumbed to the Slavonic, and the kingdom at the end of the eleventh century had become purely Slav. It is true the Swedes have not left any perceptible traces in modern Russia. Still their immigration was of great importance; for through

them the Finnish and Slavonic races, which had been at variance, were united for the first time in one empire, and by the communication which was opened up between Russia and the west of Europe the commerce, wealth, and power of Novgorod in particular were advanced. It was also through the Russian kingdom that the Northmen came into contact with the Byzantines. Many Northmen entered the services of east Roman Emperors as auxiliaries; after the middle of the eleventh century they were admitted to the imperial bodyguard. At Byzantium they were called Varangers (Vol. V, p. 77). "The axe-bearing barbarians from Thule" were renowned for their courage and bravery. As a memorial of their stay in the Byzantine Empire they have left the Runic inscriptions on the Lion of the Piræus, which is now in the arsenal at Athens. It is probable that these inscriptions of the Swedish Varangers in the second half of the eleventh century were carved in honour of a northern chieftain who had fallen in the Greek waters (Vol. V, p. 89).

B. The Norwegian Vikings

As early as the end of the eighth century the Norwegians came to the islands lying off the north and west coasts of Scotland, — the Farŏe Islands, Shetland, Orkney, and the Hebrides (Vol. VII, p. 12). These islands, however, were then barren and unattractive, and served at first in reality only as starting-points for more extensive expeditions. The Norwegians sailed along the rough and desolate western shores of Scotland, founded several settlements, and then crossed over into Ireland. This island was at that time divided into several small kingdoms, the rulers of which were constantly at strife. The Ardrigh, or High King, had not enough power to control the restless people and the strife-loving chieftains. These divisions facilitated the advance of the Normans, inasmuch as the Irish were too deficient in ships and seamanship to prevent their landing. In the first half of the ninth century the Norwegians, who were called by the Irish Lochlannoch (the men from the country of lakes), Finngalls (the white strangers), or Ostmen, settled on the east coast; in 838 they conquered Dublin, which they fortified strongly. The whole country was devastated, monasteries and churches were burnt, and Thorgisl, the leader of the Norwegians, became ruler of almost the whole island. After a few years, however, he was murdered. The Irish rose and drove out the foreigners. But these soon came back, and in 852 the Norwegian chieftain, Olav Hvite, founded a kingdom in Dublin; at the same time Norwegian kingdoms were established in Waterford and Limerick. The Norwegians built strong fortresses everywhere in order to secure their rule. For several years the kings of Dublin had to resist the attacks of the Irish, who, although their efforts were sometimes favoured by fortune, tried in vain to drive out the foreigners. About the middle of the tenth century the conquerors threatened to destroy the independence of the island. "They set up," narrates an old chronicler, "in every province a king, in every district a chieftain, in every church an abbot, in every town a bailiff, in every house a soldier, so that the men of Erin are no longer masters of their property. No one dares to show generosity or tenderness to father or mother, to bishop, to lord temporal or spiritual, neither to the sick nor miserable, not even to a new-born child. If an Irishman has only one cow, he must give

the milk to the soldier, so that he gets no milk for himself." The struggle continued. The Irish succeeded in gaining some victories over the hated foreigners, but they were not able to rid the land of the intruders. The most celebrated of those victories is that of Clontarf, which was fought in the neighbourhood of Dublin on the 23d of April, 1014, and which the Irish remember with pride to this day. Brian Borumha, High King of Ireland, had collected a large army and advanced towards Dublin, while the Norwegians in the town had obtained auxiliary troops from their countrymen dwelling in the Scottish islands. It was a desperate struggle, and both armies fought with great bravery. The old king Brian fell on the battlefield, but his army was victorious and the Norwegians sustained heavy losses; no fewer than six thousand perished in the battle. This victory, however, did not alter the situation in the island; internal strife did not cease. It is true the Norwegians abandoned the hope of subduing the Irish, but they remained in the country. Occasionally, when it was to their advantage they did homage to the Irish kings. Thus matters continued till the twelfth century, when Henry II of England, who for some time had been turning his attention to Ireland, interfered in the disputes of the two nations. On being asked by an Irish king for help, he permitted Richard Clare, Earl of Pembroke (Strongbow) to cross to Ireland, and the latter conquered Dublin in 1170. The last Norwegian king was forced to flee, and when he attempted in the following year to regain his kingdom he was taken prisoner and killed. Shortly after this King Henry himself crossed and entered Dublin (p. 524).

Thus ended the rule of the Ostmen in Ireland. They had not, however, entirely disappeared from the island, but remained living principally in those towns where, as peaceful citizens, they busied themselves with commerce and navigation. For a long time they preserved their nationality, since they formed separate and organised communities. At the present day we find a trace of them in the name of part of the town of Dublin, — Oxmantown = Ostmantown; that is, the town of the Eastmen.

The Irish and Norwegians were too dissimilar in character, manners, and mode of life to blend quickly. Moreover, they lived for the most part separated from each other, — the Norwegians in their fortified towns, the Irish in the country; in addition, the hatred of the Irish for the foreigner kept both nations estranged. In spite of this they influenced each other in various ways. The influence of the Irish on the Norwegians has perhaps been exaggerated. But it is indisputable that in the provinces of fiction and art the Norwegians learned much from the Irish, and attempts have even been made in modern times to prove that many of the northern sagas of the gods and of heroes had their origin in the tales which the Northmen heard from the Irish and the Anglo-Saxons.

The Norwegian form of the temple, the "Hov," is, it is believed, a copy of the Irish churches. On the other hand, the Irish are indebted to the Ostmen for the advancement of their municipal life. It might almost be asserted that the Norwegians were really the founders of the Irish towns; it was first owing to the Norwegians, who were not only capable soldiers but also enterprising merchants and navigators, that commerce and navigation, along with agriculture and farming, became important branches of industry for the inhabitants of the Emerald Isle.

The Norwegian rule lasted longer in the Scottish islands and in the Faröe islands than in Ireland. As has been mentioned on page 436, the Norwegians

had settled on these islands about the year 800. In the tenth century they founded a kingdom of the Hebrides (in which they ruled over a Celtic population) and another in the Isle of Man; this was ruled by the king of Norway after 1100, and was not surrendered to Scotland till 1266. Tynwall, on the west coast of the Isle of Man, was the Tinghill, which was the seat of legislation and justice for the few islanders, who still hold a unique position under the English crown. To the present time the spot recalls the independence of the island, when it formed a part of the Norwegian kingdom. The Orkney and Shetland islands, where a few Celts still remained, had for a long time been favourite retreats of the Vikings. The number of the invaders steadily increased, especially after Harald Fairhair had become sole ruler of Norway (872, p. 467); in this way the islands gradually became populated by Norwegians. As these emigrants began to pillage the coasts of Norway King Harald crossed over to the islands and made them subject to him. Later the islands were ruled by a Jarl (the "Orkney-Jarl") appointed by the Norwegian king. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries they came into closer contact with Scotland. The Jarls had fiefs in Scotland. Scots settled on the islands, and the Scottish language came into use alongside of the Norwegian. The Norwegian supremacy was, however, still acknowledged, and a constant intercourse with Norway was maintained. In 1469 the islands were mortgaged to the king of Scotland, and remained ever after in the possession of the Scottish crown. The inhabitants no longer have their own laws and privileges. The Norse language has disappeared and only the place-names recall the former rulers (cf. Vol. VII, p. 12). In the eighth century Irish settlers had emigrated to the Faröe Islands. They departed, however, after the arrival of the Northmen, who took possession of the islands and called them the Faröe (that is, sheep) Islands, from the numerous sheep that had been left behind by the emigrants. Various chieftains ruled over the islands. More important affairs were decided at the people's assembly (ting) at Thorsharn. The islands remained in constant intercourse with Norway, and several distinguished inhabitants served Norwegian kings, who tried to bring the islands under their rule. They succeeded in doing this in 1035, and the Faröe Islands belonged to Norway till 1814, when Norway was separated from Denmark; the islands remained with Denmark and were incorporated with this kingdom in 1849. After the loss of their freedom the prosperity of the islands declined. Intercourse with the outer world gradually ceased. Voyages, especially for trading purposes, became less frequent, and the commerce upon which the welfare of the islanders to a great measure depended passed into the hands of foreigners and was not regained until 1856. From that time a new and happier time began for the islanders. The language, which was old Norwegian, has survived in several dialects which in their grammar bear most resemblance to Icelandic, in pronunciation and vocabulary to modern Norwegian dialects. The inhabitants of the Faröe Islands have not preserved in writing their sagas and songs, like the Icelanders. They have no old literature in the real sense of the word; yet the islanders possess a rich treasury of folk-songs, which have been orally transmitted and have been published in modern times. These songs for the most part tell of old Icelandic myths of the gods and heroes, and are derived from other Icelandic sagas and Norwegian folk-songs. It was Naddodd, a colonist from the Faröe Islands, who discovered Iceland, 867. On a voyage from Norway he was driven by storms far towards the northwest, and came to the shores of a large and mountainous country. He landed and climbed

a high hill, from which he looked round in vain for traces of a dwelling-house. As he was leaving the land it was snowing, and on this account he called it Snowland. Not long afterwards the land was discovered to be an island, and received the name Iceland from Floke Vilgerdsön, who spent a winter there in 870. From 874 onwards Norwegian emigrants began to settle on the island, where they found a safe retreat. We will speak later of the fate of the islanders and their island (p. 466 ff.).

From Iceland the Norwegians went to Greenland and America. The discoverer of Greenland was Erik Röde (old Norse, Eirikr Raudi, Redhead), who was compelled to leave Norway owing to a charge of manslaughter and sailed to Iceland. On being outlawed there he attempted to reach a country which had been seen to the west of Iceland. He discovered it about the year 985 and called it Greenland, in order to entice others there by the name. Several settlers arrived on the southwest coast, where they lived by fishing and cattle-breeding. About the year 1000 they were converted to Christianity by the Norwegians, and a century later received a bishop of their own whose diocese was in Gardar (in the Jgalikofjord, near Julianehaab); two monasteries were also founded there. The colony preserved its independence for a long time, but submitted in the thirteenth century to the king of Norway. For some time intercourse between the two countries was maintained, but after the devastation caused by the Black Death in the middle of the fourteenth century communication gradually ceased. The colonists, left to themselves, lacked everything; at the same time they were exposed to the incessant attacks of the Esquimaux, who were pressing towards the south, and to whose attacks the colonists finally succumbed. When the Danes resumed intercourse with Greenland in the eighteenth century, they found that there were no longer any Norwegians there; a few ruined buildings are the only traces of the Norwegian colony.

Erik Röde had a son called Leiv, who sailed from Greenland to Norway, where he spent the winter of 999–1000. Early in the year he wished to return to Greenland, but, losing his course on the return voyage, he wandered for a long time on the sea until at last he discovered a land which he had never seen before. This land was beautiful to look at: there were rich meadows, vines and wheat grew wild, and there was a quantity of salmon in the water, but he did not see any human beings. Leiv arrived safely at Greenland in the autumn, and described the country which he had discovered and which he called Vinland (Vineland, cf. Vol. I, p. 350) on account of the vines which he found there. It was decided to examine the country more thoroughly. In the following year Leiv's father and brother sailed from Greenland, but their voyage was unsuccessful, for the wind was contrary; they were driven first towards the northeast, then towards the southeast, and were forced to return to Greenland without having accomplished anything. Two years afterwards a new expedition was organised for the purpose of colonising the land (1003). A hundred and forty colonists, amongst them some women, sailed on these ships under the leadership of an Icelander, Thorfinn Karlsevne, who had come in the preceding year to Greenland and had married there. On the voyage Karlsevne discovered two countries, which he named Helleland (that is, Stoneland) and Markland (that is, Woodland), and finally he arrived at Vinland. There the colonists settled, but they were not destined to remain long. They encountered natives and began to barter with them. Soon, however, they quarrelled with the

Indians, or "Skrælings" (that is, weaklings; Vol. I, p. 197), as they called them; moreover, they were at variance among themselves. After three years this attempt at colonisation was abandoned, and the Northmen returned to Greenland (1006). The countries which they discovered were, according to the most recent investigation, Labrador (Helleland), Newfoundland (Markland), Cape Breton, and Nova Scotia (Vinland). With this expedition attempts at colonisation in Nova Scotia were abandoned. Soon the course to the new country was forgotten. We do not know why the Northmen so soon gave up their new discoveries; perhaps the difficult voyage disheartened them, or else the produce which they could have brought home from there was not worth the trouble and the danger.

C. The Danish Vikings

While the Norwegians were colonising new countries on the north Atlantic, battling more with the raging of the weather and the boisterous elements than with human opponents, the richer south was infested chiefly by the Danes. As early as the reign of Charles the Great the Northmen appeared on the shore of the Frankish Empire (cf. above, pp. 178 and 159). Charles, who was fighting against the Danish king Gottfried, took various precautionary measures for the defence of the coasts, but these were not rigidly maintained. Not long after his death the coasts of Friesland and Flanders were exposed to the attacks of the Northmen; several towns were plundered by them, among others the wealthy commercial town of Duurstede (Dorestad) on the Rhine. Later they made use of the quarrels between the sons of Lewis the Pious to establish themselves by force in Friesland and Flanders. Already at that time they were laying waste the coasts of France. They penetrated up the Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne to the centre of the country, plundered towns and monasteries, carried away men and women of noble birth into captivity, and then returned back to the river mouths (p. 172). Everywhere they spread terror and panic; in the churches men offered the prayer *Libera nos a furore Nortmannorum, O Domine!* But scarcely anywhere were vigorous precautions taken to drive out the dreaded foe. From the coasts of France the Northmen crossed to Spain about the middle of the ninth century; they attacked Galicia, and then turned upon the Moors in the south, besieged Lisbon, sailed up the Guadalquivir, conquered the suburbs of Seville, where they gained rich spoil, and laid waste the Balearic Islands, and even the north coasts of Africa. Later they renewed their attacks on Moorish Spain, but had not the same success against the Moors as against their other opponents. The Arabs were bold and capable sailors, and successfully engaged both on sea and land with the Northmen, whose ships were at that time fitted up for transport, and being overloaded with warriors and goods were little suited for naval warfare.

Hasting is the most celebrated of the Northman chieftains of the middle of the ninth century. After plundering France for several years he is said to have taken a journey to Italy for the purpose of conquering Rome, of whose greatness and wealth he had heard. He was driven by storm to Luna (now a ruin, near Sarzana on the Magra in the neighbourhood of Carrara), and by cunning took possession of this town which he thought was Rome. He sent a messenger to the bishop and governor of the town to say that he had been driven there by storm on his home-

ward journey, that his intentions were peaceful, and that in addition he was lying seriously ill and humbly begged to be baptised. The bishop and governor, rejoicing at the news, assured him of peace and of their friendship. The gates of the town were opened to him and to his people; he himself was carried into the church and baptised, and afterwards borne back to his ship. In the following night loud lamentations were heard among the strangers. It was reported that Hasting was dead and it was now the duty of the church to bury him. A funeral procession was actually formed in which Hasting was carried like a corpse on a bier. The bishop was just about to perform the office for the dead when Hasting sprang from the bier, threw off the grave-clothes and appeared in full armour. His followers in like manner let fall their mantles which concealed their armour. Hasting slew the bishop and the governor; his followers began a terrible slaughter and took the town, which they then discovered was not Rome. As they had no prospect of further conquests they determined to return to France.

In the meantime other Northmen continued their attacks on France, and nearly reduced the people to despair. It is said that "France had never seen greater tribulation; no one dared to leave the fortified towns; no man slept soundly at night on his couch. The Northmen burst like a storm where they were least expected, killed the priests, dressed themselves in the vestments which they robbed from the altars, dragged away young and old, outraged women and girls, drove away the cattle, and burned everything that they could not carry away. Only a few dared to offer resistance, among them the brave count, Robert the Strong, the progenitor of the Capets, who was extolled by the chroniclers as the Maccabæus of France, and who met with a glorious death while fighting against the Northmen in 867 (p. 175). A few of the invaders were destroyed, but this availed little, for they were always replaced by others. The Frankish princes and great lords were, as a rule, too weak to offer strenuous resistance to the Northmen. Besides, the morals of the nobles were so corrupt that many received money from the Northmen in return for not disturbing them in their robberies. At the end of 885 Paris was compelled to endure a severe siege. A large Danish fleet (reported to consist of seven hundred ships with thirty to forty thousand men) had been collected at Rouen. They sailed up the Seine to Paris, where the leaders demanded free passage, promising, if this was granted, to spare the town. As the demand was refused they besieged the town, which was bravely defended by the inhabitants. The latter hoped to obtain speedy assistance from the emperor; but Charles the Fat, with his army, did not come to their relief till the following year. By this time Paris was ravaged with famine and pestilence, but Charles, instead of engaging in battle with the Northmen, concluded a disgraceful peace with them. He promised to pay them seven hundred pounds of silver by the following March, and gave them permission in the meantime to spend the winter in Burgundy. Since the Parisians would on no account be privy to this dishonourable treaty, and still refused to let the Northmen pass through, the latter dragged their ships a distance of two thousand feet overland past Paris, took them down to the river again beyond the town and sailed towards Burgundy; after they had devastated that province they returned back the same way.

Some years afterwards Arnulf, king of the east Franks, succeeded, by means of a great victory over the Normans at Löwen (891; p. 84), in procuring peace for his kingdom. In France also, where Count Odo, who had defended Paris so bravely

against the Normans, had succeeded the weak emperor Charles the Fat, the Normans suffered some defeats. But to annihilate them was found impossible both by Odo and by his successor Charles the Simple. The privations of the people became daily greater; there was a scarcity of everything, of victuals, of cattle, and even of grain for sowing. Of the Norman chieftains of that period the most feared was Rollo (Rolf) the head of the pirates of the Seine. He had previously been in France, and had fought in Friesland and in England, but had returned to France at the beginning of the tenth century. He established himself in Rouen, and his warriors ravaged the banks of the Seine. Charles the Simple, therefore, determined to surrender the country on the lower Seine to the Normans, in order to procure peace for himself and his people. Charles and Rollo met at St. Clair sur Epte in 911 and concluded a treaty. Rollo received as a fief the land which was afterwards called Normandy, and swore an oath of fidelity to the king. Rollo was baptised and received the name of Robert. He divided the land among his followers and by strict laws restored peace and order. It is related that on one occasion he forgot a bracelet which he had left hanging on a tree, and after three years he found it on the identical spot.

Normandy flourished under him and his successors the dukes of Normandy, and became the best cultivated and best organised province in the whole of France. The Normans gradually blended with the French, whose language, manners, and habits they adopted (cf. Vol. VII, p. 12). Soon they surpassed the men of their new country in religious zeal, without in the meantime having lost their love of fighting and adventure. They also devoted their attention with conspicuous success to literature and art. In Normandy at an early age men devoted their time to writing history; there originated the vaudeville and also (it is believed) the Gothic style of architecture. Thus the settling of the Normans in Normandy was a gain for the whole of France. Notwithstanding the fact that the Normans blended with the French, their descendants still preserved many traces of their northern origin. At the present day the inhabitants of Normandy differ from the rest of the French in appearance, character, and disposition. In particular they have always shown a keen interest in commerce and navigation. Normandy has always been the home of navigators and discoverers (Jean de Bethencourt, Ango the Elder and the Younger, San. de Champlain, Cavelier de la Salle, Abr. Duquesne, J. S. C. Dumont d'Urville).

There are numerous proofs that the French Normans did not lose the love of their forefathers for adventures and conquests. In the middle of the eleventh century new kingdoms were founded in England and Italy by the Normans, who also took an active part in the crusades (pp. 302–304). It was a descendant of Rollo, William Duke of Normandy, who subjugated England after the victory of Senlac near Hastings in 1066 (p. 517). The Normans came into the country with him; they became the rulers of the Anglo-Saxons, and their language which had already been adopted by the English court, supplanted Anglo-Saxon. Gradually the Normans blended with the Anglo-Saxons; from this union originated the English people and the English language. As early as the first half of the eleventh century the Normans had settled in the south of Italy (p. 319), where at that time the Germans of the empire were quarrelling with the Greeks, and the Lombard princes with the Arabs. Norman pilgrims, who stopped occasionally at Salerno on their return from the Holy Land, had helped Prince Waimar the Great

in a successful battle against the Saracens in 1017. He would have willingly taken them into his service, but they longed for their native country, where, they told him, there were just as many brave men. Thereupon Waimar sent messengers to Normandy; immediately numerous knights were induced by the costly and rare presents which he sent to accept his proposal and enter his service. However, they soon left him and helped Sergius IV, Duke of Naples, who made them in return a grant of land (1029); there the Normans founded the town of Aversa (la Normanna) in 1030 and fortified it strongly. In order to increase their influence they summoned their countrymen; troops of Normans eager for war and plunder streamed to the south of Italy, where they served as mercenaries now one now another of the rival factions. In this way for some time they helped the Greeks and fought on the side of the Varangers; in the end, however, the Normans under the leadership of the sons of a Norman knight, Tancred of Hauteville, directed their arms against the Greeks and took from them one piece of land after another. At last Robert Guiscard, the mightiest of Tancred's sons, by the conquest of Bari ended the Greek domination in south Italy (1071). As early as 1059 he had been created Duke of Apulia by the Pope, whom he acknowledged as his feudal lord; in 1076 he conquered Salerno and the other small south Italian principalities, crossed over to Greece, defeated the imperial troops both by land and sea, and plundered the country. Soon afterwards, in 1085, he died, and east Rome breathed again. Robert's youngest brother, Roger, wrested the island of Sicily from the Arabs (1061–1090), and his son Roger II, who united Sicily and Apulia, received in the autumn of 1130 the title of king of Sicily from the Pope, and was crowned with pomp in Palermo.

In England the Normans, or Danes as they are more generally called in this connection, appeared for the first time in 787, and some years afterwards they repeated their visits. Then four decades elapsed during which England had rest from the terrible sea-warriors. But in 832 they renewed their attacks, and from that time every year they devastated the south of England; several times they were repulsed, but they always came back with increased numbers and began to winter in the country. From the coasts they penetrated to the interior, plundering everything as they went. They utilised the mutual enmity of the Celts and Anglo-Saxons and concluded a treaty with the Welsh. The disputes of the Anglo-Saxons also furthered the enterprises of the invaders. After the middle of the ninth century they settled in the east of England. In the year 866 a large fleet landed on the coasts of East Anglia. The most distinguished of the chieftains commanding this fleet were the sons of Lodbrok, Ingvar and Ubbe; they spent the winter in East Anglia and concluded peace with the inhabitants. In the following spring they advanced over the river Humber to Northumbria, where two kings, Osbrith and Ella, were striving for the supremacy, and conquered York in 867. The Northumbrian kings abandoned their strife and with combined forces advanced to York to drive away the Danes, but suffered a crushing defeat in which they both perished. By this victory the Danes secured for themselves the possession of York; and they soon subjugated the whole of Northumbria, which they gradually transformed into a colony of Northmen. From Northumbria they made incursions to the south, where the kingdom of Wessex was still unconquered, and were victorious there also. The king of Wessex, Alfred the Great, was compelled to wander about the country in disguise, and after a war of twelve years' duration the

Danes were masters of the whole country (878). But they could not keep their possessions for any length of time on account of the smallness of their numbers, in spite of the reinforcements which were constantly being sent over from their own country. Alfred, who had never given up hope, declared war against them a few months after they had conquered Wessex (p. 511), and succeeded in gaining a victory at Ethandune in 878. In the same year a treaty was concluded between Alfred and Guthrum, king of the Danes. It was agreed that the land to the north and east of a line running from the source of the Ribble to Reading on the Thames should remain in the hands of the Danes. The Danes secured possession of the land which had been surrendered to them by erecting strongholds; the chief of these were the "Five Boroughs," Stamford, Leicester, Derby, Nottingham, and Lincoln. This district was called the Danelagh, and many Danes settled there. They devoted themselves to peaceful occupations; many were baptised, and soon they began to blend with the Anglo-Saxons. For a long time, however, they preserved their speech, manners, and laws, and the appearance and language of the northern English, as also numerous place-names, still testify to their Scandinavian origin. The rest of England was also influenced by the Danes in many ways. Indisputable traces of Norse influence are still found in the government and jurisprudence of the country.

The attacks of the Danes, however, did not cease with their settlement in the Danelagh, but they were not so successful as formerly, since Alfred defended the coasts well and built a fleet, by means of which he was able to keep the enemy away from the coasts. In addition the Danes were now turning their attention to France. The independence of the Danelagh did not last long. Alfred's son Edward compelled the Danes to acknowledge his supremacy. It is true they soon revolted, but they met with a crushing defeat at Brunanburh (937), and later attempts to secure independence came to nothing. Gradually the relations of the two races became more friendly; many Danes entered the service of the Anglo-Saxon kings. England enjoyed peace until the end of the century, when, after the accession of Ethelred the Unready (979), the land was torn with fresh struggles. Attacks from Denmark were renewed, and, as before, nothing escaped the ravages of fire and sword. In vain the desperate king attempted to purchase peace from the invaders by payment of large sums of money (Danegeld; p. 515); they continued in the country and did not stop their plundering. At last Ethelred had recourse to the expedient of murdering a number of the more recently arrived Danish settlers. On St. Brice's Day (November 13, 1002) a terrible massacre of the Danes took place. But the English did not succeed in destroying all the Northmen in that portion of the country which was under their own rule, and there is no doubt that those in the Danelagh escaped the slaughter. Among the slain was the sister of the king of Denmark, who had married a Dane in the service of the Anglo-Saxon king; she saw her husband and only child butchered before her eyes, and she herself died prophesying that her brother would take a terrible vengeance on the Anglo-Saxons. Nor did England escape this vengeance. The invaders, who had formerly plundered for spoil, were now incited by the desire for revenge, and they aimed at the conquest of the country.

In the year 1013 Sven Tveskjæg (Swegen or Swein Forkbeard), who on several previous occasions had plundered England, collected a large army to accomplish the conquest. He landed in Northumbria and soon took possession of the Danelagh

where the inhabitants attached themselves to him. He then turned his attacks to the south of England, where his efforts were everywhere attended with success, and soon the resistance of the Anglo-Saxons was crushed. In the same year London opened its gates to the Danish king; Ethelred was compelled to flee and Sven became king. However, he did not enjoy his victory long, for he died suddenly at the beginning of the following year. Shortly before his death he appointed as his successor in England his son Cnut (Knud), who had accompanied him on his expedition; but when the Anglo-Saxon Witan heard of the king's death they recalled Ethelred and promised never again to submit to a Danish king. Ethelred returned; an Anglo-Saxon army was quickly summoned, and Cnut left England to bring reinforcements from his own country, as his forces were too small. He equipped a great fleet, which was manned by veteran warriors from the north, and in the year 1015 he again appeared in England, where the magnates spiritual and temporal soon paid homage to him. Shortly afterwards, in 1016, the unfortunate Ethelred died. But Cnut found a worthy opponent in his son, the brave Edmund Ironsides, who was proclaimed king by the citizens of London. Cnut won a great victory by treachery at Assandun in 1016, upon which a treaty was concluded, dividing the kingdom between the two kings. However, as Edmund died in 1017 Cnut remained from that time sole ruler of England. In 1018 he became king of Denmark, and in 1028 king of Norway. It is thought that he wished to establish a great northern empire dependent on England. But his death in 1035 did not allow him to realise his hopes. As his sons died after a short reign, the Danish dynasty in England ceased in 1042 (p. 512). It is true that, at a later period, certain Norwegian kings, Harald Haardraade, Sven Estridsson, and Knut the Pious attempted in vain to conquer England. With these attempts the expeditions of the Northmen ceased. The zeal of the Northmen for battle and adventures found scope in the service of the Church, their raids were changed into crusades, directed partly to the Holy Land, partly against their heathen neighbours on the Baltic Sea.

It was through these expeditions that the Northmen first came into contact with western and central Europe,—a contact which proved of great importance for the Northmen themselves as well as for the nations whom they infested. Through these raids the inhabitants of central Europe, where the expeditions were in reality marauding incursions, suffered heavily. The raids, however, proved in many respects advantageous for central and western Europe. In order to withstand the assaults of the Northmen, the peoples against whom these attacks were directed were compelled to combine more closely with each other, and thus their national and political unity was strengthened. In this respect the raids of the Northmen were helpful at that time in the formation of the modern European states. From them also western Europe learned the importance of the sea and the coast line. In addition they influenced military affairs and the science of warfare in western Europe. But the most important effect of these expeditions was the fact that the Northmen by their settlements imparted new strength to the enfeebled and degenerate nations, and opened up for them new spheres of usefulness. While the west gained in strength the north itself was weakened by the great emigration. At the same time, however, the north was freed from a number of restless, proud, and obstinate chieftains and therefore the kings were more easily enabled to unite many "lands" in greater kingdoms and to strengthen the kingship. Through these voyages, also, the

Northmen became acquainted with the higher civilization of the west. Christianity, which at first had only made slow progress, gradually won the victory over paganism.

3. DENMARK

A. Up to the Death of Hardeknut (1042)

Denmark (that is, the wood of the Danes) had been united in one kingdom before 800 A. D., and consisted of three chief parts: (1) the peninsula of Jutland (to the Eider); (2) the islands, of which Zealand, with the royal residence Leire, was the most important; and (3) Scania (with Halland and Bleking). Each of these divisions had its own Ting (assembly), where the people, that is, the peasants, came together in order to choose a king, to make laws, and to sit in judgment, — the Jutlanders in Viborg, the Zealanders in Ringsted, and the Scanians in Lund. The king was the bond of union between the countries. He was chosen from the royal family; he acted as high priest, and it was his duty to preserve peace and to summon the troops in war. Next in rank to the king were the jarls, who governed large tracts of country in the king's name. The king had his "hauskerle" ("hird"), who, in conjunction with the chieftains (the most powerful of the peasants), were his helpers in war and peace. The earliest reliable accounts are contained in the Frankish annals of the time of Charlemagne. During the Saxon wars Widukind (pp. 160 ff.) took refuge with the Danish king Siegfried in 777, and when Charles had defeated the Saxons he came into friendly intercourse with the Danes (p. 80). Their king at that time, Gottfried (Götrik), secured his south boundaries by a rampart, and was just arming himself for an attack on the Frankish Empire when he was murdered in 810. His successor concluded a peace with the emperor, and the Eider remained the boundary between Denmark and the Frankish Empire. Shortly after this, disputes which lasted for a long time broke out in the Danish royal house concerning the crown; these disputes opened up the way for Christianity, with which some Danes had already become familiar, partly through missionaries (Willibrord), partly through travels on the Continent. King Harald (Klak) was driven out by Gottfried's sons; he fled to Germany, and was baptised in 826, in order to gain the assistance of Lewis the Pious. Afterwards, when he returned to Denmark the devout Ansgar, a monk from the Benedictine monastery of Corvey, followed him as missionary. Ansgar was filled with enthusiasm for his vocation; he immediately began his missionary work, and founded a school for the training of teachers in Hedeby (Jutland). He had still many difficulties to overcome, and conversion to Christianity was slow. It became still harder for him when his protector, Harald, was driven out a second time. Ansgar was also compelled to leave the country. He crossed over to Sweden, where he was well received and won many converts to Christianity. Meanwhile an archbishopric for the north was established in Hamburg and Ansgar was called to the see, which was removed to Bremen after the demolition of Hamburg by the Danes. Ansgar succeeded in gaining the friendship of the king of Denmark, and was now able, as "apostle of the north," to take up his work again with renewed energy, a work which he continued with unwearied zeal till his death in 865. For a long time after his death Christi-

anity made no progress, and at the same time the land was divided by internal struggles. At the beginning of the tenth century Olaf, a Swedish chieftain, took possession of at least a portion of the country. His son Gnupa was defeated by the German king Henry I in 934, and was forced to receive baptism. However, the Swedish rule did not last long. Gnupa submitted to a descendant of the Danish royal house, Gorm the Old, whose wife, Tyra Danmarksbod, is said to have built the boundary wall known as the "Danevirke" (Danework). Gorm's son, Harald Blaatand (Bluetooth), who ruled not only over all Denmark but for some time also over Norway, was baptised in 940, and from that time was a zealous promoter of Christianity in his kingdom. He declares on the runic stone at Jellinge (see Figs. 2 and 3 on the plate facing page 478), which he set up to the memory of his parents, that he won over the whole of Denmark and Norway and baptised the Danes. Some of the Danes, however, were not pleased with his religious zeal. The discontented attached themselves to his son Sven Tveskjæg (Forkbeard; p. 444) in 985. Harald fell in battle (986–987). Sven became king, and, as has already been mentioned, conquered England in 1013. He was baptised, but exercised toleration in religious matters.

It was not until the reign of his second son, Knut (Cnut) the Mighty (1018–1035, Vol. V, p. 471), that Christianity triumphed in Denmark. Knut greatly extended his dominion; he ruled over Denmark, England, and Norway. He was acknowledged as emperor of Bretland (Britain) by the emperor Konrad II, who ceded to him the Mark of Schleswig (p. 91), and his aim, as mentioned above (p. 445) was the foundation of a great northern empire. But he did nothing to unite the countries permanently under his power. He lived mostly in England, which he considered the most important of his dominions, and this country, under his powerful government, advanced in every respect. He also turned his attention to Denmark, which by the union with England, a country which had attained to a higher standard of civilization, came into closer contact with the higher culture of central Europe. A fresh impetus was given to Christianity; Anglo-Saxon bishops and priests worked in the country, churches were built, and the first monasteries were established. Knut was very generous to the Church; the clergy received great rewards, and their influence increased. As by this means Knut laid the foundations of a Danish hierarchy, he also formed the beginning of a secular nobility by his law (Vederlor) which he gave to his Hird, the "Tingamannalid," by which the members of the Hird received various privileges.

B. The Estrids or Ulfings (1047–1375)

With the death of Knut's son, Hardeknut, the old royal family became extinct. According to a former treaty, the Norwegian king Magnus Olavssön was also ruler in Denmark. But in 1047 the Danes chose as their king Sven Estridssön, the son of Ulfdarl and Estrid, a sister of Knut. Norway was ultimately compelled to acknowledge him as king. By Sven's accession the house of Estrid ascended the Danish throne, which they occupied for three centuries. The Estrids raised Denmark to the height of its power; but it was also under their rule that the country experienced its deepest humiliation. Sven (1047–1076) was a cultured and affable man, very popular with the Danes. Like Knut, he took a

keen interest in the affairs of the Church; he regulated bishoprics, and attempted to make the Danish church independent of Bremen. His work was continued after 1080 by his sons Knut IV and Erik Eiegod. Knut was hated by the people on account of his cruelty, and was ultimately killed by them in 1086. After 1101, however, he was honoured as Denmark's national saviour. He was the first to define the Church's special jurisdiction and to assure her the possession of a revenue by introducing tithes. In 1104 Erik (1095–1103) received permission from the Pope to establish an archbishopric in Lund, to which all the northern churches were made subordinate.

For a long time after the death of Erik Denmark was torn in strife by the struggles for the throne among the descendants of Sven Estridssön, until finally a grandson of Erik, Waldemar the Great (1157–1182), triumphed over his opponents. Then quiet was restored in Denmark. During the strife for the crown Denmark was constantly ravaged by the Wends, who lived on the Baltic Sea and were still pagan. The country was unprotected, the peasants fled, and the Wends met with hardly any resistance. But when Waldemar became king the situation was altered; he began a vigorous campaign against the pirates. Supported by his friend the warlike bishop Absalom, and in league with the Saxon duke Henry the Lion, he attacked the Wends in their own country and subdued the island of Rügen. The prince of the island became his vassal. Absalom remained true to Waldemar's son Knut VI, and victory always followed his banner. The princes of Pomerania and Mecklenburg were reduced to submission, while Knut's brother Waldemar, whom he had appointed duke of south Jutland (Sönderjyltand), took prisoner the Count of Holstein and subdued his lands. When Waldemar II Seir (the Victorious) succeeded his brother as king, 1202, he ruled over all the countries west of the Baltic. He now wished to extend his power to the east, and in 1219 undertook a crusade against the Esthonians. It is supposed that the king intended to establish a bishopric in Esthonia and to make it independent of Riga. The Esthonians were defeated in a battle with which there is associated the legend about the standard which fell from heaven (Danebrog); they were forced to receive baptism, and the town Reval was founded (Vol. V, p. 491). Waldemar's power, however, did not last long. After he was taken prisoner by his vassal Henry, count of Schwerin, the dependent countries regained their freedom. It is true Waldemar was released in 1225 and attempted to restore his former dominion, but he was totally defeated at Bornhöved in 1227 (cf. Vol. VII, p. 25). This battle decided the fate of north Germany. Waldemar was obliged to conclude peace with his numerous enemies, and scarcely any of his conquests remained except Esthonia and Rügen. From that time he gave up war and directed his energies to the internal welfare of the country, principally to the improvement of the laws. The law of Jutland, which he probably intended to make the code for the whole of his empire, was enacted shortly before his death (1241). From these laws we can see the changes that took place in the social conditions, through the influence of the continent, during the reigns of the two Waldemars. The peasants, who had formerly been the only class in the country, were now subordinate to the nobility and clergy; second to these, a burgher class was being formed. Serfdom had disappeared, and the serfs had become cottagers. Agriculture was making rapid progress; the ground which the peasants cultivated in common was gradually being turned into arable land, and the number of villages was increasing. As in former times the peasants assembled at the "Harden-Ting"

and the "Landschafts-Ting," but the political importance of these assemblies was decreasing. The more important matters were generally decided by the king in the assembly of the nobles. The peasants were also losing their former importance as soldiers. It is true the old military organisation still existed; the country was divided up into districts of different size, which had to provide ships and fighting men, but the picked men of the army were the "Hauskerle" of the king (the Vederlovsmänner), who served as horsemen. These, together with the royal officials, were exempt from taxes; in this way they were distinguished from the rest of the peasants and formed a nobility. Amongst the officials whom the king afterwards summoned as his first counsellors were the Marsk (marshal), the Drost (high bailiff), and the Kanzler (chancellor.) The clergy, under the influence of the continent, also severed themselves from the people, and strove to make themselves independent of temporal power. Although at that time the Church did not succeed in entirely realising her demand for immunity, still her power and influence steadily increased without the friendly relations being disturbed which existed between the Church and the Waldemars. Many of the clergy visited the continent, especially the University of Paris, in search of higher learning, and were thus the only Danes who possessed a higher culture and occupied themselves with literature. Archbishop Absalom in particular, who was distinguished as a clergyman, warrior, and statesman, rendered great services to literature. At his instigation his secretary, Saxo Grammaticus, wrote in Latin, the language of the Church, a detailed history of Denmark, of which the Danes are justly proud. The laws of Waldemar, however, were published in Danish, and therefore possess great importance as monuments of the language, in addition to their value in the history of civilization. The buildings of the Church increased in magnificence with her growing power; instead of the old wooden places of worship, stone buildings were now being erected according to the models supplied from the west of Germany and north of France.

The towns, which sprang up from fishing villages, harbours, and market places or around the castles, were still small and few in number; they were improving at this time through commerce, navigation, fishing (especially herring fishing), and industry. The inhabitants of the towns were gradually separating themselves from the country population and forming a distinct class. They received special privileges, and later, in addition, their own officials, from the king, whose protection they often sought. The burghers formed guilds or clubs, the members of which pledged themselves to mutual help, and in this way they increased in union, strength, and importance. The most influential towns were Schleswig and Ripen; Copenhagen owes its importance as a town to Absalom, who erected a castle near the old harbour "Hafn."

After the death of Waldemar II (Seir) a time of misfortune began for Denmark; the kingdom quickly sank from its great height of prosperity. Waldemar's successors were not equal to him in ability and might. The friendly relations between the king and the nobles ceased, the magnates temporal and spiritual rose against the king. At the imperial assembly (Danehof), which had then the greatest legislative and judicial power, the nobles constantly endeavoured to increase their power by means of laws which they extorted from the Crown. Unfortunately for the empire, Waldemar had given large appanages to his younger sons. They and their descendants now wished to be independent, and were the cause of much trouble to the kings; especially dangerous were the dukes of Sönderjylland, because they

were protected by the Count of Holstein. The whole land was torn with strife. The kings, who were often in need of money, finally took refuge in the pernicious expedient of mortgaging parts of their dominions, and as they were not able to redeem them, they were lost to the kingdom. Disorganisation and confusion steadily spread and ruin threatened the kingdom. During this time of turmoil and war the peasants were compelled to bear the charges of the universal misrule; their only way of protection was to place themselves under a lord and become his "Vornede" (villeins). In this way the peasants gradually lots their freedom. The condition of the burghers was not much better. The members of the Hanseatic League made their way into the towns, received various rights, and wrested the traffic with the continent from the burghers. The vigorous shipping industry, which the Danes and Norwegians had carried on from earliest times on the North Sea and the Baltic, now ceased.

The situation was worst during the reign of Christopher II (1319–1332). In order to become king he had to grant an "election charter," which deprived him of almost all his power. The most important portions of the country were mortgaged, and his rule was limited to a few boroughs (Burgen). The greatest mortgagee was Gerhard (III) the Great, Count of Holstein, who possessed the whole of north Jutland. After Christopher's death in 1332 Gerhard was the real ruler of the country. Christopher's son Valdemar remained in Germany. But Gerhard's arrogant behaviour drove the Jutes to take up arms against him. He was killed on the 1st of April, 1340, and Valdemar, who now returned to Denmark, was elected king.

Valdemar IV, surnamed Atterdag (1340–1375), was prudent, capable, and not over scrupulous in his choice of the means to be employed in consolidating the kingdom and re-establishing the royal power. The distant Esthonia he sold in 1346 to the Teutonic Knights, to obtain funds for the redemption of more important provinces. He succeeded also in 1361 in conquering the island of Gothland, together with the city of Wisby, but this brought him into conflict with the Hanseatic League. For a time victory favoured the Danish arms; but when the League, Mecklenburg, and Sweden allied themselves against him, Valdemar's position became desperate. In spite of these odds, however, he was in the end able to conclude peace without ceding any of his territory (Vol. VII, p. 31). At home Valdemar's efforts were directed to the maintenance of the royal prestige. He won over the nobility by the charter of Kallundborg (1360), and contrived both to add to the crown lands, thus increasing his own revenues, and to extend the judicial power of the throne. In suppressing lawlessness and restoring order he acted with firmness and energy, but at the same time with such merciless severity that he enjoyed but little popularity among either the high or the low.

C. The Period of Union with Norway (to 1814)

(*a*) *Union with Sweden.*—With Valdemar's death the Estridian line was extinguished (1375), but he left a daughter, Margaret, whose son Olaf was elected king in 1376. He was, however, still a child, and his mother, the wife of Haakon VI (Magnussön) of Norway, acted as regent. Four years later Olaf succeeded to the

Norwegian throne, with the result that Denmark and Norway were united (1380); a union which continued almost without interruption down to 1814.

Olaf died in 1387, when Margaret became queen regent of both kingdoms, to which she before long succeeded in adding Sweden also; for the Swedish lords, dissatisfied with the rule of their king, Albrecht (p. 483), invited her intervention, the result being that Albrecht was defeated and taken prisoner in 1389. In the same year, and again in 1396, Margaret secured the election of her great-nephew, Eric of Pomerania, to the thrones of all three kingdoms, and in 1397 she summoned representatives of the nobility of the three countries to a meeting at Kalmar for the purpose of defining the character of the union. Eric was duly crowned, and the text of an Act of Union was drawn up; but the act never became law, owing, presumably, to Margaret's disagreement with the conditions proposed. For while the terms of the act recognised the perfect equality of the three states, Margaret, following her father's policy, wished to establish the supremacy of Denmark. In addition to this, she was dissatisfied with the limitations to be imposed on the royal power, while at the same time the Norwegians were opposed to some of the conditions laid down. Thus it came about that no real union was concluded at Kalmar; but for a while the three kingdoms remained united in fact, and this actual union is known as the Union of Kalmar (1397–1523; cf. Vol. VII, p. 33). If the union-kings had been wise and capable, these three nations, with their common interests and characteristics, might have coalesced and been welded into a powerful Scandinavian state; but for the most part these kings looked upon themselves as Danish kings, for Denmark was the predominant partner, and the royal residence was fixed in Denmark. They showed little concern for the welfare of the other two kingdoms, visiting them but rarely, and seeking only to exploit them for their own purposes. Under such treatment these states felt, and rightly felt, themselves to be neglected; they became dissatisfied, and this dissatisfaction led to continual revolts. Thus the period of the union became a time of discord and strife; instead of creating a strong and united Scandinavia, the union produced enmity and hatred between the northern peoples.

With her prudence and energy, Margaret, who kept the reins of government in her own hands until her death, had been able to maintain peace at home, but after her death (1412) discord broke loose. Eric of Pomerania aimed at continuing his foster-mother's policy, and endeavoured to deprive the counts of Holstein of the dukedom of Sönderjylland, or Schleswig, which they had acquired on the extinction of the ducal line in 1375; but after a struggle of twenty years' duration he was obliged to give up the attempt. At the same time he was waging an unsuccessful war with the Hanseatic League. This was embittered by the manner in which he favoured the Dutch, and by his levying of tolls on vessels passing through the Sound. The taxes which he was compelled to impose for carrying on the war aroused much dissatisfaction, and complaints of bad government were made. Rebellions broke out in Norway and Sweden, while even in Denmark discontent was rife. At last he was deposed in 1439, and his nephew, Christopher of Bavaria (Christopher III), made king.

(*b*) *The Oldenburg Dynasty.* — On the death of Christopher III (1448) the union was actually dissolved; for the Swedes raised their former viceroy, Karl

Knutsson (p. 483) to their throne, while the Danes chose Count Christian (Krsitiern) of Oldenburg, who two years later became king of Norway also. Christian I, it is true, as well as his son John (Johann; 1481–1513) and his grandson Christian II, strove to renew the union with Sweden, where there existed a Danish party. The two former, indeed, succeeded, in 1457 and 1497, in making themselves kings of Sweden, but not for long. Christian II, therefore, attempted to crush the spirit of revolt in Sweden by the execution of a number of the nobility, clergy, and townsfolk (the Stockholm Bloodbath, November 8, 1520); but the only result was a fresh rebellion which ended in the final separation of Sweden from Denmark (1523).

Though they lost Sweden in the manner above described, the Oldenburgs extended their power in another direction. On the extinction of the Schauenburg line, Christian I had been elected duke of Schleswig and count of Holstein, on March 2, 1460, on condition that these states should remain for ever undivided (*ewich tosamende ungedeld*, as it is expressed in the charter of March 5). The attempt, however, to subjugate the independent people of Dithmarsh ended disastrously at Hemmingstedt on February 17, 1500.

During this period the royal power, which had been consolidated by Valdemar IV and Margaret, grew weaker. The Danehof (p. 449) ceased to exist, and its place was taken by the Rigsraad (council of state), an independent body whose consent the king was forced to obtain in important matters. Through the medium of the Rigsraad, which had developed out of the royal council, and whose most important members were the Drost (later Lord High Steward), the Marsk, the Chancellor, and the Bishops, the nobles increased their power by making use of the conditions imposed on the kings at each election to increase their privileges. None but nobles were allowed to administer the fiefs (the administrative districts), the revenues from which most of them enjoyed in return for military service and money payments to the crown. They were exempt from taxation and had considerable power over the peasantry, while their only duty was the defence of the country. At the same time the position of the peasantry deteriorated, and the number of peasant owners of "odal" (allodial) land steadily decreased. The majority of the peasantry were tenants who were in some districts (Zealand, Lolland, Falster) tied to the soil; they were bound to pay to their overlords various dues (fines on succession and land tax), and in addition to render labour service. The towns fared better, for the kings recognised that the privileges enjoyed by the Hanseatic League were injurious to the Danish merchants, and therefore, without exception, did all in their power to put an end to the supremacy of the League; they curtailed its privileges, concluded commercial alliances with the Netherlands, England, Scotland, and France, and created a navy with which they hoped to secure the mastery of the North Sea and the Baltic.

The last union king, Christian II, was especially solicitous for the welfare of the townsfolk and the peasantry. He was a gifted, enlightened, and energetic ruler, but at the same time passionate, inconsiderate, and suspicious, and frequently revengeful and cruel. From his youth onwards he hated the nobility and the higher clergy, whose power he constantly endeavoured to diminish. To the conditions on which he was elected king he paid no heed, for he aimed, like the other European sovereigns of his time, at making his own power absolute. In

his struggle with the ruling classes he relied on the support of the commonalty, for whom he always entertained a special preference, and whose position he improved by numerous laws. In consequence he was loved by them, while the nobles, on the contrary, feared and hated him to such an extent that they at last renounced their allegiance and offered the crown to his uncle, Frederic of Holstein-Gottorp. Losing heart, Christian took ship for the Netherlands (April, 1523) to claim the assistance of his brother-in-law, the emperor Charles V. Eight years later, towards the end of 1531, he made an attempt, with Norway as his base, to recover his throne, but without success, and died a prisoner in the castle of Kollundborg on January 25, 1559.

On Christian's deposition his laws were repealed; the nobility regained their ancient rights, and the new king was forced to give his promise to the clergy to protect the Church from heresy. For even in Christian's reign the Reformation had penetrated into Denmark; and he himself, whose mother was the sister of Frederic the Wise of Saxony, had for a time been favourably disposed towards the new doctrine. It continually gained new adherents, especially in the towns; for in Denmark, as elsewhere, the papal authority was on the wane, and the clergy were despised for their ignorance and immorality. Frederic I did not fail to perceive the progress made by the new teaching; but, contrary to his promises, he did nothing to arrest it, while many of the nobility regarded it with favour, in the hope of enriching themselves at the expense of the clergy. Thus, as the Catholic Church was at that time almost without capable defenders, the resistance attempted by the prelates was in vain.

Such was the condition of affairs when Frederic I died (1533). When the magnates met together to elect the new king, a unanimous choice proved to be impossible. The nobility were in favour of Frederic's eldest son Christian, but as he was known to be a zealous Lutheran the bishops opposed his election. In the meantime the burgesses and peasantry had taken up arms for the purpose of restoring their old king, Christian II, and they were joined by the city of Lübeck, whose burgomaster, Jürgen Wullenweber, hoped to re-establish his city's former power. In the struggle that ensued victory at first inclined to the side of Christian's supporters and their allies from Lübeck, after whose general, Count Christopher of Oldenburg, this war has been named the "Count's War." Almost the whole of Denmark submitted to Count Christopher, who accepted homage in all directions in the name of Christian II. In this extremity the bishops were forced to give way, and Christian III was chosen as king. Soon after the fortune of war turned; the forces of Lübeck were defeated both on land and at sea, and within a short time Christian III was master of all Denmark (1536). Norway, too, which had supported the party of Christian II, was compelled to submit, and remained united to Denmark from that time till 1814.

In this war the burgesses and the peasantry suffered a defeat from which the latter especially took long to recover. It ended Lübeck's rôle as the chief power in the north; and another result of it was that the Reformation won the day in Denmark and Norway. At a meeting of the Rigsdag, or parliament, to which representatives of the nobles, the burgesses, and the peasantry were summoned, the Catholic Church was abolished (1536), Lutheranism and the Evangelical form of church government were introduced, the king was made supreme head of the Church, and the possessions of the bishops and monasteries were confiscated, thus

enormously increasing the Crown revenues. The position of the Church and the clergy thus underwent a complete change. The bishops lost their seats in the Rigsraad, and, as a consequence, their political influence, besides being deprived of their estates. The episcopal office, having lost many of its previous attractions, was no longer an object of desire to the nobility, and came to be filled by men of lower birth. The bishops were chosen by the priests, and the priests by their parishioners, though some livings remained in the gift of the Crown or of the nobles, to whom the churches belonged. The nobles, like the king, though to a less degree, profited by the confiscation of the monastic estates. They now strove to consolidate their scattered possessions, and, their importance as a military class having ended with the introduction of the new methods of warfare, settled on their estates as landed proprietors. Many of them entered the service of the state, and some engaged, not without success, in the pursuit of science.

In Denmark, as elsewhere, the Reformation supplied the first impulse to the rapid growth of a vernacular literature. Except during the reigns of the Valdemars, there was but little literary activity throughout the Middle Ages, and the majority of the works produced were written in Latin. Old legends and poems, it is true, were handed down by means of oral tradition, and a vigorous popular poetry grew up; but it, too, lived only orally among the common people. There was, in fact, no national literature until the foundations for one had been laid during the Reformation period. The father of Danish literature was Christian Pedersen (d. 1554), who raised his mother tongue to the level of a literary language by his translation of the Bible and several other works. The literature of this period is in the main of a religious character; the poems are hymns, for the most part translated from German or Latin originals.

The duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, which Christian III had inherited from his father, he shared with his brothers, one of whom, Adolphus, was the founder of the Gottorp line of dukes, who later endeavoured to make themselves independent sovereigns, and frequently allied themselves to that end with Denmark's enemies, more especially with Sweden. Frederick I and Christian III had peaceful relations with the Swedes; but after the latter's death (1559) disputes soon arose, and resulted in the Scandinavian Seven Years' War (1563–1570). Christian's son, Frederic II, wished to renew the Union of Kalmar, and had, moreover, come into conflict with the Swedish king, Eric XIV, over the Baltic provinces (p. 485); for the Order of the Sword was in process of dissolution, a fact of which Sweden, Russia, Poland, and Denmark wished to avail themselves in order to seize the possessions of the order for themselves (Vol. V, p. 535). But Frederic failed to achieve his purpose, and at the peace of Stettin had to be content with a money indemnity. This war, carried on with great inhumanity by both sides, had, however, a lasting and unfortunate result; it aroused once more among the Scandinavian peoples a mutual hatred that was constantly kept alive by new feuds.

After the war Frederic gave up his schemes of conquest and devoted himself to works of peace. In these he was successful, and during the later years of his reign Denmark enjoyed the respect of all Europe. The fortress of Kronborg (cf. Fig. 6 on the map facing page 434) was built during the years 1574 to 1585, to command the entrance to the Sound, and the Danish king was looked on as the ruler of the northern seas. But Denmark was not able to maintain this suprem-

acy for long; since even under Frederic's son, Christian IV (1588–1648), it began to decline. Christian had the advantage of a careful education, and was especially well versed in mathematics and technical sciences; he was, moreover, intelligent and an untiring worker, taking a personal interest in affairs of all kinds, and incessantly striving to promote the weal and increase the power of his two kingdoms. He improved the administration of justice, assisted the schools, kept the fleet in a thoroughly effective condition, raised in addition a standing army, and in various ways fostered commerce and shipping, manufacture and mining. He founded towns in both Denmark and Norway, and improved Copenhagen by the erection of a number of public buildings in the style of the Dutch renaissance. He built factories, founded trade societies, acquired colonies, patronised voyages of discovery, and interested himself in Norway to a greater extent than any other sovereign of the Oldenburg line. Thus the first half of his reign was a time of prosperity for both Denmark and Norway.

But Christian IV endeavoured also to increase his own and Denmark's power by interfering in the politics of central Europe, and in this domain he was unsuccessful. He was not himself a brilliant statesman, nor was he surrounded by capable advisers. Moreover, Denmark lacked the necessary strength to play a leading part, with the result that the wars in which he became involved, with the exception of the first, ended in disaster in spite of his personal bravery and courage. At his death he left his kingdoms reduced in extent and devastated.

Christian's first struggle was with Sweden (1611). Like his father, he intended to unite the three kingdoms, but though he did, indeed, succeed in occupying some portions of Sweden, he was unable to carry out his plans, and was forced to give back his conquests in return for a money indemnity (1613; p. 486). Then followed several years of peace, but in the meanwhile the Thirty Years' War had broken out in Germany. When it spread to north Germany the north German Protestants sought Christian's help, and he was elected chief of the circle of lower Saxony (cf. Vol. VII, p. 292). He had been waiting for an opportunity to make his influence felt in Germany and took the field in 1625; but being completely defeated by Tilly at Lutter, near the Barenberg, on August 27, 1626, he was forced to withdraw into Denmark. The imperial troops followed in pursuit and overran the peninsula of Jutland, which they laid waste without mercy, but were prevented by the Danish fleet from gaining a footing on the islands. Disappointed in his expectations of help from England and the Netherlands, Christian decided to make peace with the invaders, the more readily as the emperor, being anxious to keep him from an alliance with Sweden, offered favourable terms. The conquered provinces were restored to him at Lübeck on May 12, 1629; but he was forced to promise that he would abstain from further interference. When, later on, the Swedes gained their brilliant successes as defenders of German Protestantism, Christian was roused by jealousy to hamper them by every means in his power. The Swedish government determined to retaliate by attacking Denmark; and in 1643 one Swedish army entered Holstein, though war had not been declared, while another invaded Scania. At the same time the Netherlands, exasperated by the raising of the tolls levied in the Sound and by Christian's claim to supremacy in the north Atlantic, despatched a fleet to the help of the Swedes. Christian's courage and resolution did, indeed, save Denmark from complete humiliation, but at the peace of Brömsebro (August 23,

1645) he had to surrender Halland, Ösel, Gothland, Herjedalen, and Jemtland to Sweden. In addition tolls were no longer to be levied on Swedish vessels passing through the Sound, and the toll to be paid by Dutch vessels was reduced, — a serious loss of revenue. Three years later Christian died (February 28, 1648). His want of success, in spite of his good intentions, was no doubt chiefly due to himself; but much of the blame must be laid upon the nobles, who were never willing to make the least sacrifice for their country, and thought only of their own advantage. Their selfish conduct embittered the other classes of the population and was destined before long to bring about their fall.

During the later years of Christian IV's reign his sons-in-law, especially the Lord High Steward, Korsitz Ulfeldt, exercised the greatest influence on the government. On the death of the good king he aimed at securing the chief power for himself and the Rigsraad, and Christian's son Frederic III (1648–1670) was compelled, before being elected, to accept conditions which deprived him of all power, and left him dependent in nearly every direction on the consent of the Council of State. He was determined, however, to break the bonds that held him, and, first of all, to rid himself of the obnoxious Ulfeldt. By his arrogant behaviour the latter had aroused the enmity of the nobles; complaints were brought against him, and inquiries into his administration were instituted. Deeply offended, he did not await the result, but left Denmark in 1651 and betook himself first to Holland and then to Sweden, whose government he attempted to incite against Denmark. In this, it is true, he was not successful; but he had not long to wait for a rupture between the two states, and with it his opportunity to revenge himself on his country and Frederic. Charles X (Gustavus) of Sweden (p. 490) was at this time campaigning in Poland, where his position was critical. Frederic thought that he could take advantage of these circumstances to regain the lost provinces, and, though lacking the necessary means for the prosecution of a war, was foolish enough to fling down the gauntlet to Sweden. On receiving the declaration of war Charles immediately left Poland (in the summer of 1657), hastened by forced marches to Denmark, and occupied, almost unopposed, the whole peninsula, where he was joined by his father-in-law, the Duke of Gottorp. There follows a severe winter. The Great and Little Belts froze, and in February, 1658, he was able to march across the ice with his troops into Zealand. No provision had been made for the defence of the island, and the Swedes advanced on Copenhagen. Frederic had thus no alternative but to sue for peace, which was concluded, though only on the hardest terms, at Roskilde (March 8, 1658). Denmark lost all her possessions east of the Sound (Scania, Halland, Blekinge) as well as the island of Bornholm. Norway had to give up Trondhjems Len (district) and Bohuslen, and the Duke of Gottorp was released from vassalage to the Danish Crown. Before long Charles regretted that he had not acquired the whole of Denmark. He soon found a pretext for renewing the war, and again advanced on Copenhagen in the summer of the same year. But meanwhile the citizens had made use of the time to place the capital in a state of defence. Encouraged by the example of the king and the queen, the high-spirited Sophia Amalia of Brunswick (d. 1685), they defended themselves heroically against the Swedish attacks. After an ineffectual attempt to storm the city Charles was obliged to raise the siege in 1659.

He was also unfortunate in other directions; the people of Trondhjem and Bornholm drove out the Swedes, while they were expelled from Jutland by an army sent to the help of the Danes by Poland and Brandenburg. Charles proposed to recompense himself for his losses by the conquest of Norway, but died suddenly on February 23, 1660. Peace was then concluded at Copenhagen (May 27) through the good offices of England and Holland, Trondhjems, Len, and Bornholm being restored to Denmark. In all other essential respects the terms of the peace of Roskilde were retained, the two maritime powers being unwilling that both sides of the Sound should be in the possession of one and the same state.

After the war Denmark was in a sad plight. She had lost some of her richest and most important provinces; her finances were in complete chaos; the whole country had been pillaged and laid waste; poverty and distress reigned everywhere. As a first step towards remedial measures a diet was summoned to Copenhagen (1660), where representatives of the nobility, the clergy, and the burgess class met together. The burgesses and the clergy had for some time been growing more and more embittered against the nobles. They were indignant at their selfishness and despised them for the poor rôle they had played during the war, while the burgesses, and especially those of Copenhagen, were proud of their valiant defence of the capital. At first all efforts to improve the condition of the country were frustrated by the opposition of the nobles, who were unwilling to surrender any privilege or to pay any tax. Then the burgesses and the clergy, who had capable leaders in the persons of the burgomaster Nansen and Bishop Svane, joined forces. Seeing that the privileges of the nobility would have to be abolished before any progress could be made, Nansen and Svane, in collusion with the king, — who was apparently neutral, though both he and the queen in reality kept secretly in touch with the non-privileged classes, — brought forward the proposal to constitute Denmark a hereditary monarchy (October, 1660). The burgesses and clergy immediately accepted the proposal; and though the Rigsraad opposed, it was forced to give way, whereupon the ceremony of taking the oath of allegiance to the hereditary sovereign was celebrated with great splendour. The conditions of Frederic's election to the throne were now annulled, and the next step was to work out a new constitution. The diet was, however, unable to come to an agreement, and Svane therefore proposed that the king should be empowered to draw up the constitution. Owing to the king's great popularity, which he had gained during the siege of Copenhagen by his courage and self-sacrifice, the proposal was readily accepted. Soon afterwards the diet was dissolved, and the king issued a document in which he claimed absolute power for himself. This document was circulated for signature by the representatives, and a despotic monarchy was thus approved by the nation. By the "Kongelov" (King's Law) of November 14, 1665, which was to be looked on as an unalterable and fundamental law for both Frederic's kingdoms, the king was placed above human laws and given the supreme power in all affairs of both Church and State. The only conditions imposed upon him were that he must be a member of the Lutheran Church, and that he might neither divide his possessions nor alter the constitution.

The new constitution resulted in a complete change of administration. The Rigsraad was dissolved and the management of affairs transferred to six govern-

ment boards, whose presidents formed the king's council of state. Feudal tenure was abolished, and the country was divided into districts managed by paid officials, the "Amtmoend." The parishes were deprived of their rights of patronage, and the town councils and burgomasters were appointed by the Crown. By reason of these changes the nobles lost not only their political power, but at the same time, owing to the confiscation of their fiefs, their most important sources of revenue, and were, moreover, no longer entirely exempted from taxation. Finding themselves unable to accommodate themselves to the new order of things, they gradually withdrew from the court and the state service. The old nobility had played its part and made way for a new court nobility, consisting for the most part of Germans. To this new nobility, whose function it was to lend splendour to the throne and support to the king, were accorded even greater privileges than to the old. On his estates the nobleman was almost a king; he administered justice, had the rights of ecclesiastical patronage, levied taxes, and raised troops. The Danish despotism was on the whole a benevolent one, for the king looked upon himself as the father of his people, and was always anxious for their welfare. Amongst other things the kings of this period deserve great credit for their legislation (the Danish and Norwegian Laws of 1683 and 1687 enacted by Christian V) and their administration of justice. They also supported the University, encouraged popular education, and worked for the improvement of economic conditions, especially in the spheres of commerce and manufacture. But their legislation was not always a success; they frequently lacked the necessary insight. Moreover, they were biassed by the prejudices of their time. Unable to refrain from interfering in all directions and making rules and laws for all circumstances, they prevented a free and natural development, and the effect of this was especially marked in the case of manufactures, which they endeavoured, in a strictly protectionist spirit, to assist by high tariffs and all kinds of prohibitions with regard to imports. It was only towards the end of the eighteenth century that this policy was changed. The maintenance of a costly court, the expenditure on the army and navy, which the sovereigns always strove to keep in an effective condition, and the financial assistance given to manufacturers and trading companies, swallowed up large sums of money; and in order to meet this drain — the taxes, heavy as they were, being insufficient for the purpose — the government was compelled to have recourse to various measures, not always of the wisest, such as hiring out their troops to foreign princes, selling the churches and the demesnes, etc. But it was all of no avail; the financial position in the eighteenth century was anything but satisfactory, and the kings frequently found themselves in difficulties.

It was long before the kings of Denmark could resign themselves to the loss of Scania, and Frederic's son, Christian V (1670–1699), renewed the war with Sweden (the "Scanian War," 1675–1679). The Minister of Foreign Affairs was at this time Count Griffenfeld(t). His real name was Peder Schumacher, and he was the son of a German wine-merchant in Copenhagen. He had the good fortune to attract the notice of Frederic III and to win his confidence, was made Royal Librarian in 1663, and in 1665 was commissioned to draw up the king's Law. Under Christian V he rose rapidly from one dignity to another, was ennobled in 1671, and made Lord High Chancellor in 1673. He was a gifted and well-informed man, energetic and capable in his administrative work; and it was he who car-

ried through the changes resulting from the new form of government and established absolutism on a firm basis. As Minister of Foreign Affairs he was opposed to the war and wished to maintain peace between the Scandinavian states. But at court there was a war party which was hostile to Griffenfeld, and the king himself was in favour of war. Soon after the war broke out his enemies compassed Griffenfeld's fall (March, 1676). In spite of his great gifts he had grave failings. He was mercenary and not above bribery, and his remarkable good fortune had made him arrogant. He was accused of high treason, and the king, weary of tutelage, withdrew his favour. He was condemned to death, but on the scaffold this sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life. After spending twenty-two years in prison he was set free, but died shortly afterwards (March 12, 1699).

The war with Sweden did not fulfil the cherished hopes of the Danish king, although Sweden, as the ally of France, was at the same time involved in war with Brandenburg. The Danes, it is true, were more than a match for the Swedes at sea and on landing in Scania (Vol. VII, p. 482) Christian was welcomed with joy by the population. But this good fortune did not long continue; they lost two important battles, and Scania remained in the possession of the Swedes (p. 492 below). The Danes, however, did not give up hope. Towards the end of the century Christian's son, Frederic IV (1699–1730), concluded an alliance with Russia and the combined kingdom of Saxony and Poland against Sweden. This led to the great Scandinavian war of 1700–1721 (Vol. V, p. 567, and Vol. VII, pp. 500, f., 510, 514). Frederic commenced operations by an attack on Duke Frederic IV of Gottorp, brother-in-law of the king of Sweden, but was obliged by Charles, who had effected a landing on Zealand, to make peace in 1700. When, however, Charles was defeated in 1709 at Pultowa by Peter the Great, Frederic renewed his alliance with Peter and Augustus II, declared war against Sweden, and landed in Scania. He was nevertheless compelled to retire after suffering heavy losses, and, although he was superior to the Swedes at sea and had occupied some of the Swedish possessions in Germany, to renounce his claim to Scania, while Sweden paid him an indemnity of six hundred thousand thalers, surrendered the exemption from tolls in the Sound granted her at Brömsebro (p. 456), and undertook not to assist the Duke of Gottorp to recover his possessions in Schleswig, which Frederic had confiscated on account of the duke's breach of neutrality during the war (treaty of Frederiksborg, July 3, 1720). The differences between Gottorp and Denmark were eventually settled in favour of the latter (1773) on the following basis: the dukes of Gottorp renounced their claims to Schleswig, and also surrendered to Denmark their portion of Holstein, but received by way of compensation Oldenburg and Delmenhorst, which had come into the possession of Denmark at an earlier date (1667 and 1676).

By the treaty of Fredericksborg the long-standing disputes between Denmark and Sweden were brought to an end. The attempts of the Danish kings to renew the union, and their efforts to prevent the rise of Sweden to a position of power, had failed. Denmark's struggle to become a great power had brought her nothing but loss, and she was now forced to give up all thought of playing an important part in Northern European politics. Sweden's power had, indeed, also been broken in the last war, but Denmark gained nothing thereby. The chief power in the Baltic now passed into the hands of two new powers, Russia and Prussia.

After the great Scandinavian war there followed for Denmark a long period of peace, which enabled the nation to recruit its energies and was of the utmost importance for the internal development of the country. Its intellectual life was greatly influenced from abroad, not only from Germany, as before, but also from western Europe. New ideas were introduced, interest in public affairs grew stronger, and gradually radical reforms were carried out in various directions. Pietism, imported from Germany, became widespread, especially among the lower classes; and Frederic IV's son, Christian VI (1730–1746), strongly influenced by this movement, exerted himself to promote the intellectual and spiritual welfare of his subjects; in all parts of the kingdom schools were erected where the children could be taught religion, reading, writing, and arithmetic.

Literature, too, now set itself the task of working for the enlightenment and education of the people. In the Reformation period a national literature had grown up which was of the greatest importance for the development of the vernacular as a literary language and for the education of the masses (p. 460). But soon there was a return to Latin, and scholars were almost ashamed to make use of their mother tongue. It was the "academic period." Science, it is true, had been studied with success, and Denmark could boast of distinguished names, — the astronomer Tycho Brahe (d. 1601); Niels Stensen (Steno; d. 1686), the founder of geology; Thomas Bartholin (d. 1680), the well-known anatomist; and the physicist Ole Römer (d. 1710), who became famous by his calculation of the velocity of light. But the labours of these scholars were without influence on the intellectual life of the nation, for whose education practically nothing had been done. Even poetry was, in the main, the business of scholars, — an artificial product, in imitation of Germany. Yet there were at that time some few poets not without originality, such as A. Arreboe (d. 1637), who has been called the father of Danish poetry, the Norwegian poet Peter Dass (d. 1708), whose popularity has not even yet died out, and Thomas Kingo (d. 1703), highly esteemed as a writer of hymns. But on the whole the literary output was poor.

It was only with the appearance of Ludvig Holberg (1684–1754) that Danish literature changed its character and became the educative force which it now is for the whole nation. Holberg was influenced by the intellectual life of western Europe, and desired, like the philosophers of the eighteenth century, to "enlighten" his countrymen, to exterminate ancient prejudices and follies, and to spread useful knowledge. His writings are of many kinds, including satires, comedies, and historical and philosophical works. His purpose being to educate the people, he wrote in Danish, in the development of which as a literary language he rendered valuable service. He had several followers, who, as apostles of "enlightenment" and "rationalism," aimed at being useful to the state and the nation, and worked through their writings for the cause of "universal happiness." The poets of the latter half of the eighteenth century received strong stimuli from abroad, from the English poetry of nature, from Rousseau and from German sentimental and national literature, especially from Klopstock, who spent a considerable time in Denmark. The Danish poets, the chief representative of whom was Johannes Ewald (d. 1781), followed the last-named direction, which the Norwegians, influenced by English and French literature, opposed, openly showing their dislike to it by the formation in 1772 of the Norwegian Society (*det norske Selskab*), the heart and soul of which was Joh. Hermann Wessel (d. 1785).

The new ideas continued to spread, and bore fruit in the great reforms which characterise the last decades of the eighteenth century. The king who was reigning at that time, Christian VII (1766-1808), was feeble-minded and incapable of performing his duties, and was in consequence soon obliged to leave the real work of government to his ministers. In the early years of his reign Joh. Hartwig Ernest, count of Bernstorff, the capable statesman who brought the disputes with the Gottorps to a satisfactory conclusion, took the chief part in the government; but in 1770 he had to make way for the German physician, Joh. Friedrich Struensee, who had known how to gain the confidence of the king and the affection of the queen, the English princess Caroline Matilda. Struensee was imbued with the ideas of the age of enlightenment, and carried out sensible reforms, such as establishing the freedom of the press, abolishing the examination of prisoners under torture, and so forth. But his measures were introduced too hurriedly and unsystematically, and many of them aroused great opposition; besides which he incensed the people by his lax morality and his contempt for the Danish language. At court he had numerous enemies, and they succeeded in bringing about his fall; he was arrested on January 17, 1772, accused of lèse majesté and beheaded on April 28. Most of his reforms were cancelled by the new government, the most influential member of which was Ove Höegh-Guldberg. On April 14, 1784, the Crown Prince Frederic took up the reins of government, and, though still young himself, showed his ability to select capable advisers, the most prominent being Audr. Peter Count Bernstorff, whose moral reputation was without blemish. Both Frederic and his ministers were in favour of reform; they took in hand a number of Struensee's earlier plans, but proceeded with caution, and thus imparted strength and durability to their reforms. The press regained its freedom, the administration of justice was improved, and many of the bonds that fettered commerce and agriculture were unloosed, for the state of the peasantry was still disgraceful. Frederic IV, it is true, had abolished the old serfdom ("voonedskab"); but under his successor a new form had been introduced. The regulation had been made, partly to facilitate conscription and partly to ensure a supply of labour for the landed proprietors, that the peasantry were not to be allowed to leave their native place as long as they were liable for military service ("det militære stavnsbaand"); as a consequence they were tied to the soil during the best part of their lives, and abandoned to the tyranny of the landowners, who harassed them with claims of compulsory service and with heavy taxation. Serfdom was now abolished (1788; in the duchies 1797) and by this reform the peasantry attained real freedom. Their condition was also improved in other ways, with the result that the landowners were no longer able to treat them as they liked. Agriculture now made rapid progress, and the value of land was quintupled between 1750 and 1800. Commerce and shipping also entered upon an era of prosperity. In the tariff law of 1797 the protectionist policy was given up; the embargoes on imports were for the most part abolished and the duties were reduced. With a view to encouraging commerce, an agreement had been concluded with Sweden and Russia (the Armed Neutrality of July, 1780) even at the time of the American War of Independence; and Bernstorff was able to prevent Denmark and Norway from becoming involved in hostilities. Danish and Norwegian vessels sailed all the seas without let or hindrance and carried on a profitable trade with the belligerents.

But this era of happiness did not last long; Bernstorff died in 1797, and soon afterwards the two united kingdoms were drawn into the wars in which Europe was then involved. Denmark attempted, indeed, to maintain her neutrality, and in December, 1800, renewed the alliance with Russia, Sweden, and Prussia. But England, against whose encroachments the alliance was directed, laid an embargo on Scandinavian vessels lying in British ports and sent a fleet to the Sound. On April 2, 1801, a battle was fought in the roadstead of Copenhagen, and although the English fleet, led by Nelson, suffered severe loss, the Crown Prince, in the absence of help from his allies, concluded an armistice and promised to secede from the alliance, which was subsequently dissolved in the following June. After the departure of the English, Denmark and Norway enjoyed peace again for some years, but it became more and more difficult to preserve neutrality. In both countries the popular leaning was towards England, with which there existed intimate commercial relations; but the government was compelled by the inconsiderate behaviour of the British to take the side of France. At the peace of Tilsit (July 7, 1807) Napoleon and Alexander of Russia had agreed together that Denmark, Norway, and Sweden should be forced to close their harbours to the English and join the Franco-Russian alliance. As Napoleon had at the same time decided to obtain possession of the Danish fleet and use it against England, the British government despatched an army and a fleet to the Sound, at the same time offering Denmark an alliance on condition that the fleet should be handed over to be taken charge of by England as a hostage during the war. This demand being refused, the English landed on Zealand, invested Copenhagen, and compelled it to surrender (September 7), by a terrible bombardment. The Danish fleet (sixty-four vessels) was given up, and whatever vessels the English could not remove were destroyed or burnt.

This act of violence aroused the greatest resentment. The Crown Prince, who shortly afterwards ascended the throne as Frederic VI (1808–1839), joined Napoleon's side on October 31, and declared war against England, while a rupture also occurred in Sweden, which was at war with France. Frequently enough the Danes and Norwegians, with the small gunboats built in all haste after the loss of the fleet, and with merchant vessels fitted out as privateers, gained successes against the English and made captures of their merchantmen. But it was of little use, for the English were supreme at sea, and, besides cutting off communication between the two kingdoms, annihilated Danish commerce. The auxiliary troops sent by Napoleon were of no use, and the financial condition of the state was desperate. In the meanwhile the French marshal Bernadotte had been chosen as successor to the Swedish throne, and, the king being old and weak, had become the real ruler immediately on his arrival in Sweden, where he assumed the name Charles John (p. 500). While Frederic VI held to his alliance with Napoleon, Charles John, in the hope of gaining Norway, joined France's enemies. After the battle of Leipzig he marched into Holstein. The Danes made a brave fight, but the odds against them were too great, and after a brief campaign Frederic was compelled to conclude the peace of Kiel (January 14, 1814). In return for the Swedish province of Pomerania, which he exchanged later on for Lauenburg, he made over Norway to the king of Sweden, but retained the Norwegian dependencies of Iceland, Greenland, and the Faröe Islands. Peace was made at the same time with England, to which Heligoland was ceded (Vol. VIII, p. 67).

D. Denmark since 1814

By his unfortunate policy Frederic VI had caused Denmark great reverses. She had lost her fleet, on which she had always prided herself, and had been separated from Norway, thus losing half her Scandinavian population; her prosperity had been destroyed in the wars; the national debt had assumed enormous proportions, and the financial position had been so bad that in 1813 the government had been compelled to declare the state insolvent. Industry, too, had been paralysed, and was unable to recover for some years after the declaration of peace; commerce was almost at a standstill and to a great extent dependent on Hamburg; and agriculture, which had been very profitable during the war by reason of the high price of corn, now suffered from falling prices. But the cloud was, after all, not without its silver lining. The national extremity, and the hard struggle that was made at the opening of the century, had a stimulating and fertilising influence on the intellectual life of the community. While political interests were unimportant and material prosperity was declining, art and literature flourished; it seemed as if the nation sought in these things consolation for its unhappy circumstances. Gradually the economic situation improved. The finances were set in order by the establishment of a national bank independent of the government, industry once more prospered, and at Frederic's death (1839) the country had renewed its strength.

While crown prince, Frederic VI had been a great friend of reform; but as king he was strongly conservative, and opposed to any changes in the constitution. But in proportion as their condition improved the people awoke to an interest in public affairs, and the desire for freedom and self-government became stronger and stronger. After the July Revolution, the effects of which were felt in Denmark as well as in other lands, Frederic at last decided to meet the popular wish, at least in part. He therefore instituted four advisory diets (for the islands, Jutland, Schleswig, and Holstein), — the first step towards a free constitution.

Frederic's successor, his half-cousin Christian VIII (1839–1848), was just as little disposed to renounce absolutism. But now the cry for a free constitution grew louder, and the National Liberals worked for the abolition of absolutism. They wished also to terminate the union of Schleswig and Holstein, and to attach more closely to Denmark that province in which the large proportion of German inhabitants endangered Danish nationality. In the eighteenth century the two united duchies had once more come into the possession of the Danish crown (p. 459). Schleswig was, however, not incorporated with the remainder of Denmark; it remained in close connection with Holstein, and German was the official language. Frederic VI did, indeed, give Schleswig a diet of its own, but bound the two duchies together by placing them under a ministry and a supreme court common to both. As the result of its long connection with Holstein, Schleswig had become more and more German, and by the nineteenth century almost half the population spoke German. When the Danes at last took measures to preserve the Danish nationality of the province, this course embittered the Germans. Thus it came about that a Schleswig-Holstein party grew up in the two duchies and demanded that Schleswig-Holstein should be made independent of Denmark.

and be constituted one of the states of the German Confederation. The leaders of this party, the princes of Augustenburg, who, as descendants of a younger son (Hans the younger) of King Christian III, hoped to obtain the duchies for themselves if the royal line became extinct (which seemed likely to happen shortly), sought support in Germany, where an enthusiastic national movement in their favour was started. The other Scandinavian countries, on the contrary, with whom the idea of Scandinavian unity at that time had great weight, were in favour of the aims of the National Liberal party in Denmark. The king hesitated for a long time; but at last he declared on July 8, 1846, that Schleswig was indissolubly bound to Denmark. In other respects, too, he met the wishes of the National Liberals; and he had just completed the framing of a constitution when death cut short his labours (January 20, 1848).

Immediately after his death the Schleswig-Holstein party demanded the recognition of Schleswig-Holstein as a separate state. But Christian's son and successor, Frederic VII (1848–1863), refused to separate Schleswig from Holstein, though he promised Holstein, like the other provinces, a free constitution. The Schleswig-Holstein party were, however, not willing to accept this proposal, and before long civil war broke out (Vol. VIII, p. 209). Prussia supported the party of secession, and a German army entered the duchies. The Danes had to retire to Alsen, but the armistice arranged at Malmö (August 26), through the mediation of Oscar I of Norway and Sweden, did not lead to the conclusion of peace. In 1849 the war was renewed. Meanwhile the reactionary party had gained the upper hand in Germany; Prussia made peace (July 2, 1850), and by the next year the resistance of Schleswig-Holstein was overcome.

During the war Denmark had received a free constitution. The draft prepared by Christian VIII had not met with general approval, and a constituent assembly summoned by Frederic VII therefore published a constitution, dated June 5, 1849, in which the kingdom was made a limited monarchy. This constitution was intended for Schleswig as well as Denmark, but to this the German powers would not consent. In 1852 it was agreed that Schleswig should not remain united to Holstein, but must not be incorporated with Denmark. On the death of Frederic VII the whole monarchy was to fall to Prince Christian of Glücksburg and his consort Louise of Hesse-Cassel (whose mother was a sister of Christian VIII). The general constitution of July 26, 1854, met with opposition, however, especially from the populations of Holstein and Lauenburg, whose part was taken by Prussia and Austria. But in Denmark, where hopes were entertained, on account of the disputes existing between the chief German states, of solving the question of the constitution without German interference, the national (Eider-Danish) party, which proposed to incorporate Schleswig in the kingdom, gained the upper hand. Two days after giving his approval to a new constitution for Denmark and Schleswig, Frederic VII died (November, 1863; for subsequent events cf. Vol. VIII, pp. 287 ff.).

Christian IX (1863–1906) gave way to the wishes of the Danes and signed the "November Constitution." But now Frederic (VIII) of Augustenburg came forward with his claims to the duchies, and was supported by Prussia and Austria. These powers refused to recognise the new king's right of succession except on condition that the November Constitution should be annulled. As the Danes did not accede to this demand, the second Schleswig war broke out in January,

1864. Denmark had hoped to receive help from Norway and Sweden, as well as from the Western powers, but these hopes proved to be ill founded. The Danish army, which had occupied the "Danework," retired to Düppel as early as the 5th of February. Here the Danes defended themselves bravely, but were at last forced to cross to Alsen. The Prussians occupied Jutland, expelled the Danes from Alsen, and threatened to land on Zealand. The Danes could now resist no longer. At the treaty of Vienna (October 30, 1864) Denmark ceded the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein and Lauenburg to Prussia and Austria, and her hope of recovering, by virtue of article 5 of the Treaty of Prague, concluded on August 23, 1866 (Vol. VIII, p. 304), at least the northern part of Schleswig, has not been fulfilled. The loss of Schleswig resulted in a change of the constitution, and on July 28, 1866, Denmark received the fundamental law still in force.

Soon after the declaration of peace the country became involved in internal dissensions. A dispute arose in 1870 between the government and the "Folketinget" (one of the chambers of the Rigsdag) as to the correct interpretation of the constitution, and the struggle only ended in 1894 when the "negotiating" portion of the Left party, which had been divided since 1878, went over to the Right. In spite of this Denmark has been on the path of progress ever since the middle of the last century. The great agricultural reforms begun in 1788 have been continued and a fixed payment substituted for forced service. The number of tenant-farmers has fallen, and the peasantry have the same political rights as the other classes of the community. Like agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and shipping are progressing satisfactorily. The obligation on artisans to join a guild has been removed, and means of communication have been improved. The merchants have become independent of Hamburg. Copenhagen, which was provided with extensive fortifications in 1886, has been a free port since 1844.

Good provision is made for national education, the general level of which is, on the whole, a high one; the people's universities, in particular, which have been imitated in Norway and Sweden, have promoted the education of the peasantry and exercised considerable influence on their intellectual life. The higher branches of learning are also successfully taken up. Several Danish scholars have broken new ground in their own branches of study. For example, the philologians R. Rask (d. 1851) and J. N. Madvig (d. 1886); the scientist H. C. Örsted (d. 1851), who discovered electro-magnetism in 1820; the scientist and archæologist Japetus Steenstrup (d. 1897); the archæologists Chr. J. Thomsen (d. 1865), and J. J. A. Worsaae (d. 1885), the founders of prehistoric archæology; and the physician N. Finsen (d. 1904), who introduced the treatment of certain diseases by means of light-rays in 1893.

Literature was influenced at the beginning of the past century by the Romantic movement in Germany, and the Norwegian Heinrich Steffens gained many adherents by his lectures in Copenhagen in 1802. Adam Gottlob Oehlenschläger (d. 1850) produced poems and dramas of the romantic type, introducing the heroic figures of the Norse sagas, but tried his hand also, though certainly not always with the same measure of success, at other forms of literature. Somewhat earlier J. Baggesen (d. 1826) exercised a lasting influence, by virtue of his fine æsthetic sense, on the development of the language and literary taste. The theologian and historian N. F. S. Grundtvig (d. 1872) realised the old Norse spirit in his Norse dramas even more successfully than Oehlenschläger, and was more-

over a distinguished hymnologist. As a theologian Gruntdvig opposed rationalism and became the pioneer of a new religious movement ("Grundtvigianism"), which has many adherents in Denmark and Norway. Other writers of the middle of the nineteenth century who deserve mention are: J. L. Heiberg (d. 1860), a writer of comedies, and an æsthetic critic of considerable importance; Hans Andersen (d. 1875), famous for his fairy-tales and stories for children; Fred. Paludan Müller (d. 1876), who showed the influence of Byron; the lyric poet Chr. Winther (d. 1876); and the novelist S. St. Blicher (d. 1848). Since 1870 the romantic movement, in Denmark as elsewhere, has had to give way to realism and naturalism. Holger Drachmann (b. 1846), J. P. Jacobsen (d. 1885), S. Schandorph (d.1901), K. Gjellerup (b. 1857), and others have come to the front.

In the domain of plastic art Denmark did not produce, until comparatively recently, any characteristic work. It is not till we come to the latter half of the eighteenth century that we can speak of a Danish school. The painter N. A. Abildgaard (d. 1809) did valuable work at the Art Academy founded by Frederic V where also the highly gifted A. J. Carstens (d. 1798), studied for some time. The most famous of their pupils was, however, the sculptor B. Thorvaldsen (d. 1844). Like Carstens, he developed his powers by studying the antique, and his skill brought to life again the whole of the ancient world of gods and heroes. H. V. Bissen (d. 1868), and J. A. Jerichau are also sculptors of note. In architecture Th. Hansen (d. 1891), whose work was done principally in Vienna, and his brother H. Chr. Hansen (d. 1883), reached a high standard of excellence. As a painter special mention must be made of Abilgaard's pupil C. W. Eckersberg (d. 1853), the real founder of a national Danish school of painting, which has produced a number of gifted and independent artists.

4. NORWAY AND ICELAND

In Norway (Norge, originally Nordvegr, that is, the Northern Way) the old political conditions persisted longer than in Denmark and Sweden. Even as late as the ninth century the land was divided into many petty states. The kings of these districts had but little power. In the herad (sub-district) and district assemblies (ting) the yeomen exercised their legislative and judicial power; in the latter it was the chieftains, in the former the heads of the temples, who had the greatest influence. The peasantry were partly allodial, partly tenant farmers, and dwelt on scattered farms; no towns existed, but there were market centres, which were frequently visited by foreign merchants. The Norwegians themselves also visited foreign countries to barter their wares. In addition to agriculture, stock-raising, hunting, and fishing, commerce was an important means of livelihood, and the Norwegians enjoyed the reputation of being capable merchants.

A. Norway's Own History to the Fourteenth Century

About the middle of the ninth century there lived in the district round the fiord of Christiania a royal race descended, according to tradition, from the Yng-

ling kings of Upsala. To this race belonged Halfdan Svarte (the Black), a great warrior who, at his death, was master of southeastern Norway. His son Harold (*circa* 860–930) conceived the idea of subjugating the whole country, and vowed never to cut his hair or beard until he had achieved his object. The petty kings who did not fall in battle were forced to flee, and after his victory in the Hafrsfjord near Stavanger (872; see Fig. 4, facing page 434) he became the sole ruler, whereupon he had his hair and beard trimmed and received the surname Haarfager (Fairhair). Harold declared himself owner of the soil, and the peasantry, who had until then been free from taxation, were compelled to pay him taxes. The kinsmen of the old chieftains he attempted to propitiate by choosing from among them his higher officials (Jarls and "Lendermœnd"). But as their rank usually descended by inheritance to their sons, a nobility grew up which soon formed a party of opposition to the ambitions of the Crown. Many of the old chiefs, however, were unable to accommodate themselves to the new order of things and left their native soil, betaking themselves to the Scottish islands and avenging themselves on Harold by their raids on Norway. He therefore led an expedition against the islands, subjugated them (p. 438), and compelled all who would not brook his sway to seek refuge still further away. Many of them migrated to the Faröe Islands and to Iceland, which had been discovered in 867 and now received its first population.

As Harold had conferred kings' titles on all his sons, the unity of the kingdom was endangered when he died, and the Danish kings interfered in the hope of gaining the overlordship for themselves (cf. p. 447). Of Harold's sons the youngest, Haakon the Good (935–961), deserves special credit for his legislation and organisation of the military forces. He had been educated and baptised in England, and on his accession made the first attempt to convert his people to Christianity. But the peasantry would have none of the new doctrine, and he was himself obliged to take part in their pagan sacrifices. His work was continued by Olaf I Tryggvessön (995–1000), and completed by Olaf II Haraldssön (1016–1030). Both in their youth had visited foreign lands as Vikings and accepted baptism. After their return and accession to the throne they worked zealously to convert their subjects, and dealt severely with all who were recalcitrant. The temples were destroyed and churches were built, while clergy were brought over from England, with the consequence that the Anglo-Saxon Church influenced the Norwegian in several respects. Thus the country was, indeed, Christianised; but it was long before the last remnants of paganism disappeared. The organisation of the Church was also Olaf Haraldssön's work, and he promulgated the first ecclesiastical law. By exterminating the petty kings of Harold Fairhair's race he became the second unifier of the kingdom. But his strict rule and his attempts to increase the royal power at the expense of the self-willed nobility caused the latter to appeal to Canute the Great of Denmark, who readily followed their summons and was made king of Norway. Olaf was forced to flee the country in 1028, and betook himself to Gardarike (in Russia; p. 435). After remaining there for two years he made an attempt to recover his kingdom, and invaded the northern portion of Norway with an army raised in Sweden; but he fell in the battle of Stiklestad (see Fig. 4, facing page 478) on July 29, 1030. Before long, however, the Norwegians regretted what had been done, and the nobles found their hopes disappointed. There spread rumours of miracles worked

by the dead body of the fallen king, and as early as 1031 Olaf was canonised by the bishop. The nation rose against Danish rule, and in 1035 Olaf's son Magnus, who had been left in Russia, was proclaimed king.

With the reign of Magnus the Good (1035–1047), who, on the extinction of the Danish royal house, became king of Denmark also, there began for Norway a century of prosperity. A succession of kings who were skilled warriors as well as able rulers raised Norway in the estimation of other nations and increased the welfare of the people themselves. A more vigorous international intercourse of a friendly nature was established (p. 375). The towns which had been founded by the kings, the most important of which were Nidaros (Drontheim), Oslo, and Bergen, increased in number and greatness; churches and monasteries were built, and the dioceses of the bishops regulated. Foreign customs and habits were introduced, and in addition the European system of education.

This period of prosperity ceased in the twelfth century, when Norway was disorganised for a long time by disputes concerning the crown (1130–1240). It is true the crown had been hereditary in the family of Harold Fairhair. But every king's son, legitimate or illegitimate, had a right to it, and many who were not of royal birth declared that they were, and to prove the truth of their assertion underwent the ordeal by fire. In this period the power of the magnates increased, since the contending kings were compelled to purchase their help by compliance; at this time the clergy also became more powerful. The Norwegian Church, which was at first subordinate to the archbishop of Bremen, and later to the archbishop of Lund (Denmark, 1104), but the real head of which had been the king, became independent in 1152, with the archbishop of Nidaros as its head. The archbishop made it his aim to free the Norwegian Church from the power of the laity, and to provide for it the same influence which other European churches possessed. Shortly after the middle of the twelfth century (1161) one of the most powerful chiefs, Erling Skakke, had succeeded in getting his son Magnus elected king, and wished him to be crowned by the archbishop to compensate for the fact that he was not of royal descent. Magnus was crowned, but was compelled to grant important concessions to the Church, the chief of which was that in future the archbishop and the bishops should decide which of the king's sons should rule. This made the archbishop the virtual head of the kingdom; Norway was all but an ecclesiastical fief.

The threatened independence of Norway was saved by Sverre Sigurdsson, who opposed Magnus as rival king (1177). Sverre had been educated on the Faröe Islands and was destined to become a priest; but when he heard from his mother that he was the son of a king he crossed over into Norway. At first he met with little success. His followers were few in number, poor and miserable, and were nicknamed "Birchshanks," because for lack of shoes they bound their feet with birch-bark. These were, however, a brave, intrepid, and persevering band, who neither shrank from danger nor toil. After some years Sverre was victorious (1184). By the death of many of the chiefs belonging to Magnus' party the power of the magnates had become weakened; their posts were given by Sverre to his "Birchshanks," who had remained faithful and obedient to him. However, the struggle began again when Sverre was about to restrict the power of the Church. Sverre was excommunicated by the Pope, and a clerical party called the "Baglers" (*bagall*, that is, crosier) was formed, against whom he was compelled

to contend till his death. In spite of that he had secured the independence of the country from the hands of the clergy, and at the same time strengthened the power of the king.

After Sverre's death (1202) his grandson, Haakon IV (Haakonssön, 1217–1263), put an end to domestic strife by abolishing the ordeal by fire, and by making the right of succession more definite. Under the beneficent rule of Haakon the country attained to a degree of prosperity hitherto unequalled. Peace and quiet prevailed. Haakon contrived to keep on friendly relations with the Church party without detracting from his own power. He improved the laws, founded towns and monasteries, built churches and castles. His name was familiar in other countries, and foreign princes sought his friendship. Pope Innocent IV, who was at open feud with the emperor Frederic II, offered Haakon the imperial crown. Haakon, however, who was too wise to accept the gift, and, apart from that, was on friendly terms with Frederic, answered that he was always ready to fight against the enemies of the Church, but not against those of the Pope. In the north, however, he endeavoured to extend his dominions. He succeeded in bringing Iceland and Greenland under his control, and this marks the greatest expansion of the Norwegian kingdom.

In the second half of the ninth century, as we have already seen (p. 439), discontented Norwegians had settled on Iceland. The emigrants had taken with them their household goods and movable property and their cattle, and were doubtless settling down in their new country as they had lived in the old. The chief took possession of a piece of land, on which he built his house and a temple (Hov), and over which he presided. His followers settled round about; he was the spiritual and temporal head. Colonisation in this fashion (*Landnámatiden*, that is, the period of land occupation; 874–930) continued for almost sixty years. At first the chiefs had no political organisation in common; each ruled his province or *godord* independently of the others. However, as the island gradually became more thickly populated they felt the necessity of becoming more united in politics, and accordingly, in 930, drew up laws by which the island became an aristocratic republic. Affairs which concerned the whole island were settled in the *Alting*, which was held every summer, and in which every man had a voice. The president of the *Alting* was the lawman (*Lögsögumadr*), who was elected for a period of three years; his duty was to recite the laws. The real legislature was the *Lögrétta*, which consisted of the *Goden* and his assessors. Judicial business was carried on in the first instance by a tribunal elected in the Godarden by the *Goden;* the superior courts were the *Fjordungsdómar* and *Fimtardómr*, which held their sittings in the Alting, and the members of which were also appointed by the Goden. There was no executive power for the whole island.

About the year 1000 the islanders were converted to Christianity by the Norwegians. The Church now began to gain influence, especially after 1100, when two bishoprics were established on the island. The *Goden* still retained their power; a *Gode* often included several *Godords*. Then, however, the island was devastated with civil war. Finally the islanders submitted to the kings of Norway (1261), under the condition that they should retain their own laws and native officials. That state of affairs, however, did not last long. The *Alting* lost the power of legislature, the office of "law-reader" was discontinued, and

the island was governed by a royal official. The situation did not improve when Iceland, together with Norway, came under the control of Denmark. It was not until the nineteenth century that conditions were bettered. Trade, which had for a long time been a monopoly of Danish merchants, became entirely free in 1854. Since 1874 the legislature is shared by an assembly of the people (*Alting*) and the king, and in 1903 Iceland received a minister of its own, who has his residence in Reykjavik, and is responsible to the *Alting*, not to the Danish parliament.

The Icelanders have acquired great reputation by their literary activity. On this distant, lonely, and inhospitable island there flourished, during the period of liberty, a literature in the vernacular, by reason of which the Icelanders will always be given a place of honour in the history of men. They carefully treasured the sagas and poems which they had brought with them from their fatherland. They kept up by means of travel a constant intercourse with the outer world, especially with Norway, and at home they followed foreign affairs with a keen interest. For a long time the poems and sagas were transmitted orally. But in the twelfth century, when the Icelanders became familiar with the Latin alphabet, a written literature, both of poetry and prose, sprang up. The most important of the poems are the Eddas (p. 433), a collection of folk-songs, which date from heathen times, and in which are narrated stories of the gods and heroes. This school of national poetry came to an end in the tenth century, and was replaced by an artificial poetry (scald poetry), which was influenced by Irish (Erse) models. It was originally simple and unaffected, but gradually became more artificial and overloaded with figurative expressions, and therefore unintelligible. These poems were generally written for the glorification of the kings, and the poets (*scalds*) were in the most cases court poets, who were greatly honoured and richly rewarded by the Crown. One of the most celebrated is Snorre Sturlesson (d. 1241), who also edited a manual of poetry, the "Later Edda," but who won greater renown as a historian. At the beginning of the twelfth century Are Frode (d. 1148) wrote his *Islendingabok*, a brief history of Iceland, in which he reduced the history of the Norwegian islands to a chronological system, and began, perhaps in addition, his *Landnámabók*, a register of the most distinguished emigrants, their residence, their successors, and their fate, a work which was afterwards continued by others. People now began also to write down the numerous sagas which hitherto had been handed down orally. Then there sprang up a rich saga literature, which rose to the highest perfection in the thirteenth century. The greatest of the saga writers is the above-mentioned Snorre, who in his saga *Heimskringla* has described the history of the Norwegian kings from earliest times until 1177. The Icelandic family sagas are also attractive, because they give an admirable picture of the life of the Icelanders during the period of liberty. The share which the Norwegians themselves have contributed to this literature is comparatively insignificant; the most important, with the exception of a few sagas, is the so-called *Konungsskuggja* (king's mirror), which is of great significance in the history of civilization, inasmuch as it depicts the life, occupations, and duties of the merchant, the courtier, and the king. Notwithstanding the fact that the literary activity of Norway was not great, the Norwegian kings and chiefs did much to encourage "Norröne" (Norwegian-Icelandic) literature by taking Icelandic poets and narrators of sagas into their service, and

otherwise patronising them. Sverre and his descendants were especially noted for this; they were themselves cultured men who took an active interest in literature. The literary activity of Iceland declined with the loss of liberty. The old chieftain families, who had been its chief patrons, died out, and with them ceased the "scald" poetry and the composition of original sagas.

The Icelanders did not altogether abandon literary pursuits; they copied old works and rewrote the old sagas in verse (*Rimur*). The Norwegians in the meantime began to cultivate foreign poetry, and after the middle of the thirteenth century their literary energies were mainly directed to translating French and German heroic poems. The most flourishing period of Norwegian literature was the reign of Haakon Haakonssön, which in other respects, as has been mentioned above, was a time of prosperity. Haakon's son and successor, Magnus (1263–1280), was not so powerful as his father. He rendered, however, valuable services to the kingdom as a legislator, on account of which he was given the title *Lagaböter* (improver of laws). His chief merit was that he was the first to bring Norway under one uniform code. By this means, it is true, the *Lagtinge*, where the peasants had up till that time passed their own laws, and in consequence the people themselves, lost their power of legislation. From this time the king became the legislator; at the same time he shared the right of jurisdiction with the people, for he appointed the presidents (*Lagmoend*) of the supreme courts. In order to promote trade, Magnus concluded a commercial treaty with England, and allowed certain privileges to the north German towns. It is true that these concessions formed the basis of the power by which the Hanseatic League at a later time gradually got possession of all the trade, drained the country, and destroyed the mercantile interest of Norway. After the death of Magnus the king's power increased still more, and became almost absolute when the royal house of Harold Fairhair became extinct with the death of his younger son, Haakon V, in 1319. The kings of this house had contrived to keep in check the lords, spiritual and temporal, and had deprived the peasantry of their political influence.

B. The Period of Danish Supremacy

After the extinction of the old royal house (1319) Norway became united first with Sweden (cf. p. 481) and then with Denmark (1380; cf. p. 451). From this time the country rapidly deteriorated; it could not maintain its independence in the union. This was pre-eminently the result of the political and social conditions. There was no powerful aristocracy or clergy, no well-to-do and liberal-minded middle class; in brief, there was nobody who had the power or the inclination to vindicate the independence of the kingdom. The populace consisted of peasants who, after being deprived of their political power, only interested themselves in their own affairs. The prosperity of the country was ruined by the Hanseatic League, which was steadily increasing in power; at the same time Norway was terribly devastated in the fourteenth century by several pestilences, in particular by the Black Death, which swept away almost one-third of the population. The retrogression of the material welfare of the country was accompanied by a decline in the literary life; after the middle of the fourteenth century almost all literary activity ceased. Decadence was manifest in every department of life; Norway followed involuntarily in the union and became

more and more dependent on Denmark. The Danes made their way into the country and obtained civic rights by intermarriage. They brought with them the Danish language, which displaced old Norwegian as the literary language and strongly influenced the colloquial language of the towns. While Sweden, by the combined forces of the nobility and the peasantry, had freed herself from Danish supremacy and was entering upon a time of prosperity, Norway was treated almost like a province of Denmark after the "Counts' war" of 1536; it is true it retained the title of kingdom and had its own laws, but it lost its Council of State, and was governed by the Danish Council of State and Danish officials. The Reformation was introduced in 1536 by peremptory decree; the churches and monasteries were pillaged. Little trouble was taken to instruct the people in the new doctrines; indeed the Danish government concerned itself very little at first about the country.

It was only towards the end of the sixteenth century that Norway began to regain its strength; Christian IV (1588–1648) in particular worked zealously for its welfare. The natural resources of the country were turned to better advantage; the power of the Hanseatic League was broken. Commerce and navigation revived. Forestry and mining became more important; the towns increased in number and size: Christiania was founded in 1624. In addition to the peasantry a class of citizens and mariners was springing up. The nobles were not numerous and had not so many privileges as in Denmark; neither did they possess the power of depriving the peasants of their freedom and independence. It is true the land suffered through the war between Denmark and Sweden and also lost several provinces (Herjedalon, Jemtland, Bohuslen); but on the whole it made quiet progress.

The situation improved still more after 1650, when an absolute government was introduced into Denmark and Norway. The two countries were then on an equal footing; Norway was freed from the Danish feudal lords and stood directly under the king, who interested himself just as much in Norway as in Denmark. Useful reforms benefited both countries. The administration and judicature were improved; a new code of laws was issued in 1687 and public offices were often filled by Norwegians, and thus a class of native officials was being formed. The Norwegians soon became distinguished in many departments of life. Ludwig Holberg, "the Father of Modern Danish-Norwegian Literature," was a Norwegian (cf. p. 460). His countrymen gained merited renown in the wars as bold naval heroes and capable sailors. At the same time trade and commerce flourished. The last years of the eighteenth century were particularly fruitful; at that time, during the revolutionary wars, Denmark-Norway was able to preserve a neutral attitude. With the advance of their country a feeling of self-confidence was awakened in the Norwegians. Accordingly they became imbued with an earnest desire for a National University and a National Bank. Although they did not always succeed in gaining such demands, there was as yet no ill-feeling against Denmark and the union.

But this feeling was changed when at the beginning of the nineteenth century Denmark-Norway became involved in the Napoleonic wars. It was not till then that the hardships of the union were evident and awakened among the Norwegians the spirit of independence. In the year 1807 when the English captured the Danish-Norwegian fleet (p. 461), and the union with Denmark was entirely

dissolved, King Frederic VI established a government at the head of which stood Christian August, Prince of Augustenburg. The Norwegians were now learning to be their own masters; but few of them suspected that within a few years the two kingdoms would be entirely separated. It was from without that the impulse came. In the war of liberation (1813) Sweden had attached herself to the enemies of Napoleon and was to receive Norway as a reward. Accordingly, after the battle of Leipzig, Karl Johann, crown prince of Sweden, at once marched on Denmark and compelled the king to cede Norway to the Swedish king by the Peace of Kiel (1814, p. 462).

C. The Union with Sweden (1814–1905)

When the Peace was proclaimed in Norway it aroused universal indignation. The Norwegians did not wish under any circumstances to be subjected to the Swedes whom they hated as enemies; the few who considered a union with Sweden advantageous were looked upon almost as traitors. Prince Christian Frederic (afterwards Christian VIII of Denmark), who was viceroy at that time, and who was popular with the Norwegians, conceived the idea of taking advantage of the discontent against Sweden to make himself king. He accordingly summoned an assembly of the Estates of the kingdom at Eidsvold (north of Christiania) which should draw up a constitution for the country. This assembly met on April, 1814, and had completed its work by the seventeenth of May. As a result of this constitution, which was modelled on the French constitution of 1791, Norway became a limited monarchy with one chamber of representatives. On this point the members of the Estates were all agreed; they all clung to the independence of Norway. But on other matters they were divided into two factions; the minority wished for the union with Sweden and desired to postpone the election of a king, while the majority were eager to appoint Prince Christian Frederic immediately as king. On the 17th of May Christian Frederic was actually elected king. When the Swedish government heard of the proceedings in Norway they at once complained to the allies, who despatched plenipotentiaries to Christiania to put into force the decision of the Peace of Kiel, but in vain. The Norwegians armed themselves, but their army was badly equipped and without capable leaders. Christian Frederic was no general and had no inclination for war; he always hoped, like the majority of Norwegians, that the great Powers would respect the indignation of the Norwegians against the Union. Accordingly the war only lasted a few weeks. The crown prince, Karl Johann (cf. p. 462), marched into Norway. The Norwegians, following the command of their king, steadily retreated although they were consumed with the desire for battle and in some places fought successfully. Christian Frederic did not dare to risk a decisive engagement, but agreed to an armistice which was proposed by Karl Johann. On the 14th of August the Convention of Moss (to the south of Christiania) was concluded. Karl Johann, who felt that he was not strong enough to subjugate Norway completely and who wished for peace in the North, promised in the name of the king, Karl XIII, before the Congress of Vienna assembled, that he would recognise the constitution of Norway; Christian Frederic for his part pledged himself to renounce the crown, to convene a Storting

(national assembly) which should come to terms with the Swedish king, and to leave the country at once. These arrangements were carried out; the Storting made a few alterations in the constitution, which necessitated the union with Sweden, and elected Karl VIII as king of Norway (November 4, 1814). The conditions of the union were more definitely stated by a National Act, the Rigsakt of 1815.

In this way Norway was united with Sweden as an independent kingdom. Its constitution was one of the freest in Europe. Since that time the country has made great progress in every direction. The people successfully upheld their free constitution against the attacks of the Crown and maintained their equality with Sweden in the union. They were also able to turn the natural resources of their country to better advantage and thus the general prosperity increased. The Norwegians have paid great attention to national education, and have taken a prominent position in art and science.

In the earlier years of the union there was often friction between the king and the people. Karl XIV (Johann) who became king in 1818, thought that the Norwegian constitution was too democratic and wished to extend his power; however, his attempt to alter the constitution were frustrated by the decided attitude of the Storting, which always offered a unanimous opposition to his propositions. The Norwegians, on their part, thought that the king did too little to obtain for them the equal footing in the union which had been decreed by the constitution, and in addition they feared his attacks on the constitution. Little by little, however, the relations of king and people improved; Karl Johann experienced in his last years many proofs of the loyalty of the Norwegians. His son, Oskar I, a liberal and kindly disposed prince, did his utmost to meet the wishes of the Norwegians. King and Storting worked in harmony for the welfare of the country, which was making great progress in every direction; industry, in particular, received a fresh impetus. After his death, however, there was an end of concord; the opposition in the Storting increased, and serious political struggles began which have continued almost without interruption up to the present day. At first the official element had taken the lead in the Storting; but after the July revolution, which had roused in Norway a more general interest in politics, and a strong national spirit, the peasants, who considered themselves the true representatives of the Norwegian people, and regarded the government officials with suspicion, founded a party in opposition to them. This party soon gained in strength by the coalition of the Liberals, who wished to extend the influence of the Storting at the expense of the executive power; it now formed an opposition and established itself on the left side of the House, while what had been the official became the conservative party and supported the government. The Left had a capable leader in John Sverdrup (1876–1892); under him they became more important, and finally constituted the majority in the Storting. Consequently the relations between the government and the Left were not over friendly during the reign of Karl XV (1859–1872).

Ill-feeling increased under his brother and successor Oskar II. There were several points of dispute; the government opposed various propositions of the Left, and could not agree with them concerning the exact meaning of a few points in the constitution. At last the Storting impeached the ministry; the ministers were actually condemned and the king was forced to appoint a Sverdrup ministry (June 26, 1884). However, no sooner did the Left come into

power than they began to disagree; they split up into Moderates and Radicals, and Sverdrup was obliged to give way to a conservative ministry in July, 1889. But the conservatives did not remain long in power; in 1891 the Liberals again came into office. In the meantime the question of the consular service (which we will treat in more detail below) had been coming more into prominence since 1894, and a party was formed in 1903, consisting of members both from the Conservative party and from the Left. This constituted the majority in the Storting till 1906.

D. Norway once more an Independent Kingdom

During the political struggle the relations of Norway with Sweden had become worse. The Norwegians had quite a different conception of the union from the Swedes, and they demanded that the two countries should be placed on an entirely equal footing. A fruitless attempt was made to come to an agreement concerning the revision of the Rigsakt of 1815 (p. 474). Finally the Norwegians demanded their own consular service. This led to long and wearisome negotiations between the Norwegian and the Swedish governments. These negotiations remained ineffective because it was evident that the Swedes, instead of admitting the equality of Norway, wished to maintain their own predominance. This roused universal indignation in Norway. On the 23d of May, 1905, the Storting unanimously passed a law establishing a national consular service. Upon the king's refusal to sanction the law, the ministry of Peter Michelsen tendered their resignations. The king did not accept these, because, according to his own declaration, no ministry could exist at that time in Norway which represented his opinions. But on the 7th of June the ministry laid its power in the hands of the Storting, which declared the personal union with Sweden dissolved, and authorised the ministry to exercise until further notice the power appertaining to the king. Negotiations with Sweden were then entered upon. At Karlstad, on the 23d of September, a treaty was concluded which settled the points of controversy raised by the dissolution of the union. King Oscar II recognised, from the 27th of October, Norway as an entirely absolute state, separated from Sweden. He renounced the Norwegian crown and declined the request of the Storting that a younger prince of his house should occupy the Norwegian throne. On the 18th of November the Storting elected as king Prince Karl, the second son of Frederic VIII, king of Denmark. Prince Karl entered Christiania on the 25th of November, 1905, as Haakon VII, and was duly crowned on the 22d of June, 1906, as king of Norway. In this way the separation of the two countries which had been united for ninety years was conclusively confirmed.

In spite of political struggles important reforms had been introduced (the establishment of the jury, new regulations in the army, in the schools, and in the elections); the material development of the country likewise did not suffer. Means of communication were greatly improved. By the erection of various agricultural, industrial, and technical schools opportunity was afforded to the people, who were actively interested in industrial pursuits, to acquire greater knowledge. By an improved utilisation of the country's natural resources the various branches of industry received a great impetus, especially commerce and navigation. At the present time Norway possesses the largest mercantile fleet in the world in

proportion to the number of inhabitants (at the end of 1904, 7,320 vessels). Next to agriculture and cattle-breeding the people depend mainly for their livelihood on fishing and forestry. Manufactures, which for a long time were inconsiderable, have developed greatly of late years; the number of artisans has increased, and many are embracing the programme of the social-democrats. The welfare of the people has been raised by the development of industries. The population is almost three times as large as in 1841, and successful efforts are made to encourage culture and progress.

E. The Fine Arts in Norway in the Nineteenth Century

Almost all literary activity had ceased with the decline of the national life in the fourteenth century (p. 471). The people, however, still cherished the old sagas and poems. A wealth of national poetry was springing up (songs, sagas, and fairy-stories). These have been collected in recent times and furnish an interesting picture of the intellectual life of the people in earlier times. The old Norwegian language, which had remained comparatively unaltered only in Iceland, became obsolete as a literary language with the decline of literature, and survived only in dialects. The Danish language was introduced, and in the sixteenth century, when a fresh impulse was given to literary activity, the Norwegians wrote in Danish. Thus the literature of the two countries became merged. The share which the Norwegians contributed ("Foelles litteraturen") was at first insignificant, but it increased and became more important as they gradually recovered from their inertia (Ludvig Holberg, "The Norwegian Society"; cf. p. 460 ff.). But in spite of the growing national spirit there was as yet no effort to create a Norwegian national literature. Immediately after 1814 also, when the literary output was small, the poets showed little originality. They remained in the grooves of the eighteenth century, raved about their fatherland, and wrote songs on liberty, national novels, and dramas. It was not until the year 1830 that a national literature of any importance began, with the poets Henr. Arn. Wergeland († 1845), and Joh. Leb. Cammerm. Welhaven († 1873). Both were filled with a fervent love for their country and only differed in one point, namely, as to what would prove of most advantage to Norway. The educated classes are still strongly influenced by Danish culture, and Welhaven desired to maintain the intellectual union with Denmark; Wergeland, on the other hand, hated the Danish culture and language, and was enthusiastic about his own nationalty. Thus in 1832 there began a violent literary feud. It had some good results; on the one hand it helped to check the exaggerated enthusiasm for everything Norwegian; on the other hand it strengthened genuine self-reliance and true patriotism. With the extravagant enthusiasm for nationalism there was awakened an interest in the life of the people, in national poetry, and nature. The poets Bj. Björnson, Jonas Lie, and others delighted in describing the characteristic traits in the life and customs of the people and their thoughts and feelings. At the same time the saga period was dramatised, and Björnsen and Henrik Ibsen († 1906) produced a series of historical plays. Efforts were made to preserve Norwegian as the national language. From 1870 literature gradually assumed a realistic tone; the poets attempted to get into the closest possible

contact with reality; they did not describe chiefly the life of the peasants as formerly, but all classes of society. Poets such as Björnsen, Ibsen, Lie, Alex Kielland († 1906), and Arne Garborg (b. 1851), undertook to solve social problems. Science was studied with gratifying results at the University of Christiania. Several Norwegian scientists have become famous in countries far distant from their own; for instance, the mathematicians N. H. Abel († 1829), and Sophus Lie († 1899). Fridtjöf Nansen (b. 1861) is well known on account of his daring voyage to the North Pole. Of many others who have rendered valuable services in their own branches of knowledge and thereby earned glory for their country we will mention: the naturalists Chr. Hansteen († 1873), M. Sars († 1869), Th. Kjerulf, C. Bjerknes († 1903), and H. Mohn († 1835), the historians R. Keyser († 1864) and P. A. Munch († 1863), the founders of the modern Norwegian school of history. The philologist S. Bugge has rendered great service, especially by his explanation of the old Runic inscriptions, by his mythological studies, and by his edition of the Older Edda.

The Norwegians have contrived to maintain their independence in art as well as in literature. In earlier times they were distinguished for their wooden structures; they built the "Stab"-churches (stav=ledge) which were characterised by their construction and ornament (see fig. 5 on the plate with p. 434). The square central space is surrounded by low aisles and the roof is in the shape of a pyramid. The stone churches are not so original; a typical example is the splendid cathedral of Drontheim, which was in ruins for a long time, but is now restored. The building was begun in the middle of the twelfth century and finished about 1300. It is copied from an English model, and was mainly carried out by foreign artists, to whom it also owes its rich ornament. In sculpture the Norwegians have achieved little.

In earlier centuries they delighted in wood-carving, in which they showed great skill and with which they profusely adorned their wooden buildings and various utensils. This art is still practised by the peasants with industry and skill. Norway has also produced some celebrated painters during the last century. J. C. Dahl, the landscape-painter, who died in 1857, as professor at the Dresden Academy, was the first to attract the attention of foreigners to the beauty and grandeur of Norwegian scenery; he is justly considered the originator of realistic landscape-painting. Dahl had numerous talented followers, who, although they were trained on the Continent (Dresden, Düsseldorf, Karlsruhe, Munich, Berlin, Paris), have preserved their national characteristics (A. Tidemand, d. 1876; H. Crude, d. 1903, and many others). In the musical world, Ole Bull (d. 1880), and Ed. Grieg (b. 1843), are famous all over Europe.

Thus the Norwegians have taken a considerable part amongst European nations in the furtherance of the fine arts; and they have also made it evident by their proficiency in industrial pursuits, in art, and in science, that they are thoroughly worthy of the political independence which they recovered in 1814 and in 1905.

5. SWEDEN AND FINLAND

SWEDEN (Sverige, that is, the kingdom of the Svears) consisted at one time of the two main divisions Zealand and Gothland, which received their names from the tribes Svear and Götar. Scania, Holland, and Blekingen belonged to Denmark; Bohuslen, Herjedalen, and Jemtland were Norwegian, and Norrland was inhabited by Ugrian races; only on the coasts of Norrland were there a few scattered Swedish settlements. Svealand and Götaland had no common political organisation; the cantons of which they were made up had each its own laws, its Ting and its own *Lagman* (*Lag-law*). The *Lagman*, who was elected by the peasants, was the president of the Ting; it was his duty to vindicate the rights of the peasantry against the king and his ministers and to notify the king of the wishes of the people. The most noted of the Landschafts was Upland, where the most sacred shrine, the temple of Upsala, was situated; there the king has his residence and there also was the seat of Ting which served for the whole country, the *Allshärjarting* where the king was wont to address the people from the Ting-hill near Upsala (see Fig. 1 of the accompanying plate. "The Teutonic North during the last years of paganism," etc.). The king, who was elected by the Upsvear, undertook a journey through the different cantons after his election; to receive homage (*Eriksgata*). He formed the link of union between the cantons, which were ruled in his name by Jarls and other officials whom he appointed. The social organisation was the same as in Denmark and Norway.

In mode of life, habits, and customs the Swedes did not differ from their southern and western neighbours. Their development, however, was slower because they were cut off by their geographical situation from all intercourse with the Finnish and Slavonic races dwelling on the other side of the Baltic; in addition the rivalry between the Svear and Götar for a long time prevented a peaceful development.

A. THE HISTORY OF SWEDEN TILL THE END OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

THE Ynglingler-kings, who were descended from the gods, are said to have ruled over Sweden from time immemorial; the Northern Saga tells of their deeds. The first reliable accounts, which are, it is true, very scanty, are furnished by missionaries, who visited Sweden at the beginning of the ninth century. Ansgar, who had been active in Denmark for some time (p. 446) went to Sweden about the year 830. He was kindly received by the king (Björn) and remained for a year and a half in the neighbourhood of Mälaren, where he won a few souls for Christianity. He visited Sweden again at a later date (853), and worked hard to establish the new doctrine. But soon after his death the missionary work came to a standstill. It was not until the beginning of the eleventh century, under Olav Skötkonung (probably so called on account of a tax (*scot*) which he imposed upon the people) that Christianity obtained a strong foothold in the country. Olav's father, Erik Segersäll (the victorious) had driven out Sven Forkbeard and subdued Denmark. After his death, however, about 994, Sven concluded a con-

THE GERMANIC NORTH AT THE CLOSE OF THE PAGAN PERIOD AND THE DAWN OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATE OVERLEAF

1. The three great royal Barrows at Old (Gamla) Upsala, some three miles from Upsala and not far from the Mora Meadow, where the election of the old Swedish kings took place.

(From a photograph by Lundequist of Upsala, drawn by O. Schulz)

2 & 3. The larger Jellinge stone with runes of the tenth century. The Danish King, Harald Blatand (Blue Tooth; about 940 to 987), records on this stone his conversion of the Danes; the picture of the Christ is notable. Jellinge is in the neighbourhood of Veile in Jutland.

COPY OF THE RUNES	DANISH TRANSLATION	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
haraltr : kunukR : bʁ.p : kaurua kubl : pausi : aft : kurm : fʁpur : sin : auk : aft : paurui : mupur : sina : sa : haraltr : ias : saR : uan : tanmaurk ‖ ala : auk : nuruiak : auk : tan [i : karpi :] kristna	Harald konge bad (bød) gjøre dette Mindesmærke efter Gorm, sin Fader, og Thyar, sin Moder, den Harald, som vandt sig al Danmark og Norge og [gjorde] Dan [erne] kristne.	King Harald had this monument erected to Gorm, his father, and Thyra, his mother. The same Harald who conquered the whole of Denmark and Norway and converted the Danes.

(From P. Kobke, Om Runerne i Norden, Copenhagen, 1890)

4. The Battle-field of Stiklestad in Verdalen in the Norwegian parish of Trondhjem (Drontheim), where Olaf Haraldsson, the Norwegian evangelist and saint, met his death on July 29, 1030. The Drontheim Fjord is distinguished from the other Norwegian fjords by its undulating, fertile shores.

(From a steel engraving by Fromael and Winkler of a drawing by Flintoe, redrawn by O. Schulz)

tract with Olav Skötkonung, recovered Denmark, and married Erik's widow. Afterwards Sven and Olav united against the Norwegian King Olav Tryggvessön (p. 467) who had insulted both of them, conquered him at Svolder (in the neighbourhood of Rügen) and divided Norway between them (1000). Olav Skötkonung received the northern portion, but lost it after a few years to Olav Haraldssön who freed Norway from a foreign yoke.

His attempts to recover the country were fruitless; his own subjects compelled him to maintain peace with Norway. Olav Skötkonung and his sons had received baptism in 1008, and Christianity made steady progress especially in Gothland, but it was still a good while before it completely won the mastery. The old royal line became extinct with the death of Olav's sons about 1061. About this time a fierce struggle broke out between the Svear and the Götar, which lasted for almost two centuries. Up till then the Götar had given precedence to the Svear in the election of the king, for in their province lay the national sanctuary, and there also the king and his family resided; now, however, they claimed the same rights as the Svear and equal power and wished to choose a king from themselves. Since the Götar were for the most part converted, while the Svear still clung to paganism, the struggle was not only between the two races and their kings, but between heathenism and Christianity. In this struggle, in which the kings of the Svear and the Götar alternately got the upper hand, Christianity was finally victorious, and thus the union of the people was greatly furthered.

The new doctrine was firmly established in Svealand chiefly by the gentle and just king, Erik IX who changed the temple at Upsala into a Christian church and founded a bishopric in Upsala. He was also solicitous about the conversion of the neighbouring heathen races and undertook a crusade against the Finlanders, with whom the Swedes had had intercourse since very early times, and on whose shores there were already Swedish settlements. The inhabitants of Finland, the Ugrian Finns (Vol. V, pp. 375 and 440) or, as they called themselves, Suomalaiset, had wandered, even before the ninth century, out of the districts east and southeast of the Gulf of Finland (where the neighbouring kindred tribes of the Esthonians, Livonians and other Ugrians dwelt) into southern Finland and had then spread over towards the North. The Fins are divided into two groups as regards language and physique; the West Fins (the true Fins and the Tavastes) and the East Fins (the Carelians). As late as the twelfth century they had not founded any states, but were living in their original condition. They were rough and superstitious, but were distinguished for their bravery and love of freedom and clung to the faith of their fathers. Erik succeeded in conquering and converting the south-western tribes, and by this means he laid the foundation of the Swedish supremacy in Finland. Erik was killed by an enemy (May 18, 1160), not long after his return from Finland. It is said that miracles happened on the spot where he died, and he was, therefore, canonised by the people; he was afterwards regarded as the patron saint of Sweden (Erik the Holy), and the Swedish national ensign in the Middle Ages bore the name "St. Erik's Ensign."

The influence and power of the Church in Sweden rapidly increased with the victory of Christianity. A national Church was formed in 1164 under the archbishop of Upsala; the clergy received various privileges, for example, exemption from taxes (*andliga frälse*). Monasteries were introduced. The first monks were Cistercians from France, who not only acted as spiritual teachers, but also

instructed the peasants in agriculture and in industrial pursuits. They were joined later by mendicant monks.

When the family to which Erik IX belonged became extinct in 1250, Birger Jarl, of the rich and respected Folkunger family, was the most powerful man in the country. He was energetic and well versed in state affairs and had proved himself a capable warrior in Finland (1249), where he had established and extended the supremacy of Sweden by the subjection of the Tavastes. Although he had married a sister of the late king, he was not himself of royal blood and, therefore, not he but his elder son Waldemar was elected king. As the latter was not yet of age, Birger, as his guardian, became actual ruler and governed till his death (October 21, 1256). At home Birger restored peace and order and raised the kingdom to a high place among the northern nations, with whom he endeavoured to maintain peace and balance of power. In his legislation he made it his principal aim to adjust domestic rivalries, and he also endeavoured to bring about an improvement in morals. In order to promote international commerce and trade he concluded a commercial treaty with Lübeck; for hitherto the Swedes had lacked enterprise. The inhabitants of Lübeck, however, used this treaty, as they did those concluded with the other northern countries to get the trade gradually into their own hands. Still the union with Germany was useful to the Swedes; mining and other branches of industry were improved by Germans who had crossed over into the country; the towns were organised in German fashion; they received their own government and their prosperity increased. Stockholm in particular developed enormously; it owes its importance as a town and a fortress to Birger Jarl. Other towns of importance were Wisby, Söderköping, Kalmar, and Lödöse. Wisby, which belonged to the Hanseatic League, was for a long time the wealthiest and most magnificent northern town until the fourteenth century, when its power and prosperity were destroyed by Waldemar Atterdag (p. 450). In 1266 King Waldemar himself took over the government, but soon showed that he was not equal to the task; he was weak, fond of pleasure, and profligate, and in 1275 was dethroned by his younger brother Magnus, who resembled his father in vigour and ability.

Magnus (1275–1290) continued the work of Birger; he maintained peace and good order with a strong hand, and lived on good terms with his neighbours, who even asked his help as arbitrator in their disputes. By various laws he protected the peasants against the violence of the barons, on account of which he was given the honoured title of "Ladulås" (the castle of the barn). The peasants, however, were losing their political influence. Magnus desired to extend the king's power in every direction and reserved for himself the right of giving laws together with his council and the highest men in the kingdom; in this way the work of legislation passed out of the hands of the people. The king was also acknowledged as supreme Judge; the *Lagmän* who had previously represented the peasants and their rights were gradually attaching themselves to the lords and became considered as government officials. The highest functionary in the kingdom had hitherto been the Jarl; this post, however, became extinct with Birger, and the chief men in the king's council were the *Marsk*, the *Drots*, and the chancellor. Magnus introduced foreign customs and institutions into Sweden, the most important of which was the *Russtjenst* (mounted service). In Sweden, as in other northern countries, the obligation of warlike service had been confined to naval defence; the country was divided into circuits which in the event of war

had to furnish a ship with the crew, and in times of peace paid a war tax. As warfare on land became more common Magnus wished to have an able-bodied cavalry, and decreed that whoever served him with horse and armour should be exempt from taxation (*fräls*). These troopers formed a distinct military body, and as shortly afterwards *Russtjenst*, and consequently exemption, became hereditary, the basis of a special nobility was established. In connection with the *Russtjenst*, knighthood was also introduced; the knights who were appointed by the king and were called lords formed the nucleus of the army. With the introduction, however, of *Russtjenst* there began a decline in the navy. Hence the Swedes, like the Danes and Norwegians, were forced to resign their naval supremacy. This now passed into the hands of the Hanseatic League which had control over the Baltic and the North Seas. Magnus Ladulås left at his death (1290), three sons, Birger, Erik, and Waldemar, who were all minors. The eldest, Birger, became king; his guardian was the Marsk Tyrgils (Torgils) Knutsson. Tyrgils was brave and clever and discharged the duties of his office with earnestness and fidelity. He ruled with the same vigour and ability as Birger and Magnus; he continued the work of Erik the Pious and Birger in Finland and by subduing the savage Carelians completed the conquest and conversion of the country. It was a long time before there was a close union between Finland and Sweden; Swedish language, customs, and institutions made slow headway; and the Catholic Church alone, which had several able advocates, succeeded in gaining great power. It is true that Swedes settled in Finland, where strong castles were built and that Swedish commanding officers, who took up their permanent residence in Finland, formed the basis of a Finnish nobility; but the country was not incorporated with the Swedish state, and remained fairly independent of the Swedish kings, until the sixteenth century.

When Birger and his brothers grew up they soon disagreed. Erik and Waldemar were not satisfied with the fiefs which they had received, and revolted against Birger; but they were reduced to submission by Tyrgils, who remained faithful to the king. The dukes realised that it was necessary for their plans to depose the Marsk; they accordingly persuaded Birger that Tyrgils was to blame for the brothers' quarrel. Birger was sufficiently ungrateful and indiscreet to order his faithful minister to be beheaded (10th of February, 1306). After Tyrgils' death Birger's good fortune ceased. He was taken prisoner by his brothers in the same year, and in order to regain his freedom was forced to cede to them in 1308 and in 1310 two-thirds of the kingdom. Birger meditated revenge, but acted as if he had forgiven everything and disarmed their fears by feigned friendship. However, when they visited him at Christmas, 1317, at the Castle of Nyköping, he locked them into the tower, where they probably died of hunger.

Birger profited little by this treachery. On hearing that the dukes had been taken prisoners, their retainers rose in rebellion; Birger was compelled to flee: Erik's three-year-old son was proclaimed king, and a regency was appointed in 1319. In the same year Magnus II inherited the kingdom of Norway from Haakon V (Magnussön), his maternal grandfather. Thus Sweden and Norway were united for the first time (p. 471); however, the union was not very close, because the two kingdoms only had the one king in common.

During the minority of the king the power of the lords grew; their behaviour in the country was anything but seemly, and it did not improve after Magnus

took the government into his own hands (1332). He was a well-wishing but weak prince, who entirely lacked the strength necessary to control the arrogant lords. Still, slavery was at last abolished, the administration of justice improved, and national and municipal codes of law were issued.

Magnus extended his dominion by annexing the Scanian cantons. It is true he was unable to keep them for any length of time, owing to the attacks of Waldemar Atterdag, so that they were soon reunited with Denmark (1360). Of his other enterprises a war against the Russians was unsuccessful; they had been on hostile terms with the Swedes since the conquest of Finland. At the same time the country was devastated by the Black Death (Vol. VII, p. 178), which had swept away at least a third of the population. The king was helpless to relieve the distress. In Sweden as well as in Norway the people had been discontented with him for a long time. The Norwegians complained that he was neglecting the country, and in order to satisfy them he had been forced to give them his son Haakon (VI) as king in 1343. Haakon was also elected king of Sweden in 1362 by the Swedish lords whose powers and liberties Magnus wished to restrict. However, he attached himself to his father; and in order to be able to fight against the refractory lords with more success the two kings united with their former enemy Waldemar Atterdag whose daughter, Margaret, Haakon married. By his marriage he severed himself completely from the Swedish lords. Both he and his father were deposed and the son of Magnus' sister Euphemia, Albrecht (III) the younger of Mecklenburg, was proclaimed king (November 30, 1363). Haakon attempted to regain the crown by force of arms, but was defeated and compelled to content himself with Norway; there Magnus also passed his last years. In this way the first union between Sweden and Norway was dissolved.

A year before the death of Magnus (1374), occurred that of his kinswoman, Saint Birgitta; she has become celebrated on account of her visions and revelations. She was born about the year 1302, and even in her childhood gave evidence of unusual talents and lived in a world of phantasy in which the Saviour, the Virgin, and the saints revealed themselves to her. She was filled with ideas of reform, preached repentance and renunciation, and denounced the universal immorality of the times. At the Court, where she was for a time the governess of the queen, she roused indignation by her severe and earnest reprimands; but among the people she acquired great reputation as a saint and a prophetess. As the situation in Sweden was no longer congenial to her, she left her native country and went to Rome, where she died in 1373. She had received permission from the Pope to found a convent at Vadstena on the east shore of Lake Wetter. In 1370 Urban V confirmed the rule which she had drawn up for the convent (Birgittine order); in 1391 she was canonised. The "Revelations," which she herself recorded or dictated, were translated into Latin and circulated over the whole of Catholic Europe; they rank among the most important literary productions of Sweden at a time when there was hardly any literature in the real sense of the word. Of the pagan sagas and poems only a few traces have survived. The oldest Swedish linguistic monuments of which we knew are the numerous Runic inscriptions. The laws of the several cantons are also drawn up in Swedish, a few of which are very old. Everything else which has survived dates from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as do also the national code of law (about 1350), a few rhyming chronicles, the Euphemia songs, many folk-songs which are apparently of foreign origin, and finally some prose translations of foreign narratives.

B. The Period of Union (1389–1523)

The domestic conditions of Sweden did not improve with Albrecht's accession. The king was weak and not respected; the nobles played the rôle of masters. Assaults, feuds, murder, and plunder were daily occurrences; from their castles and garrisoned estates, which extended over the whole country, the lords oppressed the peasants, whose original freedom in this way became seriously threatened. When in 1386 Albrecht at last made an attempt to obtain more influence, the lords called Margaret of Denmark into the country. She sent an army into Sweden, and in the battle of Åsle near Falköping won a victory over Albrecht, who was taken prisoner (February 24, 1389). Soon the whole of Sweden submitted. Stockholm alone, which was supported by the Mecklenburg princes and towns, upheld the cause of Albrecht for several years; however, as he could not pay his ransom the town was eventually handed over to the queen. In the meantime the Swedes and Danes had chosen as their king Margaret's grandnephew, Erik of Pomerania (1396), who had become king of Norway in 1389; and on June 17, 1397, he was crowned in Kalmar as king of the three nations (Union of Kalmar; cf. p. 451).

Peace and quiet had been restored under Margaret; she managed to bridle the unruly nobles and to make every one obedient to her. But with her death in 1412 the peace came to an end. Erik XIII did not possess the strength and ability of his foster mother; consequently, his reign was injurious to the union as well as to each kingdom individually. He irritated the lords, temporal and spiritual, by his despotic and indiscreet actions, while he allowed his bailiffs and nobles to oppress the people; complaints were made about the bad administration and the heavy taxes, which were exacted with the utmost rigour. As all complaints were in vain the peasants of Dalarnen rose up in 1434 against the foreign yoke; they found a capable leader in Engelbrekt Engelbrektsson and the rest of the people joined them, including the nobles, who hoped to recover the power of which they had been deprived by Margaret. The foreigners were driven out and Engelbrekt was extolled as the liberator of his country (1435). The nobles, however, feared the powerful leader of the people; they had attached themselves to the movement in order to obtain a diminution of the king's power, but they did not wish to share that power with the peasants and their leader. They were accordingly not displeased when Engelbrekt was murdered on the twenty-seventh of April, 1436, by a personal enemy, and the Council of State agreed with the Danish Council that the union should be maintained. Erik, with whom the Danes were also discontented, was deposed in September, 1439, and his sister's son, Christopher of Bavaria (p. 451), who willingly agreed to all the conditions, was elected king in 1440. This was a victory for the aristocracy; they had obtained a king after their own heart, and made use of their triumph to limit the privileges of the peasants. There were, however, a few even among the nobility who either from ambition or patriotism joined the popular party; thus there arose two parties, one national, the other attached to the union, which were strongly opposed until the beginning of the following century. After Christopher's death in 1448 the national party triumphed and placed a Swede, Karl Knutsson Bonde (who had been viceregent from 1438–1440), on the throne of Sweden, while the Danes chose Christian, Count of Oldenburg, as their king. The latter wished to

maintain the union with the force of arms. The war was carried on by both sides with great bitterness and cruelty; and it sowed the seeds of that national hatred which was the most tragic heritage of the union.

Christian I succeeded, in 1457, in gaining the crown of Sweden with the help of the union party, at the head of which was Jöns Bengtsson Oxenstierna, archbishop of Upsala; however, he could not keep it permanently. Eventually, in 1467, Karl was still king of Sweden and continued ruling till his death in 1470. He was succeeded by the Stures: Sven Sture the elder (1470–1503), his kinsman, Svante Nilsson (1503–1512), and Nilsson's son Sten Sture the younger (1512–1520), were successively, as regents, the leaders of the national party and the defenders of Sweden's liberty and independence; they were supported by the people, had several of the nobles on their side, and successfully opposed the attempts of the union kings to conquer Sweden.

The Stures, however, found their most dangerous opponents among their own countrymen, — friends of the union who had entered into secret negotiations with the Danes. Sten Sture the younger quarrelled with the leader of the party, the malicious and vindictive archbishop of Upsala (Gustav Trolle), who was convicted of high treason and by the orders of the regent dismissed from office and arrested. Thereupon Pope Leo X excommunicated Sten Sture and his followers and commissioned Christian II to execute the bull of excommunication by force. Christian gladly sent an army into Sweden (1518). At the second attack (1520) Sture's troops were beaten (January 19), and he was mortally wounded (he died on the 3d of February). Christian received homage as hereditary king and was crowned on the fourth of November by Gustav Trolle in Stockholm. Christian believed that he would secure his supremacy by severity; he wished to destroy the spirit of independence among the people and also the defiance of the nobles; and therefore some days after his coronation a number of nobles, clergy, and citizens were beheaded in the market-place at Stockholm (Stockholm Massacre of November 8, 1520). The corpse of Sture was burnt at the stake; the estates of those who had been beheaded were confiscated.

C. The Beginning of the Vasa Dynasty (1523–1611)

Christian succeeded in accomplishing exactly the reverse of what he had hoped the massacre would effect. For at the instigation of the youthful Gustavus Eriksson Vasa, a nobleman who had escaped from the massacre, the Dalkarlar (the inhabitants of the province of Dalarna) revolted in 1521. The Danes were driven out and the Swedes elected their deliverer, Gustavus, as their king (June 6, 1523). In this way Sweden was freed from Danish domination. From without there was no immediate cause for fear; a fact which emphasises the painful contrast afforded by the internal condition of the country. Continuous warfare and strife had put an end to order and undermined all respect for the laws, so that every man did as he pleased. The administration was in confusion, the Church in a state of decay, and the country impoverished; commerce and manufactures languished. Since the demesnes of the crown had been given away as fiefs there was hardly any revenue, and at the same time the crown was heavily in debt to the Hanseatic towns, to which it accordingly was obliged to grant important

commercial privileges. Strength and ability were necessary to restore the country to its former position.

Gustavus' first and most important task was the adjustment of finance. In order to increase both the public revenue and his own power he attached himself to the Lutheran Reformation; the new doctrine was introduced at two successive Reichstags at Westerås (1527 and 1544). The king was made Supreme Head of the Church and had the disposal of the confiscated revenues of the bishops, the churches, and the monasteries. The bishops were compelled to deliver up their castles to him and were excluded from the Council of State; the clergy were no longer equal in rank to the nobility, but were placed on a level with the burghers and peasants. Gustavus was enabled by the large funds which were at his disposal by the confiscation of church lands, to maintain a standing army and to build a strong fleet with which the Swedes were able not only to defend their coasts, but to become masters of the Baltic.

The king worked indefatigably for the welfare of the lower classes, so that old branches of industry were revived. In this, as in everything else, the king took the lead and thus set the people a good example. He busied himself with agriculture, mining, and commerce, and in order to promote industrial pursuits, invited mechanics and artisans of other nationalities into the country. The first thing necessary for the furtherance of trade was the overthrow of the power of Lübeck. The commercial privileges of this city had been greatly restricted by the "War of the Counts" (p. 453), in which Gustavus allied himself with the party of Christian III. The Swedes began to transact business with other countries (England, France, Spain), and the trade with Lübeck gradually ceased. Thus on every side Sweden was regaining her former prosperity. Although Gustavus often acted with severity and arbitrariness and the people were burdened with heavy taxes, his work was still appreciated. In the Imperial Diet of 1544 it was decided by the Estates that the crown should descend to his male heirs according to the law of primogeniture, while the younger sons should receive appanages.

Gustavus was very cautious in his foreign policy; he took little part in the complications in which central Europe was then involved, and his constant aim was to preserve peace in the North. This cautious policy was not followed by his son Erik XIV, who succeeded him in 1560; he wished to make conquests. When the Order of the Knights of the Sword was abolished (Volume V, p. 534) Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark contended for the land of the order (Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland). In consequence of this there was war for almost a hundred years; by this war Sweden gained the supremacy of the Baltic provinces with the exception of Courland. War broke out in the year 1561, when Reval together with the knights of North Esthonia submitted to King Erik; Swedish troops took possession of the castle of Reval, and the Poles, who wished to strengthen their power in the Baltic provinces, attempted in vain to drive out the Swedes. At the same time war broke out with Denmark. This war lasted from 1563 to 1570 (cf. above, p. 454), and is called "The Northern Seven Years' War."

While this war was raging, Erik was deposed by his brothers John and Karl, who both hated and feared him, and John III ascended the throne (1568–1592). John, who was weak and irresolute, but at the same time violent and despotic, married the Catholic princess Katharina Jagellon of Poland (Vol. V, p. 535). By

her influence he became favourably disposed to Catholicism. He completed a new liturgy ("The Red Book," 1576), in which several Catholic ecclesiastical rites and a portion of the Latin mass were introduced. In 1578 he seriously considered the question of embracing the Roman Catholic religion. However, as his wife died in 1583, and he could not agree with the Curia about the church service, his zeal for Catholicism abated, although during his lifetime he adhered to his liturgy. His son Sig(is)mund, who was educated as a Catholic, became king of Poland in 1587 (Sigismund III; Vol. V, p. 546), and he was in Poland when his father died in 1592. During his absence the country was governed by his father's brother Charles, Duke of Södermanland, and the royal council. Karl was a zealous Protestant, and had opposed the introduction of the liturgy into his duchy. An assembly of the Estates was summoned to Upsala, where the Protestant confession of faith was adopted and the liturgy abolished in 1593. At the end of this year Sigismund came to Stockholm. Before being crowned he was compelled to confirm the decree of Upsala with an oath (February 19, 1594), which, however, he did not keep. He appointed Catholic priests and officials and then returned to Poland. The people refused to obey those who had been set in authority by Sigismund and elected Duke Charles as viceregent in 1595. Sigismund landed with a Polish army in Sweden, and several councillors and other nobles attached themselves to him; he was, however, defeated by Charles at Stångebro, September 25, and left the country, which he was destined never to see again. The national assembly pronounced his deposition (1599) and appointed Charles as ruling hereditary prince. Some years later he was made king, and the right of succession was granted to the princess under certain conditions. Charles IX (1604–1611) took strong measures against Sigismund's friends, many of whom were beheaded and still more outlawed. Through this severity, however, he secured peace in the kingdom, and was thus enabled to devote himself to the improvement of the state of the nation, which had been becoming worse and worse under the bad government of his brothers and his nephew. Charles followed in the footsteps of his father. His brothers had shown marked favour to the nobles; Erik had laid the foundation of a superior nobility by creating the titles of count and baron, while John had presented the counts and barons with large, heritable fiefs, and had favoured the rest of the nobles by granting them various privileges. Charles, on the contrary, was not so favourably disposed to the nobility, but relied more on the lower classes. On this account he was nicknamed "the peasants' king" by the nobles.

The Estates were summoned for the first time by Engelbrekt Engelbrektsson, and obtained greater influence in the administration, which was better regulated than previously, while the power of the Council decreased. Reforms were instituted in the law-courts and in the army, finance was regulated, education was improved, and the University of Upsala, which had been founded by Sten Sture the Elder, and which up till then had dragged on a miserable existence, was restored. Trade revived and new towns, among them Gödeborg, were founded. During the whole of his reign Charles was at war with his neighbours. The dethronement of Sigismund occasioned war with Poland in 1600, which was carried on with varying fortune in Esthonia and Livonia. At the same time Charles was implicated in the civil war in Russia in 1609 with tolerable success. Finally war broke out also with Denmark in 1611 (the Kalmar war). Charles died on November 9.

D. Sweden as One of the Great Powers of Central Europe

(a) *Gustavus II (Adolphus) and Christina (1611–1654).* — Gustavus II Adolphus (1611–1632), who was born on December 19, 1594, was richly endowed both bodily and mentally. He was by nature noble and upright, and possessed the power of self-control and of leading others; he had a keen intellect, and could express himself briefly and forcibly both in speech and writing. He had received a thorough education in ancient and modern languages, in history, military science, and in all knightly accomplishments. At an early age his father confided state affairs to him. Whenever Charles could not complete an undertaking and had to rest satisfied with the preparations, he was accustomed to say, 'Ille faciet' (He will do it). Gustavus did not disappoint his father's confidence, but became equally great as a man, a statesman, and a general. The Swedes are fully justified in ranking him among the greatest sovereigns of Europe. He exercised clemency towards his father's enemies; by this and by the favour which he showed to the nobles he won their respect. He was also honoured by the rest of the people. Although he was restricted in the exercise of his power by the council and the Estates, his wishes were unanimously followed. Perfect harmony existed between king and people, and it was this harmony in the nation which enabled Gustavus to accomplish his great undertakings. Still he would hardly have been able to achieve so much if he had not been surrounded by distinguished men whose merit he thoroughly appreciated. Chief among these was his chancellor and friend, the prudent, clever, and loyal Axel Oxenstierna, who helped him in all his enterprises with faithful and unwearied zeal. Next to him should be mentioned Gustavus' teacher, John Skytte, his brother-in-law, the Count Palatine John Kasimir, the generals Jacob de la Gardie, Gustavus Horn, Herm. Wrangel, Joh. Ban(n)ér, Lennart Torstenson, and many others.

Gustavus had inherited three wars; namely, those with Poland, Russia, and Denmark. As early as January 28, 1613, he put an end to the war with Denmark. Peace was also soon concluded with Russia (March 9, 1617). Sweden retained east Carelia (with Kexholm) and Ingermanland, and thus secured a safe boundary against Russia, which was cut off from the Baltic. Thus the only country with which he was still unreconciled was Poland. Since King Sigismund would not listen to overtures of peace, the war was continued till 1626, and the Swedes showed their superiority over the Poles by conquering Riga and Livonia and establishing themselves in west Prussia. In the meantime the Thirty Years' War had broken out. Gustavus, who had entered into friendly relations with England, Holland, and the Protestant states of Germany, conceived the plan of uniting all the Protestant powers of Europe in a great alliance against the emperor and Spain, as a means of protecting the oppressed German Protestants. He was forestalled by Christian IV, who placed himself at the head of the Protestant party and declared war against the emperor and the league. Christian's enterprises, however, were not favoured by fortune (p. 455).

Gustavus, who recognised the danger which threatened not only Protestants but also Sweden if the emperor acquired the supremacy on the Baltic, offered his alliance to the Danish king, and declared that he was prepared to advance from

Poland into Germany. The emperor, however, who wished to prevent such an alliance at all costs, promised favourable conditions to Denmark, and persuaded Christian to conclude peace (1629). Gustavus then decided to declare war against the emperor, although he was entirely dependent on his own resources. It was first of all necessary to make terms with Poland. By the mediation of Richelieu a truce for six years was arranged on September 26, 1629, by which Sweden retained Livonia together with Riga and several Prussian towns. When his preparations were completed he bade a touching farewell to the Estates, to whose care he commended his daughter and heiress, as if he felt a foreboding of his death. He took ship in June, 1630, for Pomerania, where he published a manifesto in justification of his proceedings and invited the co-operation of the north German princes. He was, however, received with suspicion by them, and was compelled to force his way through the country, and therefore arrived too late to save Magdeburg, which was besieged by Tilly (May, 1631). A few months later he gained a victory over Tilly at Breitenfeld, by which the cause of the Reformation was saved and Sweden became one of the great powers of Europe. After this battle Gustavus marched towards the Rhineland, where he allowed his army to rest for a few weeks. In the spring of 1632 he pressed forward to Bavaria and marched to the Lech, behind which Tilly had taken up a strong position. Gustavus forced a crossing, Tilly was mortally wounded, and the Swedish king entered Munich as a conqueror. In the meantime the emperor had appointed Wallenstein his commander-in-chief. Wallenstein collected a large army in a short space of time, and pitched his camp not far from Nuremberg, where Gustavus had taken up his position. Gustavus, who wished to free the country from the burden of war, attempted in vain to force a battle; equally fruitless were his attempts to take Wallenstein's camp by storm. At last hunger and sickness compelled both generals to break up their camps. Wallenstein went to Saxony; Gustavus, who had first advanced towards Bavaria, altered his plan and proceeded northwards by forced marches. The two armies met at Lützen. The Swedes were victorious, but their king fell in the battle (November 16, 1632; cf. Vol. VII, p. 295, with plate). The death of Gustavus threw the whole of Protestant Germany into deep mourning. The emperor Ferdinand II, however, ordered a Te Deum to be sung, since with Gustavus' death the greatest danger for the Catholics had disappeared.

Since the accession of Gustavus, Sweden had enjoyed hardly a single year of peace, and the king himself had spent most of his time on the battlefield. He still found time, however, to continue his father's work in improving the internal condition of his country. He showed himself just as capable in this as on the battlefield, and neglected nothing which affected either the state or the people. The powers and the privileges of the national assembly and of the council were more definitely determined, and the national assembly, which had hitherto possessed no settled constitution, was regulated so that in future each of the four Estates of the realm should transact its own affairs. The most important class was the nobility, which also received a fixed constitution. The army, with which Gustavus, the creator of the new science of warfare, had occupied himself so much, was brought into such a state of proficiency that for a long time the Swedes enjoyed the reputation of being the best soldiers in Europe. Gustavus busied himself also with the intellectual development and material welfare of his people. Schools were reformed and the University of Upsala was richly endowed. Com-

merce and industry were promoted, mining was improved and extended, joint-stock companies were formed, and merchants and labourers were attracted from other countries (Germany and Holland). The reign of Gustavus, however, was not entirely free from trouble, occasioned by the predominance of the nobles and the steadily increasing burden of taxation. Gustavus had always shown a marked partiality to the nobility. It is true he demanded a great deal from them, but at the same time he gave them many privileges. The highest offices in the state were reserved for nobles; they alone enjoyed patronage and exemption from tolls and customs. This favouritism shown to the nobles was disadvantageous to the other classes, particularly to the peasants, who groaned under an oppressive conscription and the many new taxes which the war had made necessary.

Gustavus bequeathed the crown to his daughter Christina (1632–1654), but as she was only six years old, a regency was appointed, at the head of which stood Axel Oxenstierna (p. 487). Oxenstierna continued the work of Gustavus with vigour and sagacity, and completed the organisation of the government which had been begun by Charles IX and Gustavus. The council, as the central point of the administration, was settled permanently at Stockholm. Executive functions were divided between five ministerial committees, over which presided the five highest officers of the empire [chancellor, "Drots" (high steward), treasurer, "Marsk" (marshal), and admiral]. The country was divided up into districts, *Län*, as at present, at the head of which were the "*landshöfdingar*;" the frontier provinces were ruled by governors-general and Stockholm by a lord-lieutenant. Every branch of industry was flourishing. Means of communication were improved and a postal service was introduced. Imports and exports increased considerably. In order to extend facilities for international commerce the North American colony of "New Sweden" (the present state of Delaware) was founded on Delaware Bay, which was lost to the Dutch as early as 1655 (Vol. I, p. 443). The government was confronted by great difficulties on account of the scarcity of money. The public revenue was insufficient to cover the expenses, and in order to procure money various expedients, not always of a fortunate kind, were adopted; crown demesnes and crown dues were sold to the nobility, or subsidies were taken from foreign powers. A large sum of money became necessary when the regency decided on continuing the German war. An alliance was made with the Protestants in the southwest of Germany. The capable generals who had been trained by Gustavus Adolphus were able to uphold the reputation of the Swedish army. It is true they suffered a heavy defeat at Nördlingen, September 6, 1634, and were deserted by their German allies, who concluded a separate peace with the emperor. From the critical situation in which they now found themselves they were rescued by the French, who offered their valuable assistance to the Swedes (Vol. VII, p. 297). The Swedes now won several victories over the imperial troops, and carried on at the same time a successful war against Christian IV of Denmark, who attempted to prevent them from advancing further into Germany, but who was obliged by the peace of Brömsebro (1645; p. 455) to cede Ösel, Gotland, Halland, and the Norwegian provinces of Herjedalen and Jemtland.

The war was finally concluded by the peace of Westphalia, under the terms of which Sweden retained the whole of Nearer Pomerania, with the island of Rügen, part of Further Pomerania, Wismar, and the bishoprics of Bremen and

Verden, as temporal duchies under the suzerainty of the empire, and received a large sum of money. Sweden had risen to the rank of a great power (cf. Vol. VII, p. 476), and had acquired considerable possessions on the Baltic. Her army had gained the reputation of being invincible; the dauntlessness and courage of the people were strengthened. At the same time, however, their morals and habits were becoming corrupt, inasmuch as peaceful occupations were despised and luxury and extravagance were increasing. The power and the wealth of the upper nobility had become so great that the nobles became despotic and treated the people with arrogance and superciliousness.

During the war Christina had assumed personal control of the government (1644). She possessed rare talents, was vivacious and witty, and her attainments, especially in history and in ancient and modern languages, were of a striking order. She had been trained in politics by Oxenstierna. She was a generous patron of literature and art; savants of other nationalities, such as Hugo Grotius and René Descartes, were always welcome at her court. On the other hand, she was capricious, vain, and fond of pleasure. She was extravagant in her use of public money, and bestowed landed property, patents of nobility, and other favours with a lavish hand on men who were not worthy of such honour. The lower classes, who were groaning under heavy taxation, complained in vain; they demanded the restitution of part of the crown lands in order to restrict the threatening power of the nobility. Extravagance increased rather than diminished; dissatisfaction spread, and a revolution was actually feared. Christina, who in the meantime had grown tired of governing, decided on the 16th of June, 1654, to resign the crown in favour of a distant relative, Charles Gustavus. She left her country, embraced the Roman Catholic faith, and went to live at Rome; here she died in 1689.

(*b*) *The House of Pfalz Kleeburg* (*1654–1718*). — Charles X Gustavus, the son of the Count Palatine John Casimir and of Katharine, a half-sister of Gustavus Adolphus, was educated in Sweden, and was in language, ideas, and manners a Swede; he had a keen intellect and a powerful will, and was quick in decision and in action. In addition he possessed that higher education and culture which result from study and travel. He was specially distinguished as a general, for he had studied military tactics under Torstenson and had fought with distinction in the Thirty Years' War. When he ascended the throne in 1654 he found the country in a most unsettled and deplorable condition. The finances were in confusion owing to Christina's extravagance, and the resources of the people had been drained by taxation. In order to increase the revenue the Riksdag (national assembly) decided to confiscate the crown lands which had been given away by Christina, and in fact almost three thousand estates were seized. These measures were however shortly discontinued, as the attention of the king was directed to foreign politics. His relations with Poland and Denmark were not of the most friendly kind. Since John II Casimir of Poland, the son of Sigismund, refused to acknowledge Charles Gustavus as king of Sweden (Vol. V, p. 563), the latter decided to declare war. He attacked Poland from Pomerania, conquered Warsaw and Cracow, received the homage of the Polish nobles, and compelled the Great Elector of Brandenburg to place the duchy of Prussia under the feudal supremacy of Sweden and to promise to furnish auxiliary troops (Vol. VII, pp. 478 ff.). The

idea of Charles was to divide Poland, to retain the coast provinces for himself, and thus to make the Baltic a Swedish lake. His great success had, however, raised up for him many enemies; Holland and Austria were inciting Denmark and Russia to war. The Poles rebelled; their king returned from exile. And although Charles Gustavus obtained a brilliant victory at Warsaw on July 28–30, 1656, he found himself in a critical position, and in order to ensure the fidelity of Brandenburg was obliged, on November 25, at Labian, to acknowledge the independence of Prussia (Vol. VII, p. 478). At the same time a commercial treaty was concluded with Holland. Then Denmark declared war against him; and the Austrians advanced into Poland. Upon this Charles Gustavus relinquished Poland and proceeded by forced marches through north Germany, and within a short time conquered the peninsula of Jutland. At the beginning of 1658 he crossed over the ice of the Belts to Zealand and compelled the king, Frederic III, by the peace of Roskilde (p. 456) to cede the Scanian provinces, together with the island of Bornholm, and from Norway Trondhjems (Drontheims) Len and Bohuslen. This makes the zenith of Sweden's international power. At that time she had control over almost the whole coast line of the Baltic.

But Charles Gustavus was not satisfied; he wished to destroy Denmark's independence. He therefore violated the peace, and in 1658 landed again in Zealand; but this time he did not meet with the same success. Copenhagen withstood his attacks, and was succoured by the Dutch, who, since they did not approve of his plans, had attached themselves to his other enemies, amongst whom was Brandenburg. An army of Brandenburgers, Poles, and Austrians under the Great Elector drove the Swedes out of Jutland (Vol. VII, p. 480); the inhabitants of the provinces which had been ceded rose in revolt. After an unsuccessful attack on Copenhagen, Charles Gustavus abandoned the siege of the capital in 1659 and returned to Sweden. He still hoped for assistance from England; but the English, in alliance with France and Holland, remained faithful to the peace of Roskilde. Charles, however, intended to carry on the war, and aimed at the conquest of Norway. He accordingly marched with his army into southern Norway, but died suddenly at Göteburg on February 23, 1660. His son, Charles XI, was only four years old at the time of his father's death. The regency, which consisted of the five chief officials of the empire, had no desire for further conquest, but only for a cessation of war, if that could be arranged honourably for Sweden. In the peace of Oliva (Vol. V, p. 563; Vol. VII, p. 480) John Casimir resigned his claims to the Swedish throne and relinquished Livonia to Sweden.

Holland received some commercial advantages: Denmark recovered Bornholm and Trondhjems Len (May 27, 1660, Copenhagen), and Russia resigned her conquests in the Baltic provinces (June 2, 1661, Cardis). Apart from this, the regency did little to improve the state of the country, and totally neglected the education of the young king. The resumption of crown lands was not continued; the regents considered only their own interests and those of the nobles. In their foreign policy they were irresolute and lacking in independence, and even accepted bribes from the foreign powers. The Estates were at variance. At the beginning of 1668 Sweden joined the Triple Alliance against France (Vol. VII, p. 451). Soon after, however, Louis XV succeeded in dissolving this alliance and in attract-

ing Sweden to his side by the promise of large subsidies. When Louis made an attack on Holland, in 1672, Sweden was also implicated in the war. As Louis hoped, the Swedes attacked Brandenburg; at this time the Elector was fighting against the French on the Rhine. Frederic William on hearing of the attack hurried to the assistance of his country and inflicted a severe defeat on the Swedes at Fehrbellin (June 28, 1675; Vol. VII, p. 481). This defeat struck a great blow at the military glory of the Swedes, and was the cause of the declaration of war by the Danes, who were still grieving over the loss of Scania (p. 458). At first the Danes were wholly successful; they were victorious at sea under Niels Juel, landed in Scania, where the inhabitants welcomed them as their liberators, and soon had possession of the whole province.

As the prospects of Sweden were so gloomy, great irritation prevailed in the country against the incompetent government. The young king, who had come of age in 1672, proved equal to the danger. It is true he could not conquer the Danes on the sea; the German possessions were also irretrievably lost. But in the bloody battle at Lund (Vol. VII, p. 482) he at least saved Scania for Sweden. The negotiations which Louis XIV had in the meantime entered upon at Nimwegen concluded the war in the north by the peace of Saint-Germain (with Brandenburg; June 29, 1679) and the peace of Lund (with Denmark; September 26, 1679). Sweden only sustained the loss of her provinces on the east bank of the Oder. The war had, however, greatly injured the domestic prosperity of Sweden. The country was impoverished and involved in debt, the provinces on the frontiers were devastated, and the state was helpless to cope with the general distress. The king and his confidential advisers were agreed that the one effectual remedy was to remodel the political and social organisation of the country. The first task for Charles was to reduce the power of the council and the upper nobility; he succeeded in accomplishing this with the help of the other Estates and of the gentry. The Estates sanctioned a new constitution (1680 and 1682), by which Sweden was practically transformed into an absolute monarchy. The Riksdag became a royal council, which the king summoned at his pleasure; the king had the power of enacting laws without consulting the Riksdag. The Estates still kept some control over the granting of taxes. At the same time the members of the regency were called to give an account of their administration by decree of the Estates (1680), who also directed their efforts to a second resumption (*reduktion*). The regents were sentenced to pay heavy fines, the resumption of crown lands was effected on a much greater scale; and with the utmost rigour, not only in Sweden itself but also in the Baltic provinces and in the older Danish and Norwegian provinces. These measures resulted in completely revolutionising the conditions of land ownership, and destroyed the power of the nobility, by levelling the barriers of privilege which had separated the counts and barons from the inferior nobility, and by securing freedom for the peasants. Property was more evenly divided and the public revenues increased enormously. The resumption of crown lands had, however, this drawback, that great indignation was aroused in many places by the severe and arbitrary measures through which it was effected. In the Baltic provinces the king's conduct almost occasioned a revolt; there his contempt for private rights was the cause of a fatal resentment.

The abundant means which Charles XI now had at his disposal were appropriated exclusively to strengthening the political, military, and economic condi-

tion of his country. The land was strengthened against attack by the formation of a navy, and the erection of fortresses and a new naval port at Karlskrona. The reorganisation of the army, which had been begun by Charles IX and Gustavus Adolphus, and which has partially remained in effect up to the present day, was completed. It was decided that in future the soldiers should be billeted on the estates of the peasants, who in return were exempted from military service in times of peace. Certain crown estates were freed from taxation on condition that they defrayed the expenses of the cavalry, while the officers received their maintenance from the crown lands. At the same time Swedish soldiers were levied to defend the foreign provinces. The finances and the administration were subjected to the careful revision which they so urgently required. Charles also turned his attention to all branches of industry. Although his own education had been so deficient, he appreciated the value of learning, and interested himself especially in the education of the people. He strongly impressed upon the clergy the necessity of teaching the peasants to read.

New life was also infused into every branch of literature. As early as the sixteenth century the literary activity of Sweden, which up to that time had been unimportant, received an impetus from the Reformation, especially as the kings of the house of Vasa took a keen interest in the development of the language and literature and tried to advance scholarship in every way. The earliest Swedish literature was entirely designed for edification, and consisted of devotional and theological controversial treatises. The most celebrated writers were the reformers Olaus and Laurentius Petri, who also made some attempts at writing history from the Protestant standpoint; while the Catholic point of view was represented by the ex-bishops Johannes and Olaus Magnus. These last wrote in Latin, which remained for a long time the language of literary men. In the seventeenth century literature lost its devotional character and became more remarkable for beauty of thought and diction. This transformation was chiefly due to G. Stjernhjelm (d. 1672), "the father of Swedish poetry," who modelled his writings on the ancient classics and popularised the old metres. Next to Stjernhjelm should be mentioned Lars Johannes ("Lucidor;" d. 1674), Joh. Runius (d. 1713), and the psalm-writer H. Spegel (d. 1714). Joh. Stjernhöök (d. 1675) distinguished himself in jurisprudence, and U. Hjärne (d. 1724) and O. Rudbeck the elder (d. 1702) in medicine; the latter was also an historian, and his celebrated work "Atlantica," in which he attempted to prove that Sweden was the oldest kingdom of the world and the cradle of humanity, is a typical illustration of the patriotic tendency of the age.

After the death of Charles XI (April 15, 1697), his son, Charles XII, became king, and although not yet fifteen years old was declared of age at the end of 1697. Charles had enjoyed a good education. Like his father he was noted for an earnest piety and strict morality; his mode of life was temperate and simple. Even as a child he exhibited that love of honour and audacity, at the same time that obstinacy and perversity, which characterised him throughout his life. It was generally considered that he possessed only moderate abilities, because he seemed to devote his time only to bear hunts and other equally dangerous pastimes. Accordingly his neighbours, who were jealous of the power of Sweden, thought that this was the best opportunity to recover what they had lost. Russia, Denmark, and Poland formed an alliance, and immediately began the

great Northern War (1700–1721; cf. Vol. V, pp. 567 and 575; Vol. VII, pp. 500 ff., 510, 514). Denmark attacked Holstein; the Duke of Holstein, Frederic IV, had married Hedwig Sophia, the sister of Charles (see genealogical table below).

Peter attacked Esthonia, and Augustus sent an army against Livonia. Charles refused all attempts at reconciliation, and declared that he would not enter upon an unjust war nor would he end a just one before he had humbled his enemies. He first of all directed his attention to Denmark. King Frederic IV was compelled by the peace of Travendal (August 18, 1700) to retire from the alliance and to acknowledge the independence of the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp. In the same year he inflicted a severe defeat upon Peter at Narva, November 30; but instead of following up his victory he first attempted to crush his cousin Augustus,[1] whom he bitterly hated. He accordingly advanced through Courland and Lithuania and conquered Warsaw and Cracow. Augustus was declared to have forfeited the crown of Poland and Stanislas Leszczynski proclaimed king (1704). In the meantime Peter had been successful in the Baltic provinces and had founded St. Petersburg in Ingermanland. Charles, however, remained several years in Poland in order to establish Stanislas in his kingdom, and then pressed on into Saxony, where Augustus the Strong was compelled by the peace of Altranstädt (1706) to renounce the Polish crown for himself and his descendants, to acknowledge Stanislas, and to withdraw from all his alliances. Charles stood now at the height of his glory. In his camp at Altranstädt he was visited by foreign princes and ambassadors, who solicited his friendship or help. Louis XIV made every endeavour to gain his assistance in the war of the Spanish Succession. Charles, however, wished to overthrow Peter, the Czar of Russia (1707). But instead of advancing to St. Petersburg he marched towards the Ukraine in order to ally himself with the Cossack hetman Ivan Mazeppa, and afterwards to proceed to Moscow. Without waiting for reinforcements, which were on the way, he entered south Russia. The Russians had in the meantime laid waste the country and defeated the general, A. L. Lewenhaupt, who was to have brought up the Swedish reinforcements; Mazeppa, however, whose treachery was discovered, came as a fugitive to the Swedish army. In spite of this Charles continued his march and arrived at Poltava in spring. Peter thereupon hurried to the relief of the town, and gained a brilliant victory over Charles on the 8th of July, 1709; the king himself only escaped with difficulty, and fled with five hundred followers across the Dnieper and the Bug into Turkish territory. The battle of Poltava decided the fate of the North; Russia had taken the place of Sweden as a great power.

Charles remained for five years in Turkey, where he was well received. As he only wished to return as a victor, he did his utmost to induce the Sultan, Ahmed III, to fight against Russia. However, as these expeditions were unsuccessful, the Turks at last grew weary of him, and he received an order from Con-

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[1] Frederic III of Denmark, † 1670

- Anna Sophia, † 1717; 1666, m. John George III of Saxony, † 1691
  - Frederic Augustus I of Saxony (Augustus II of Poland), † 1733
- Ulrica Eleonora the Elder, † 1693; 1680, m. Karl XI of Sweden († 1697)
  - Charles XII † 1718
  - Hedwig Sophia, † 1708; 1698, m. Frederic IV of Holstein-Gottorp († 1702)
  - Ulrika Eleonora d. † 1741; 1715, m. Frederic of Hesse-Cassel († 1751)

stantinople to withdraw himself. As he did not obey, he was overpowered after a desperate struggle in his house near Bender, on the 12th of February, 1713, and taken first to Timurtasz, then to Demotika, near Adrianople. Bad news from home induced him finally to leave Turkey on the 30th of September, 1714.

The power of Sweden had begun to decline even before 1709. The land had become so impoverished and depopulated by the constant imposition of taxes and by recruiting that a strong feeling of discontent was spreading among the people. After the battle of Poltava Frederic III and Augustus II renewed their alliance with Russia. Augustus drove Stanislas out of Poland. The Danes landed in Scania, which, however, they were soon compelled to leave. Peter, who had completed the conquest of the Baltic provinces, devastated Finland, while his fleet threatened the coasts of Sweden. The majority of the German possessions had been lost. In this desperate situation the Council of State summoned the Riksdag in spite of the prohibition of the king; the dethronement of the king was seriously considered. On hearing this Charles decided to return home. As "Captain Peter Frisch" he rode in sixteen days through Hungary and Germany, and arrived on the 22d of November, 1714, at Stralsund, which was the last possession of the Swedes in Pomerania. In the meantime Prussia, which was anxious to obtain Pomerania, and Hanover, which had bought Bremen and Verden (a conquest from the Danes), had attached themselves to the enemies of Sweden. After a heroic defence Charles was obliged to surrender Stralsund, which was besieged by the allies, and return to Sweden.

In spite of the terrible condition in which Charles found his country he still wished to continue the war, and when the Swedes had their king again in their midst their hopes revived. The former minister of Holstein, Georg Heinrich, Baron Görtz, who entered Charles' service in 1715, continued to procure the necessary means; Charles assembled an army, which he took to Norway (1716). But when his fleet was destroyed and the Danes and Russians were threatening an attack on Scania, he was compelled to return to Sweden. Two years later he made a second attempt to conquer Norway, and advanced against the fortress of Frederiksten near Frederikshald in southern Norway. There one evening, as he was watching the soldiers working in the trenches, a bullet from the fortress put an end to his restless life (December 11, 1718). The siege was at once raised, and his brother-in-law, Frederic of Hesse, led the army back to Sweden. In spite of the misfortunes into which Sweden was plunged by his obstinacy Charles became the favourite national hero on account of his morality and his heroism, his contempt of death, and his marvellous victories. He lived and died a warrior. At the same time he did not fail to appreciate the works of peace, art, and science. During his stay on the continent, and also after his return home, he worked zealously at reforming the government; and these reforms bear witness to his impartial sagacity.

E. The Supremacy of the Nobility (1718–1771)

As Charles died unmarried, after his death his sister Ulrica Eleonora, who had been married to Frederic, hereditary prince of Hesse (p. 494), was chosen queen, but she was obliged to renounce the absolute sovereignty in February,

1719. The war soon came to an end in the new reign. On the 20th of November, 1719, at Stockholm, Hanover received Bremen and Verden, Prussia (on the 1st of February, 1720, at the same place), the southern part of Nearer Pomerania, and Russia (on the 10th of September, 1721, at Nystad), the provinces of Ingermanland, Esthonia, and Livonia, with Viborg Len, from Finland. Denmark was satisfied with six hundred thousand thalers (July 14, 1720, at Frederiksborg); Sweden abandoned her claim to exemption from tolls in the Sound, and promised not to protect the Duke of Gottorp (Vol. VII, pp. 515 f.).

(*a*) *Frederic von Hesse-Cassel (1720–1751).* — Ulrica Eleonora resigned the crown in March, 1720, in favour of her husband; Frederic received allegiance as king. However, a new form of government limited the power of the king still more. The king became quite dependent upon the Council of State and the Riksdag. The supreme power was in the hands of the Riksdag, which assembled every three years and had the right of supervising and altering all the decrees of the king and of the Council of State. National affairs were first discussed in the standing committees, among which the "secret committee" (*"sekreta utskottet"*) soon obtained the greatest influence. The nobles had the predominance in the Riksdag; they alone had a seat and a vote in the Council of State and filled all the important offices. The period between 1720 and 1772 is generally called "the time of liberty." For a long while after the long and devastating war the country was in a most wretched condition; the finances were in the greatest confusion. However, the situation improved more rapidly than might have been expected, thanks principally to the chancellor, Count Arvid Horn. In order to further his country's interests he preserved a wise and cautious demeanour towards other nations. At home, also, there was plenty to do: new laws were necessary, and the finances had again to be set in order; all branches of industry required careful attention. In a short time manufactures and mining, commerce and navigation, revived.

With increased prosperity, however, the voices of the malcontents made themselves heard. There was a certain section of the people who could not reconcile themselves to the loss of the Baltic provinces, and goaded on by France they had become dissatisfied with Horn's foreign policy; they wanted war with Russia in order to regain what they had lost. They derisively termed Horn and his followers *"Nattmössor"* (Night-caps), while they called themselves *"Hattar"* ("Wide-awakes"). In this way Sweden soon became the scene of fierce party quarrels. The contending parties had recourse to any expedient which might injure their opponents, and by which they could attract followers to their own side; as both factions were equally venal, corruption became more common. The neighbouring nations watched the internal strife with joy, for it promised advantage to them at the expense of Sweden, and foreign ambassadors spared no money to prolong the strife in the interests of their own states. The "Wide-awakes" received bribes from France, the "Night-caps" from Russia.

In the year 1738 the "Wide-awakes," under the leadership of Charles, Count of Syllenborg, succeeded in gaining the upper hand. In 1741 they declared war against Russia. The generals R. H. Wrangel, Count Charles Emil Lewenhaupt, and H. M. v. Buddenbrock, were defeated by the Russians, and at last were forced to surrender. In the meantime Sweden was engaged with the question of the

succession to the throne, as Ulrica Eleonora had died childless in 1741. A few, and among them the peasants, desired the Danish crown prince (Frederic V) as successor. This was actively opposed by Elizabeth, the Czarina of Russia, who feared the power of a united north; she therefore promised easy conditions if the Swedes would elect the Gottorp prince, Adolphus Frederic, who enjoyed her favour. The "Wide-awakes" succeeded in effecting his election, and in the peace of Åbo (7th of August, 1743) Russia gave back the greater portion of Finland.

The "Wide-awakes" maintained their power for several years. Like the "Night-caps," they aimed at promoting national industries; their methods, however, were extremely ill-advised and extravagant. It is true, manufactures flourished, but in a way which was unnatural and injurious to other branches of industry, especially to agriculture. Commerce and navigation were handicapped by various prohibitions and by heavy customs duties; the finances were in disorder, and the national debt steadily increased. It must be admitted that the "Wide-awakes" rendered great service to the arts and sciences; they founded an academy of painting and sculpture and another for science, and lived to see the fruits of their labours. The study of natural science reached a high state of perfection; its most celebrated representatives were K. Linné (d. 1778) and the physicist, A. Celsius (d. 1744). The well-known mystic E. Swedenborg (d. 1772), also belongs to this period. Among other great men should be mentioned the historian, S. Lagerbring (d. 1787), and O. Dalin (d. 1763), and the philologist, J. Ihre (d. 1780). In the cultivation of poetry the Swedes took as their models French and English poets. Dalin, who was mentioned above, wrote epics, lyrics, satires, and dramas; he is the father of modern Swedish æsthetic literature.

(*b*) *The Beginning of the Gottorp Dynasty* (*1751–1771*). — King Frederic I died in 1751. His successor, Adolphus Frederic, was a weak, insignificant man, but his wife, Louisa Ulrika, a sister of Frederic II of Prussia, who was both talented and fond of power, desired to extend the authority of the king. However, her attempt to overthrow the "Wide-awakes" failed so hopelessly that the king and queen were still more humiliated. The king was not even able to prevent the "Wide-awakes" from attaching themselves to the enemies of Prussia in the Seven Years' War and declaring war against Frederic II. The war was carried on so carelessly that Sweden completely forfeited her military reputation. It also aroused such indignation against the "Wide-awakes," with whose unsatisfactory government the people were already dissatisfied, that the "Night-caps" succeeded in overthrowing them and regaining their influence. If the "Wide-awakes" had been too extravagant with public money, the "Night-caps" were too economical. They declined to give the manufacturers the large loans and the assistance on which many depended, with the result that they were compelled to stop work. On account of the consequent lack of employment and distress the "Night-caps" became so unpopular that in 1769 they were forced to give way to the "Wide-awakes." Thus the two parties continued their struggles, without, however, allowing the phantom king to take advantage of their strife by increasing his own power; even the threat of Adolphus Frederic that he would resign his crown had no effect. Russia, Prussia, and Denmark, who had in view the dismemberment of Sweden, naturally sought in every way to prevent any

change in the constitution. Thus Sweden was threatened with the same fate which soon afterwards overtook unfortunate Poland.

F. The Restoration of Royal Power. The Last of the Gottorps (1771–1818)

Gustavus III, the son of Adolphus Frederic, came to the rescue of the country. He was on the continent at the time of his father's death, but on hearing the news at once hurried back to Sweden, firmly resolved to make an end of internal strife and to recover for the crown its former splendour. He gained the approval of the officers and soldiers for his plan. On the 19th of August, 1772, by a *coup d'état* he arrested the councillors and the leaders of the Estates, and on August 21 compelled the Riksdag to sanction a new constitution, by which the king received absolute power, appointed the members of the Council (which only retained the power of giving advice), and shared the legislative power with the Estates. This revolution was received with joy by the people and was effected without bloodshed; those who had been arrested were set at liberty without being prosecuted or punished. The neighbouring nations were indignant at the *coup d'état* and threatened war. Gustavus took vigorous precautions, and the storm was soon stilled.

In the years following his *coup d'état* Gustavus made good use of his new powers. He was talented, learned, and affable, and having been influenced by the liberal ideas of the Encyclopædists (which were being diffused all over Europe), he was strenuously endeavouring to carry out useful reforms. The law-courts were improved, the finances reformed, the freedom of the press was introduced, and the fetters which impeded trade and other branches of industry were removed. Gustavus was especially interested in art and science; he founded the Swedish Academy (1786), the Swedish Theatre (1773), and the Musical Academy (1771). The plastic arts were also making progress, in particular sculpture. I. T. Sergel (d. 1814) was the greatest sculptor of his age. In literature the French style prevailed and was adopted by Gustavus, who was himself a dramatist, and by several poets who had gathered round him, namely, I. H. Kellgren (d. 1795) and K. G. af Leopold (d. 1829); while others who kept themselves free from French influence and went their own way were K. M. Bellmann (d. 1795), B. Lidner (d. 1793), and A. M. Lenngren (d. 1817).

Thus the first years of Gustavus' reign were fortunate for Sweden, and the king himself was very popular among the people. Gradually, however, the worse side of his nature gained the ascendancy. He was soon in want of money through his love of splendour and extravagance, and, in order to meet his necessities, he took measures which aroused great dissatisfaction, especially among the lower classes. It was the lower classes, however, to whom he looked for support against the nobility, who could never forgive him for his *coup d'état*. When he observed that his popularity was declining, he thought that he could recover it by a successful war. In 1788 he found a pretext for declaring war against Russia, and marched through Finland, across the Russian boundary, while the fleet was instructed to sail towards St. Petersburg at the same time. But he was scarcely across the boundary when the officers mutinied, and demanded that he should summon a Riksdag and conclude peace, for he had acted uncon-

stitutionally in declaring war without the consent of the Riksdag. Gustavus hurried back to Sweden, where he won the support of the people, who were indignant at the revolt, summoned the Riksdag, and carried the "*Säkerhets-akt*" (February 21, 1789), which granted him almost unlimited power. The war was continued, but the favourable opportunity was lost, and the war soon came to an end with the peace of Werelä (August 14, 1790), which in every respect confirmed the former state of affairs. Gustavus desired to help his friend Louis XVI against the Revolution; and accordingly in 1791 concluded a treaty with Russia, and conceived the plan of advancing into France at the head of a Swedish and Russian army. However, a conspiracy was formed among the nobility, whose indignation had reached its height since the introduction of the "*Säkerhets-akt.*" At a masked ball at Stockholm Gustavus was mortally wounded (March 16, 1792) and died a few days later (March 29). Gustavus left a son, Gustavus IV (Adolphus, 1792–1809), who was not of age. The brother of Gustavus, Charles, Duke of Södermanland, undertook the government; he gave up the campaign which had been planned against France and remained neutral during the First Coalition. But after 1796, when Gustavus IV himself had begun to rule, Sweden's policy was changed. Gustavus was very unlike his father; he was economical, and led a strictly moral life, but was extremely narrow-minded, obstinate, and proud. He hated the French Revolution and Napoleon, and believed that he was called by God to destroy the tyrant; accordingly he joined the Third Coalition against France (1805) and crossed over into Germany, but proved an incapable general.

Notwithstanding, he would not hear of peace, and even when the allies concluded the peace of Tilsit (1807) he continued the war alone, but was in consequence drawn into war with Russia and Denmark. It is true England sent him auxiliary troops, but he lost them by his folly and obstinacy. The war brought defeat after defeat for Sweden. Napoleon occupied Pomerania, the Norwegians were attacking Sweden from the west, and the Russians conquered Finland. The Fins, who had received scarcely any help from the king, in spite of a heroic defence at length submitted to superior force. The situation of Sweden was desperate. Russia and Denmark were already contemplating a partition of the country. It was then realised that, in order to save the land, the king must be set aside. Gustavus was arrested on the 13th of March at the castle of Stockholm. On the 13th of May the Estates proclaimed his deposition; his descendants were debarred from succeeding to the Swedish crown. Gustavus was promised a pension, which he did not accept. He left the country with his family, and died on the 7th of December, at St. Gall in Switzerland. Karolina, the only daughter of his eldest son (d. 1877), who was also called Gustavus Adolphus, is the widow of King Albert of Saxony, who died on the 19th of June, 1902.

After the dethronement of Gustavus the constitution was altered, and Sweden became a limited monarchy. The king retained absolute power, but in all national affairs was to consult the Council of State, which was responsible to the Estates, who met together every five years and had the sole right of levying taxes. The Duke of Södermanland ascended the throne as Charles XIII (1809–1818). The first aim of the new government was to put an end to the war. On the 17th of September, 1809, the whole of Finland, with the Åland Islands, was ceded

to Russia. Pomerania and Rügen (January 6, 1810) were given back by Napoleon, to whom the Swedes gave a promise that they would join in enforcing the continental blockade. By the 10th of December, 1809, the war with Denmark was concluded without loss.

G. The House of Bernadotte (from 1818)

As Charles XIII was old and childless, Christian Augustus, Prince of Augustenburg, was chosen as successor (1809), but died suddenly on the 28th of May, 1810. Many were of the opinion that in order to restore Sweden's power it was necessary to choose one of Napoleon's marshals. A young Swedish officer, who met the Prince of Pontecorvo, Marshal Bernadotte, in Paris, offered him the crown on his own responsibility, and contrived to use his influence in Sweden, so that the marshal was designated heir to the crown on the 21st of August at a Riksdag at Örebro. Bernadotte, who called himself Crown Prince Charles John, went with his son Oskar to Sweden in October, and at once became actual ruler.

The Swedes had chosen him on the supposition that he was on friendly terms with Napoleon, and hoped that he would regain Finland for them with the help of the emperor. Charles John, however, had never been Napoleon's friend and did not wish to be his vassal; he therefore abandoned the idea of reconquering Finland, which in his opinion Sweden could never defend. He would have liked to obtain possession of Norway, which by reason of its situation seemed to belong more to Sweden. Accordingly he approached Alexander I of Russia, and on the 5th of April, 1812, concluded a treaty with the Czar and joined the league against Napoleon. In return for this Russia and England promised their assistance in the conquest of Norway. In May, 1813, he crossed over into Germany with an army, received in July chief command over the "united army of north Germany," was victorious at Grossbeeren and Dennewitz, and fought in the battle of Leipsic (Vol. VIII, p. 62 f.). After this great battle he advanced against Denmark with part of the northern army, and by the peace of Kiel, January 14, 1841, compelled King Frederic VI to relinquish the kingdom of Norway (p. 462).

Charles John then attached himself again to the allies, who had marched to France, and did not return to the north until the summer of 1814. In the meantime the Norwegians, who did not wish to submit to the Swedish king, had drawn up a free constitution and chosen the Danish prince Christian Frederic as their king (p. 473 f.). Charles John, who was shrewd enough to acknowledge the Norwegian constitution, succeeded in removing Christian Frederic and in bringing about the union between Sweden and Norway in a peaceful way. By his ability as a warrior and a politician Charles John had raised his new country from the lethargy into which it had been plunged by the foolish policy of Gustavus IV to its former rank as a kingdom; he had ruled with energy and discretion and had furthered the welfare of the land. He was, therefore, admired and beloved by the people, and foreigner though he was, he ascended the throne of Sweden as Charles XIV at the death of Charles XIII (February 5, 1818), without opposition. In time the enthusiasm for the new king declined; he had, it is true, an attractive and lovable nature, but he was also violent in temper, intolerant of criticism, and became more and more conservative, especially after the Revolution of July. The greatest dissatisfaction was aroused by his resistance to every proposal for altering the con-

stitution, which on several points, particularly with respect to the organisation of the Riksdag, did not meet the requirements of the times. He, the son of the Revolution, was charged with holding narrow views. After 1830 a Liberal opposition was formed, which steadily increased in power, and numbered distinguished personalities among its leaders. As the government was strongly opposed to all innovations, the indignation at last grew so great that there were serious thoughts of compelling the king to resign (1840). However, the storm was averted, and the last years of Charles XIV were passed in quiet. He died on the 8th of March, 1844, aged eighty-one years.

Under his son Oskar I (1844–1859), who was just as popular in Sweden as in Norway, the opposition became weaker. The king attached himself to the Liberals, surrounded himself with ministers of broad views, sanctioned an extension of the freedom of the press, and triennial assemblies of the Riksdag. However, his popular proposition regarding the reconstruction of the Riksdag was rejected (1850), and after the Revolution of February, when a reaction was sweeping over Europe, Oskar also grew more conservative and let the question of the Riksdag drop. During his reign the management of the State was successfully carried on. Oskar altered the foreign policy of Sweden by withdrawing from the Russian alliance. It was suspected that the Russians were desirous of taking possession of certain portions of the Finnish frontier lands. During the Crimean War Sweden and Norway concluded a treaty with France and England (November, 1855), by which the aid of the western powers was assured to the united kingdoms in the event of Russia seizing any of the northern harbours. Oskar, who considered himself a thorough Scandinavian (cf. p. 464), stood on the best of terms with Denmark; he acted as a mediator in the first Schleswig war (August, 1848), and later offered King Frederic VII a defensive alliance in order to protect the Eider boundary. This offer was, however, not accepted by the Danes. Oskar's son, Charles XV (1859–1872), was also a personal friend of Frederic VII. But the negotiations which had been opened with Denmark on account of the political situation of Europe after Frederic's death (November 15, 1863), were discontinued, so that the king was compelled, come what might, to give up the cause of Denmark (1864).

The question of the Riksdag was finally solved in the reign of Charles XV, as at the Riksdag of 1865 all the four Estates assented to a reorganisation. The Riksdag now meets every year and consists of two chambers; the king has the right of dismissing the Riksdag and issuing the writs for a new election. This reorganisation, by which the nobles were deprived of their last prerogatives, also effected a change of parties. The "Intellectuals" were supported by the cultured classes, while the "Landt-manna party" aimed chiefly at economy in the administration, particularly in the army, and a more equal division of the burden of taxation.

In the reign of Oskar II, Charles' brother and successor, a violent dispute was caused by the customs policy; several of the Landt-manna party joined the representatives of wholesale industry and carried a law for protection. In recent years the chambers, in which Conservatives and Liberals are now the contending parties, have introduced a new army law by which the term of service for the "Beväring" (those who are liable to serve in the army) has been considerably lengthened. On the other hand, no agreement has yet been reached about the extension of the franchise, which is still very limited.

Sweden no less than Norway has made great material progress in the nineteenth century. The legislature has departed from the economic principles of an earlier age and has abolished the restrictions which fettered commerce and manufacture. At the same time necessary improvements have been made in the means of communication (Göta canal, 1832; railways 1856). Trade and manufacture have opened up new paths for themselves. Agriculture, which was so neglected in the eighteenth century, has developed to such an extent that Sweden, which in the eighteenth century could not provide the corn necessary for home consumption, can now export grain. Cattle-breeding and mining (especially for iron ore) have also made great progress in recent years.

As wealth has increased by the development of natural resources, provision has also been made for intellectual growth by improvement in the schools, so that in Sweden, as in the other two Scandinavian countries, popular education has now reached a high standard. The Swedes have attained European fame in all branches of natural science. We will mention only the following: J. J. Berzelius (d. 1848), the founder of modern chemistry; the zoölogist, Sven Nilsson (d. 1883), the creator of prehistoric archæology; the botanist, E. M. Fries (d. 1878); the anatomist and ethnologist, A. A. Retzius (d. 1860). The brothers Nils and John Ericsson (d. 1870 and 1889) were distinguished engineers and mechanics. John has become famous all over the world by his inventions of the steam syringe, the steam propeller, the calorimeter, and the "monitor" (cf. Vol. I, p. 556). N. A. E. Nordenskiöld (d. 1901) accomplished (1878–1879) the first circumnavigation of Asia with the "Vega," and Sven von Hedin (born 1865), has become celebrated by his bold journeys of discovery in Central Asia. The following historians should be mentioned: E. G. Geijer (d. 1847), who is also known as a poet, V. E. Svedelius (d. 1889), F. F. Carlsson (d. 1887), and K. G. Malmström (b. 1822). K. J. Boström (d. 1866) produced the first, and so far the only, system of philosophy which is due to a Swede.

With the beginning of the nineteenth century Swedish literature showed signs of fresh life, owing to a reaction against the French style which had prevailed up till then. The "Fosforists," so called after a journal "Fosforos," modelled themselves on the German romantic school, while the Götische Bund wished to revive a national spirit in literature. The chief supporter of the first movement was P. D. A. Atterbom (d. 1855). To the latter belonged E. G. Geijer (d. 1847), already mentioned among the historians; E. Tegner (d. 1846), whose "Frithjofs Saga" is known far beyond the boundaries of Sweden; and, lastly, P. H. Ling (d. 1839), whose patriotism was perhaps greater than his poetical talent, and who has rendered greater services in another domain, namely, as founder of Swedish gymnastics. To the first half of the century belong also F. M. Franzén (d. 1847), and the hymnologist, J. D. Wallin (d. 1839), who had both received their training in the time of Gustavus. Younger than these are the poets E. Sjöberg ("Vitalis;" d. 1828), K. J. L. Almquist (d. 1866), W. V. Braun (d. 1860), O. P. Sturzen-Becker (d. 1869), G. Wennerberg (d. 1901), and K. V. A. Strandberg (d. 1877). Among the novelists should be named Frederika Bremer (1865), Sofia v. Knorring (d. 1848), E. Flygare-Carlén (d. 1892), and M. J. Crusenstolpe (d. 1865). After 1870 poetry, under the influence of France, Denmark, and Norway, became realistic; poets attempted to solve social problems, and thus the tone of their poetry was altered. To this class belong A. Strindberg, G. af Geijerstam (b. 1858)

B. v. Heidenstam (b. 1859), Anna Ch. Edgren (d. 1892), and Thor Hedberg (b. 1862). Some took up an intermediate position; for example, the lyric poet, Count Karl Snolisky (d. 1903), and Victor Rydberg (d. 1895), who has also become celebrated through his researches into the history of civilization and mythology. On the other hand, the romantic tendency was represented by a distinguished poet and critic, K. D. af Wirfén (b. 1842).

Sweden has also taken a prominent part in the development of modern music and besides several composers has produced two world-renowned singers: Jenny Lind (Mme. Goldschmidt; d. 1887) and Christine Nilsson (b. 1843). The plastic arts were cultivated during the nineteenth century by the sculptors B. E. Fogelberg (d. 1854), J. P. Molin (d. 1873), and J. Bröjson (b. 1835), and the painters K. H. D'Uncker (d. 1866), H. A. L. Wahlberg (d. 1906), G. von Rosen (b. 1843) and several others.

H. Finland since the Sixteenth Century

(*a*) *The Swedish Period.* — Finland, which the Swedes had conquered and converted to Christianity in the thirteenth century, was not intimately connected with the kingdom of Sweden until the sixteenth century; in the fifteenth century it was generally given to some Swedish magnate as a fief. It was not until the time of the Vasa that the royal power made itself felt in the land. Gustavus Vasa reformed the government and system of taxation, destroyed the Catholic hierarchy, and introduced the Reformation, for which M. Agricola (d. 1557) in particular interested himself keenly; but the king's efforts to release the Fins from the oppression of their own nobles were fruitless. The situation became still worse under the sons of Gustavus, Erik XIV and John. At last in 1596–1597 the Finnish peasants rose against their oppressors, and, armed with clubs, plundered the estates of the nobles; but the rising, which spread over the whole country, was suppressed, and for the second time Finland was conquered. This "Club War" cost the lives of three thousand peasants. The conditions improved after Charles IX became king. Assistance was given to the country, and it was united more firmly to Sweden; the power of the nobility was crushed, and Finland, which had become a grand duchy in 1581, was governed from Stockholm, although it had its own court of justice at Åbo. There in 1640 the governor-general, Per Brahe the younger, who rendered valuable services to Finland, founded a university, which soon became the intellectual centre of Finland. The peace of Stolbowa (1617; Vol. V, p. 527) fixed the frontier on the side of Russia. From that time Finland enjoyed a time of prosperity until towards the end of the seventeenth century, when the land was terribly devastated by famine and pestilence. The great Northern War came as a crowning misfortune. The country did not recover until the eighteenth century, when Swedish rule predominated. Even the war with Russia (1741–1743; p. 496) did not permanently affect the prosperity to which the country had again attained.

(*b*) *Russian Influence.* — In the meantime desires for independence were awakening in the hearts of many Fins, who hoped, with the aid of Russia, to form an independent Finnish state under Russian protection. This wish was partly realised at the beginning of the nineteenth century owing to the indiscreet

policy of Gustavus IV; for after the unsuccessful war of 1808–1809 Sweden was obliged to cede Finland, together with the Åland Islands, to Russia by the peace of Fredrikshamn (September 17, 1809). The emperor Alexander I promised at the Diet (assembly) of Borgå, which he opened in person, that he would maintain the constitution of the country. Finland was united to Russia as an independent grand duchy, with Helsingfors for its capital. The provinces which had been ceded by the peace of Nystad (1721) and the peace of Åbo (1743) were also incorporated with the grand duchy after several years. At first Alexander I was true to his promise and respected the constitution, but later he became a reactionary, and in this respect he was followed by Nicholas I. Better times returned with Alexander II, who decreed that from 1869 the Diet (Landtag), to which Nicholas had allowed no authority, should again be regularly convened, and should have the power of legislation with certain restrictions. In this period reforms were introduced which furthered the material and social development of the country. In the nineteenth century the Fins also distinguished themselves by their literary activity. E. Lönnrot (d. 1884) collected the old Finnish national sagas ("Kalevala"), which attracted great attention when they were published in 1835. Joh. Runeberg (d. 1877), Finland's greatest poet, extolled in "Fänrik Ståls Sägner" the exploits of the Fins in the last war against Russia. Z. Topelius (d. 1898) has earned well-deserved renown even beyond the boundaries of Finland by his "Narratives" (Erzählungen). In recent times a movement has been set on foot in Finland which aims at making the national language equal in importance to the Swedish. The supporters of this movement, the "Fennomanen," have been so successful in their efforts that both languages are on an equal footing in everything which immediately concerns the population of Finland. Although the people have divided into two parties on this question, they are all agreed that they must unite against the encroachments of Russia; for there are many Russians who are not pleased with the independence of Finland, and who would gladly see the country entirely incorporated with Russia. The Russian government also made it evident, not very long ago, by various measures that Russia would like to incorporate Finland and destroy the Finnish nationalty. Latterly, however (in 1906), the Russians seem to be meditating some fresh plan.

XI

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

By H. W. C. DAVIS

I. THE DARK AND MIDDLE AGES

A. Celts, Romans, and West Germans

(*a*) *The Aborigines.* — From the western shores of Europe there extends northward into the Atlantic Ocean a broad submarine shelf at an average depth of three hundred feet below the surface. On the northwestern edge of this shelf rise Great Britain and Ireland, the only two European islands of any considerable size. They are surrounded by upwards of nine hundred smaller islands. The whole group is to be regarded as a fragment of the European continent. It was separated from the continent at a period when the mammoth and the cave-bear were still thriving species, and when the glacial epoch had been succeeded by one of milder climate. The flora and fauna of the British Isles are different from those of Europe, and the first human immigrants came hither before the formation of the English Channel and the North Sea. Of these earliest inhabitants we possess some memorials, for the most part flint implements and weapons. There are stones which seem from their shape to have been used as missiles; others to be wielded by the hand for purposes of striking and cutting; while some are carefully pointed, and appear to have been fitted with wooden handles. In these stone weapons we find every degree of finish: the earlier are rudely chipped into shape; those of later origin are polished with a skill which a workman of to-day, using the best modern tools, would find it difficult to imitate. The stock to which belonged the makers of these weapons is a matter for conjecture. They are, however, generally agreed to have been a dark-haired race of the primitive Altaic stock, the Iberians of Tacitus; and in default of fuller evidence this hypothesis may be allowed to stand. This primitive people advanced some distance from their first stage of civilization. They learned to make clay vessels. They developed a primitive form of agriculture. But the means of subsistence which they could procure in this way and by their older industries of hunting and fishing must always have been scanty, and we cannot suppose that they increased in numbers to any great degree. Hence they fell an easy prey to the Indo-Germanic race of the Celts. This people, advancing westward through Europe, expelled the Iberians from every land in which they met them. On reaching the Atlantic they broke up into a northern and a southern horde, of which the latter marched over the Pyrenees into Spain, while the former entered the British Isles. By this time the Atlantic had forced a passage through the English Channel. The flat alluvial lands of northwestern Europe had sunk; and the British Isles were now separated from Scandinavia by the broad but shallow basin of the North Sea.

(*b*) *The Celts.* — The Celtic new-comers were a stalwart race, and they had already passed into the Age of Bronze. Inured to war by their long wanderings, and equipped with superior weapons, they can hardly have found much difficulty in dealing with the British aborigines. The latter fled for refuge to Ireland, to Cornwall, to the mountains of Wales and Scotland. Their descendants may still be detected in these outlying regions, but appear to have adopted the language of their conquerors. There are traces of a non-Aryan speech in the Celtic districts of the British Isles, but these traces are slight.

In the Celtic immigration two successive waves can be distinguished. First came a tribe which bore the name of Goidels; next followed the Brythons, who drove their forerunners to join the Iberians in the more remote regions of the British Isles. The dialects of the two tribes were different. That of the Goidels gave birth to the Gaelic, Manx, and Irish tongues; while from the Brythonic dialect are descended those of Cornwall (now a dead language) and of Wales. It is probable that these two first and most important swarms of invaders were continually followed up by smaller bands. At all events we know that Britain was in the first century B. C. still liable to immigrations of Celtic tribes from Gaul. But of these movements and the conflicts to which they gave rise history has nothing to record. Before the coming of the Romans Britain was known to the civilized world simply as a land of tin mines.

(*c*) *Greeks and Romans.* — The development of the tin trade appears to date from the time of Pytheas of Marseilles, a Greek scientist (d. 322 B. C.), who visited Britain with the object of ascertaining what truth there might be in the current rumours of the country's mineral wealth. He explored the east coast of Britain for a considerable distance, and observed the habits of the natives. Tin he can hardly have found in the parts which he visited, but his native city appears to have followed up the inferences which he drew. There is the evidence of coins to prove a trade connection between Britain and Marseilles at the close of the third century. When Posidonius, another Greek explorer, visited Britain (about 110 B. C.) he found that the tin trade with Marseilles had reached considerable proportions, and that the ore was mined and smelted by the Britons with a degree of skill which presupposed a long experience.

In the wake of the Greek scientists came the Roman legions. Julius Cæsar found the Celts of Britain troublesome neighbours to the newly conquered provinces of Gaul, and he raided southern Britain in 55 and 54 B. C. To these incursions we are indebted for his highly interesting account of British life and manners. Otherwise they had little result. In the words of Tacitus, Cæsar can only be said to have indicated Britain as a future field for conquests. At his first attempt he barely succeeded in effecting a disembarkation before the approach of the winter season compelled him to withdraw; on his second appearance he crossed the Thames and entered Essex, but withdrew after receiving the submission of the Trinobantes and some other tribes. From this time forward the relations of Britain with the Roman world were peaceful, until Claudius undertook the work of reduction in A. D. 43.

(*d*) *The Roman Conquest.* — At this date, as in the time of Julius, Britain, though comparatively populous, was weakened by political divisions. It was

inhabited by tribes of small size, who rarely, if ever, agreed to unite under a common leader; and the task of the invader was facilitated by the mutual jealousies of tribal kings. Every stage of civilization appears to have been represented among these tribes. Those of the southeast had benefited by peaceful intercourse with the Roman Empire and by the infusion of new blood from Gaul. They drove a considerable trade with the continent, not only in slaves and skins and metals, but also in corn and cattle, — a fact from which we may infer that they had reached considerable proficiency in agriculture and stock-breeding. These tribes made use of coins of gold, silver, brass, and copper. They showed some skill in working bronze and iron and clay. The remoter peoples, however, conducted their trade by the primitive methods of barter, were barely able to manufacture the rudest types of pottery, and depended largely on stone instruments. The interval between the most and the least civilized was great. But even the tribes of the southeast had made little progress in the art of war. Their strong places were defended by earthworks and wooden palisades; there was no walled town or fort to be found in Britain, and the ordinary village was open to the first attack. The strength of a British army lay in the scythed chariot and light cavalry. The skill of the individual combatant was often great, but the armour and weapons of offence were poor. There was a want of discipline, and if the initial onslaught proved unsuccessful, the entire host melted rapidly away.

Such difficulty, therefore, as the Romans experienced in effecting the conquest and holding the conquered country was due rather to the circumstances of geography and to the scattered nature of the population, than to the strength of the tribal communities with which they had to deal. The work of reduction proceeded steadily, though chequered with occasional reverses, until the time of the emperor Hadrian. Of the early governors of Britain the most successful was Julius Agricola (78–84 A. D.), who completed the conquest of Wales, extended the sphere of Roman influence to the firths of Forth and Clyde, instilled into the tribes of the farther north a wholesome fear of the Roman name, and was meditating an invasion of Ireland at the time of his recall. It was in his time that the leading British families were induced to adopt Roman manners and send their sons to Roman schools. Hadrian, who visited the island in 119 A. D., is remembered in British history for the great wall of stone, studded with forts at regular intervals, which he built between the Solway and the Tyne, apparently less as a boundary for the Roman province than to regulate the communications of the subject tribes on each side of the wall. As far as the Forth and Clyde the whole land remained Roman territory. Recent archæological discoveries suggest that Roman garrisons were at one time stationed even farther to the north; but the attempt which Severus made (in 208) to continue the northern conquests of Agricola was rudely checked.

(*e*) *Britain and the Empire.* — The Roman occupation of Britain lasted for about three hundred and fifty years. Little, however, is known of the history of this period. The legions of Britain were an important factor in several dynastic revolutions. Carausius (288) attempted to make his governorship of the island a stepping stone to the empire, and Britain remained, under his rule, an *imperium in imperio* for eight years. In Diocletian's scheme for the administration of the empire, Britain, Gaul, and Spain were grouped together under a Cæsar who was

subordinate to the Augustus of the West. Constantius, the first holder of the new office, became in due time an Augustus, and planted his capital at York (d. 306). Through him Britain may claim a connection with the work of his son Constantine, the founder of the new Rome on the Bosporus and the first of the Christian emperors. Britain therefore plays a certain part in the general history of the empire. But of the provincials, as distinct from the legionaries and their governors, history is almost silent. Christianity found its way into the island by the commencement of the fourth century; but the old Celtic deities long continued to receive the veneration of the natives. Roads, and colonies, and camps were built; in the southeast, in the Severn valley, along the lines of the great roads, and in the neighbourhood of the great military stations the dominant race built sumptuous villas, and attempted to maintain the luxury of Roman fashionable life. But, however much the noblest Celtic families may have been affected by Roman example, there was a broad gulf fixed between the conquerors and the great mass of the conquered. City life and Roman administrative methods offered little attraction to the provincial; and Caracalla's gift of the citizenship to all the free-born inhabitants of the empire was an inadequate return for the crushing taxation which was necessitated by an elaborate and centralised government, a magnificent imperial court, and the enormous armies of the continental frontiers. In Gaul and Spain the empire took firm hold upon the minds of its subjects, and a new Gallo-Roman nationality came into existence in these countries. But in England the Celt remained, as of old, turbulent, attached to his tribal traditions, impatient of civilization, apparently incapable of political development.

(*f*) *German Settlers.* — In the fourth century, Britain, though shielded by the sea from the pressure of the main barbarian advance, began to suffer from the guerrilla attacks of the untamed Celt on the one side and of the Teutonic pirate on the other. The country lying north of the Roman walls was overrun by Scots from Ireland. The Picts, or "painted people," the older inhabitants of the north, recoiling before the invasion, sought to make a passage through the Roman frontier and to find a safer dwelling in the south. Flying squadrons of the Scots harassed the southwest coast of Britain; while the appointment of a *Comes Litoris Saxonici*, to supervise the defence of the south and east coasts, bears witness to the raids of a people hereafter to be intimately connected with the fortunes of the British Isles. In 367 the Roman armies of occupation were utterly defeated by invaders from the north and pirates from the sea; two years elapsed before the security of the province could be restored. In 383 a Roman governor, Clemens Maximus, denuded the British provinces of their legions in order to make a bid for the Empire; and although, fifteen years later, a few soldiers were sent from Rome to Britain, no attempt was made to raise the garrison to the old strength. In 407 the last of the Roman governors left Britain to repeat the adventure of Clemens Maximus; with his departure the Roman occupation came to an end. The Britons, so long protected by the armies of the empire, were left to defend themselves as best they might. Some great roads, some decaying cities soon to be reduced to ruin, a Christian church of dubious vitality, a degraded Latin dialect as the language of educated society, a few improvements in the art of agriculture, a few titles of office and insignia of rank, — such appear to have been the legacies which the Roman conquerors left behind them.

There followed on the Roman period a time of wild confusion and anarchy extending over the best part of two centuries. It is the time in which Britain was colonised by the Angles, Jutes, and Saxons; in which the Celtic population was either pushed to the far west, or exterminated, or enslaved, according to the humour of different bands of Teutonic invaders. These invaders came from the German coasts of the Baltic Sea: at first, if the traditions may be trusted, as pirates under war leaders; afterwards, when the opportunities afforded by Britain were more fully realised, by tribes and nations with their wives and children and household goods. Each band chose its own point of descent, and worked inland till settlements were provided for all the adventurers, or natural boundaries were reached, or the way was barred by the settlements of earlier swarms. Bernicia and Deira (later united as Northumbria), between the Forth and the Humber; East Anglia, between the Wash and the Stour; Essex, Kent, Sussex, and the West Saxon state (which, beginning at Southampton, spread out fan-wise on each side of the Itchen valley and on the north extended into the basin of the Thames), — are the chief of the early settlements; far inland in the upper valley of the Trent and round the Peak in Derbyshire were clustered the tribes which afterwards coalesced to form the Mercian kingdom. In Cornwall, Wales, Strathclyde (that is, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and the western lowlands of Scotland) were huddled together the remnants of the unsubjugated Celtic people.

Of intercourse between the two races there can have been little save such as exists between master and slave. Place names apart, the Celtic element in the English language is small and unimportant. Whatever traces of Celtic tribal institutions survive in the Teutonic parts of western England must be attributed to the fusion of races at a later period, when the influence of a common religion had softened their antagonism. The political system and the private law of the early English kingdoms are purely Germanic. These kingdoms are ruled by descendants of Woden; in the smaller of them the old national assembly of all the freemen has still the ultimate authority. In the *gesiths* of kings and great men we may recognize the *comitatus* described by Tacitus. The popular law courts, in which the freemen act as assessors to an elected judge; the village community, in which land is periodically redivided; the methods of agriculture; the law of succession; the division of social classes, — all remind us of the society depicted in the *Germania*. The religion, too, so far as we can judge from scant memorials, can be referred to the same source, — a dry prosaic rendering of the mythology which Scandinavian imagination has glorified and immortalised.

B. Introduction of Christianity

Into this rough and primitive society the Christian religion made its way at the end of the sixth century. It was imported from Rome and not from Celtic Britain. Not that Christianity had failed to take hold upon the British Celt. The names of St. Patricius, the evangelist of Ireland, and of Pelagius the heretic, are enough to prove the interest of Roman Britain in the new religion. If the legends may be believed, religion had helped to animate resistance to the barbarian. St. Germanus of Auxerre is said to have led the Britons to victory against the Picts and Saxons at the Hallelujah Field (430). But the Celts made no attempt to proselytise among their Saxon conquerors. The first missionaries came from Rome at

the bidding of Gregory the Great (597), and the victory of the new creed is inseparably connected with the name of their leader, Augustine, who converted Ethelbert of Kent, at that time Bretwalda, or overlord of Britain, made Canterbury the metropolitan see, and established bishoprics at Rochester and London. Augustine and his patron did not, however, live to see the conversion of the west and north. The evangelist of East Anglia was a Burgundian bishop, Felix by name (circ. 631); at the same date the kingdom of Wessex accepted the ministrations of Birinus, another missionary from Rome. In Northumbria the good work was begun by Paulinus, a follower of St. Augustine, and encouraged by King Edwin, who succeeded on the death of Ethelbert to the paramount position among the rulers of the English. But Edwin fell in battle against the Welsh and Mercians (633), and Northumbrian Christianity was temporarily obliterated in the period of anarchy which followed his death. Under his successors, Oswald and Oswiu, a race of Celtic missionaries from the Irish monastic colony at Iona was introduced. Northumbria embraced that emotional, ascetic type of Christianity which had developed in the Isle of Saints during two centuries of separation from the general body of the Western Church. But the priests of the south came into conflict with their Celtic rivals of the north, and at the Synod of Whitby (654) King Oswiu decided in favour of St. Peter's men. His decision determined the issue of the conflict in every part of England. The Celtic priests submitted or retired, and the English church was remodelled according to the Roman pattern by an archbishop sent from Rome, the famous Theodore of Tarsus (669–690). From his time the ecclesiastical unity of England may be said to date. The whole body of the English clergy now acknowledged the supremacy of the see of Canterbury, and began to meet in national synods for legislation and mutual encouragement. Thus the nation was schooled by the Church in habits of common action and self-government. Apart from this great service, the new religion deserves gratitude for the stimulus which it gave to intellectual activity. It inspired the religious poetry of Cædmon (d. 680), and of his anonymous disciple in whose rendering of the Old Saxon *Genesis* we have an anticipation of Milton's genius; and in the person of the Venerable Bede (673–735) it produced the greatest historian of the Dark Ages, and one of those encyclopædic scholars who handed on the torch of learning through a period of general ignorance. Whatever learning, intellectual activity, or poetic imagination existed in the early English was encouraged and protected by the new religion.

C. The Rise of Wessex

(*a*) *Egbert.* — With the internal squabbles of the English kingdoms and the vicissitudes of their early struggles for supremacy, the historian need not concern himself. After the death of Oswiu (670) Northumbria rapidly sank from her paramount position. Doomed by nature to remain poor and thinly populated, she was further weakened by the feuds of Bernicia and Deira. Her kings, moreover, allowed themselves to be distracted from English affairs by ill-judged schemes for the conquest of the Picts and Scots. Mercia rose to prominence on the ruins of Northumbrian greatness. Cut off from the sea on every side, composed of heterogeneous elements, backward in civilization, Mercia nevertheless succeeded, under Offa's rule, in dominating all her neighbours (757–796). This sovereign drove the Celts still

further to the west, and fixed the boundary between Wales and England by constructing the great earthwork known as Offa's Dyke. Under his guidance England first entered the sphere of European politics; he was on friendly terms with Charles the Great, and respected, though disliked and feared, by the papacy, now reawakening to a sense of its European obligations. But Offa died before the power of Mercia could be consolidated, and within thirty years Wessex had supplanted Offa's dynasty in the supremacy. The victory of Wessex was due to King Egbert (802–830), whom, in his younger days, the hostility of Offa had driven to take refuge at the Frankish court. The lessons learned at Aachen by the exile were not thrown away. When he returned, after the death of his enemy, it was to establish for himself in England a position analogous to that held upon the continent by Charles the Great. He incorporated in his kingdom the provinces of Sussex, Surrey, Kent, and Essex (823); the rulers of East Anglia, Mercia, Northumbria, and North Wales became his vassals, and the West Welsh were confined within the narrow limits of Cornwall. North of the Thames and west of Offa's Dyke his power rested on insecure foundations, but he had sketched the plan of the political edifice which his dynasty was to complete.

(*b*) *The Danes and Alfred.* — But the progress of the work begun by Egbert was delayed by the descent of a new storm of invaders on the English coasts. The Northmen, driven out from the Scandinavian countries by the love of adventure, the hope of booty, and repugnance to the centralising policy of their native kings, began to plunder Northumbria at the close of the eighth century. Gradually their raids brought them further to the south, and in the year 832 their bands wintered for the first time on English soil, in the Isle of Sheppey. From that year to 878 the English kingdoms were fighting for bare existence against ever increasing hosts, who came at first in the hope of plunder, and afterwards with the intention of founding a new state. England was not the only victim: on the coast of Ireland, and from the mouth of the Rhine to that of the Garonne, the Northmen made themselves felt as the worst foes of peace in a period of general anarchy; but in England they performed their work of destruction with special thoroughness. They destroyed the kingdoms of Northumbria, East Anglia, and Mercia; and Alfred the Great, who came to the throne of Wessex in 871, found it necessary to purchase a respite from the attacks which had brought his kingdom to the last gasp. After seven years of incessant fighting, and a final victory at Ethandune (878), the young king divided England with his enemies. By the treaty of Wedmore a line drawn from Reading to the point where the Ribble takes a western turn in the direction of the sea was fixed as the boundary between the English and the Danes. In East Anglia the invaders formed a kingdom under the rule of Guthrum; in eastern Mercia there arose a federation of five Danish boroughs. The rest of the Danelaw was settled by smaller communities organised on a republican model.

Alfred survived the treaty of Wedmore by more than twenty years. This period he occupied partly in warfare against new bands of Danes, partly in the reorganisation of his shattered kingdom. The pains which he took to improve his army, by a stricter enforcement of thegn service and by calling out the ordinary militia in relays, bore fruit even in his own time. He secured Wessex and West Mercia against sudden raids; he reannexed Essex and the town of London. He also forti-

fied boroughs as places of refuge and posts of observation, and he was wiser than most of his successors in his attempts to create a powerful navy for the defence of the English coasts. But his warlike exploits were eclipsed by those of his descendants, and he is more justly celebrated for his endeavours to revive religion and education; for his translations of such standard works as Bœthius, Orosius, and Gregory's Pastoral Care; and, finally, for his connection with the first English Chronicle, which appears to have been compiled under his supervision. His code of laws, though no more than a summary of custom and previous enactments with some few improvements, is at once a testimony to his care for the good order of his kingdom, and a historical monument of the first importance. It is doubtful whether he should be regarded as the inventor of the administrative system which we find in the later Anglo-Saxon period; but his authentic acts are in themselves sufficient to place him among the heroes of the English nation.

(*c*) *Wessex in the Tenth Century.* — The immediate successors of Alfred (900–978) were men of more than average ability and resolution; and it is less their fault than that of our authorities that the men apart from their deeds only live as shadows in the page of history. Step by step they completed the reconquest of the lands which had been ceded at the peace of Wedmore; and every stage of their advance was marked by the establishment of new strongholds and the restoration of an ordered government. Edward the Elder (901–925), aided by his sister Ethelfleda, the lady of the Mercians, encroached steadily upon the Danes in the midlands and the eastern counties. Before his death the Five Boroughs and the kingdom of East Anglia had been incorporated with Wessex. Athelstan (925–940) is famous as the victor of Brunanburh, a battle which gave him possession of Northumbria. Edmund the Magnificent (940–946) crushed a rebellion of the Five Boroughs, conquered Cumberland, and gave it to Malcolm, King of Scots, as the price of an alliance which English vanity magnified into a submission. Under Edgar the Peaceful (958–976) and his able minister, Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, there was at length a respite from warfare. The chief energies of the government were now devoted to church reforms, such as the enforcement of celibacy upon the clergy and the diffusion of a strict monastic rule, and to the obliteration of the feud between the native English and the Scandinavian immigrants. At this point we may pause to survey the political institutions of the West Saxon state, which in this period reached their highest point of elaboration and efficiency. Unless their nature is clearly grasped, much of later English history cannot be understood; for the story of the English constitution is one in which there are no violent breaches with the past, and the influence of West Saxon legislation remains a living force in England long after the close of the Middle Ages.

(*d*) *West Saxon Institutions.* — The English crown was regarded as the monopoly of the house of Cerdic, but it was admitted that as between the members of that family the nation might exercise the traditional right of election, and that an incompetent or tyrannical king might always be deposed. But the prominent part taken by the crown in the struggle with the Danes, a brilliant series of conquests, and the moral support of the Church, gave to the West Saxon monarch of the tenth century a power as much greater in degree as it was more extensive in sphere than that of German tribal sovereigns. He had no standing army; but a

large body of thegns held land from him as the price of military service, and every freeman was bound to muster at his summons for a defensive war. He imposed no taxes, but his demesnes and customary dues supplied him with ample resources for his ordinary needs. The old nobility of birth (*eorls*) had become extinct or had lost its former consequence; and the king's thegns, who now counted as nobles, were no mean counterpoise to the hereditary aldermen in whose hands the government of the more recently conquered provinces was allowed to remain as a concession to the spirit of local and tribal independence. Absolute, however, the king was not, in theory or in practice. A folk-moot of the whole body of the freemen was impossible in a kingdom which extended from the English Channel to the Scottish border, but in all matters of importance the king was bound to take the opinion of his Witan, or wise men, a council composed of aldermen, bishops, and king's thegns. It was through this assembly that the national prerogative of electing and deposing kings was exercised.

For purposes of local government the whole of England south of the Mersey and the Humber was divided into shires, of which some, such as Kent and Essex, represented kingdoms of the so-called Heptarchic period, others were provinces of the old West Saxon state, while a third class were of more recent origin, the creation, as it would seem, of Alfred and his immediate successors. New or old, each shire possessed a folk-moot which met in full session three times in the year, to act partly as a local parliament and partly as a law court. For judicial purposes it might be summoned specially at other seasons, when only those immediately interested as judges or parties to the suits in progress were expected to attend. The position of president in the shire-moot was shared by the bishop, the sheriff, or royal steward of the shire, and the alderman who was in theory elected by the Witan, but in practice an hereditary official. The sheriff administered the royal demesnes, collected the king's customary dues in kind or money, and enforced the three primary obligations of the freeman; that is to say, service in the field, repair of fortresses, and maintenance of bridges (*trinoda necessitas*). The alderman led the militia of the shire to the royal host, and received in payment the third penny of the profits arising from the shire court.

The shires were divided into districts, known by the name of hundreds, which appear to be in many cases of great antiquity, representing the original settlement of a single clan or military unit. In the tenth century the hundred is important for purposes of justice and police. Minor disputes and infractions of the peace were settled in the monthly hundred court; malefactors were pursued by the hue and cry of all the lawful men within the hundred. The efforts of the hue and cry to suppress wrongdoing were supplemented by a system of sureties. Every lord was responsible for his men, and the inferior ranks of the population both in the country and in boroughs were divided into groups or tithings, in each of which each member was responsible for the good conduct of the rest. Often the tithing was coincident with a village; this system of frank-pledge is the chief purpose for which the village community is recognised in Anglo-Saxon law. Yet there is evidence to show that villages, whether they still remained free, or whether they had fallen under the dominion of a lord, were communities with a truly corporate feeling. The common-field system of agriculture necessitated universal conformity to the traditional methods of cultivation; and private owners were thus debarred from making special profits by the development of improved

methods. Hence it was only by trade, and in the towns, that capital could be accumulated. Of towns there were a fair number in the tenth century; and we have evidence of some degree of foreign trade with Normandy, Flanders, and the Rhine lands. But the towns had been founded, as a rule, more with a view to military requirements than to the convenience of buyers and sellers. Though they received the privilege of special law courts, managed by their own port-reeves, and of markets under the protection of the king's special peace (*grith*), their prosperity developed slowly except in the southern and eastern counties. Gloucester, Winchester, and London were important as royal residences; Exeter, Bristol, London, possessed some foreign trade; and Norwich was beginning to attain prosperity. But London alone had any pretensions to influence the policy of the government.

(*e*) *Growth of Feudalism.* — In the institutions which we have described there is nothing of importance which can be ascribed either to a Roman or a Celtic model. And what is true of institutions is also true in the main of private law, so far as it is preserved for us in the legislation of Alfred and his descendants. No doubt Christianity brought with it some maxims of the Code and Digest, — the law relating to ecclesiastical persons and cases was constructed upon this foundation; we may also trace to the same source the right of testamentary bequests of movable property, and one form of real estate (*bocland*). But the main substance of the customary law is Germanic. In the districts colonised by the Danes it received a Scandinavian tinge, as the very name of the Danelaw denotes; even under the rule of Edgar there was no attempt to impose one uniform law upon the local courts. In the Danelaw also we find some peculiar modifications of the Teutonic administrative system; a patriciate of *lawmen* appears to exercise considerable influence in the Danish boroughs, and some of the eastern shires are divided, not into hundreds, but into ridings and wapentakes. But the Danes, although by no means such barbarians as their enemies would have us believe, were inferior to the English in political intelligence; their fusion with the English race was more important for its invigorating effect upon the national type of character than for any changes of political theory which it produced. It must, however, be remembered that the struggle with the Danes accelerated the growth of a tendency towards feudalism which was inherent in the English, as in all other Germanic societies. During the period of invasions it became increasingly common for the poor free-holder to *commend* himself and his land to the protection of a powerful lord. Society began to crystallise in groups, within which the bond of union was the tie of personal fidelity to a common superior. But, independently of the invasions, royal policy and the natural pressure of economic development did much to promote the growth of feudalism. The crown was always ready to utilise the feudal tie for purposes of police, by making the lord responsible for the good conduct of his men; and a bad harvest probably did as much as the worst of Danish raids to swell the ranks of the dependent class.

D. The Second Coming of the Danes. The Norman Conquest

(*a*) *The Reign of Ethelred and Edmund Ironsides.* — The last and the worst of the conflicts with the Northmen had still to come. Immediately after the acces-

sion of Edgar's younger son, Ethelred the Unrede (ill-advised), new hordes made their appearance on the English coast (980); in 991 Brihtnoth, the heroic alderman of Essex, was defeated and slain at Maldon by Norwegian pirates, his household thegns falling to a man around the body of their lord. Their loyalty inspired the noblest of Anglo-Saxon ballads, and presaged success for their country in the coming struggle —

> "Mind shall the harder be, heart shall the keener be,
> Mood shall the more be, as our might lessens."

But the sequel was not worthy of the prelude. Ethelred made peace with the invaders, giving them a bribe of ten thousand pounds of silver, and thus the fatal practice of paying blackmail (*Danegeld*), was introduced. The subsequent attempts of the king to collect a fleet were frustrated by the dissensions or treachery of his aldermen; and when in 994 Olaf Tryggvesson, king of Norway, and Swein Forkbeard, king of Denmark, descended upon England, with designs of conquest and lasting colonisation, they found the country an easy prey. Their ships were repulsed from London by the valour of the citizens, and they were bribed by Ethelred to accept a truce; but they withdrew from one point of the coast, only to reappear upon another. The central government lay in the hands of Mercian favourites, who were mistrusted by the men of other provinces. Combined preparations for defence were frustrated by provincial jealousies and by the short-sighted selfishness of the shire militias, who would only arm to defend their own homes. The English foot soldiers, moreover, toiled vainly in pursuit of the maurauders, who seldom failed to obtain horses when they disembarked. Such was the discouragement of the English that small bands of Danes roamed freely through the length and breadth of the kingdom. Again and again the country was oppressed with taxes to provide new Danegelds, which had no other result than that of encouraging new visits. In 1002 the English king sought to strengthen an alliance with Richard II of Normandy by marrying Emma the sister of the duke; he was successful in his immediate object of excluding the pirates from the harbours of this Scandinavian colony, which had enjoyed since the year 912 a recognised position as a dependency of the crown of France. The later results of the Norman alliance were portentous, and it at once produced a new phase in the Danish wars. The marriage emboldened Ethelred to command the massacre of St. Brice's Day — (November 11, 1102), in which a number of the more recent Danish settlers in England were slaughtered during a time of truce. But Swein, now king of Denmark, returned with an overwhelming force to avenge his countrymen; and a protracted war ended with the flight of Ethelred to Normandy (1014) and the prostration of his kingdom at the feet of Swein. The death of the conqueror in the same year enabled Ethelred to return and continue the struggle till his death (1016). His son and successor, Edmund Ironsides, proved a warrior of no mean skill and fortune, but met his equal in Cnut, the son of Swein, and died, worn out, perhaps, with the strain of five pitched battles in six months, at the moment when his enemies had been forced to compromise with him for the partition of the kingdom. Upon his death Cnut was elected king by the Witan, since all were weary of a struggle which now seemed hopeless. The remaining children of Ethelred and Emma found a shelter at the Norman court.

(*b*) *The Danish Dynasty.* — Under Cnut and his sons Harold and Harthacnut (1016–1042) England became the leading province in a Scandinavian empire, which included Norway, Denmark, and the south of Sweden. In Europe Cnut held a position second only to that of the emperor Conrad II; and by his presence at Rome on the occasion of Conrad's coronation (1027) the Danish sovereign proclaimed his desire for friendship and peaceful intercourse with the chiefs of Christendom. He aspired to complete the conquest of Scandinavia, but it was in England that he fixed his residence. Norway and Denmark were left to be ruled by his sons or other viceroys, and he attempted to civilize these countries on the English model. He endeavoured, not without success, to win the favour of his English subjects; dismissed the greater part of his fleet, retaining only a small force of *huscarls* as a body-guard; enforced the best laws of his predecessors; and, as his position became better established, relied more and more upon Englishmen as his assistants. Of the four great earldoms into which he divided England, the most important, that of Wessex, was intrusted to the Englishman, Godwin. The introduction of regular taxation was his one unpopular measure. Under the name of Danegeld he introduced an impost of 2*s.* on the hide of land (one hundred and twenty acres); but the tax was continued by his English successors, Edward the Confessor, and Harold, son of Godwin. It appears that he resisted the temptation of colonising England with his countrymen. The acts of treachery and injustice with which he is charged fell entirely on the few great families which were dangerously powerful. But his early death (1035) and the unpopularity of his sons snapped the tie with Scandinavia. On the death of Harthacnut (1042), there being no obvious Danish candidate for the vacant throne, Edward, the sole surviving son of Ethelred, was recalled from Normandy and elected by the Witan, acting under the suggestion of Earl Godwin.

(*c*) *Edward the Confessor, Harold, Senlac.* — From this point to the year 1066 the government was in dispute between the house of Godwin and the rival house of Mercia. The king was a puppet in the hands of these two families; he had little taste for political affairs, made it his chief ambition to provide for his Norman favourites, and incidentally earned the title of Confessor by attempting to infuse something of the austere Norman discipline into the degenerate English Church. He married Godwin's daughter, and lent himself to that ambitious statesman's plans of self-aggrandisement. Earldoms old and new were conferred upon the queen's relations, until only Mercia and Northumbria lay beyond the range of Godwin's influence. But the king chafed against the yoke and resented the attempts of Godwin to deprive him of his Norman favourites. In the middle of the reign (1051) the earl and his family were expelled by a coalition between Edward and the house of Mercia. Godwin returned in a few months, leading a host which he had raised by the help of his allies, the king of Leinster and the count of Flanders. But in the meantime the king had received a visit from his cousin, William the Bastard, duke of Normandy, and this prince had obtained promises of the reversion of the English crown, which, although destitute of any legal value, sufficed to mark him out as the future rival of the house of Godwin. The West Saxon earl signalised his return to power by expelling the most dangerous of the foreign favourites, but compromised himself in the eyes of the devout by substituting an English archbishop, Stigand by name, for the Norman nominee of the

king. It was a mistake, for which he partially atoned by adopting a conciliatory attitude towards his Mercian rival. But his son Harold, who succeeded him in the earldom of Wessex (1053), pursued a policy which sowed dissension in the kingdom and in his own family. He thrust his brother Tostig into the earldom of Northumbria, and vainly endeavoured to outlaw Earl Ælfgar of Mercia; then in 1065, alarmed perhaps by the imminence of Edward's death, reversed his policy, allowed the Northumbrians to expel Tostig, and acquiesced in their choice of an earl from the Mercian family. Harold was still strong enough to procure his own election by the Witan, when the Confessor died without issue (January 5, 1066). But he was accepted only as an alternative to the dreaded Norman. Two-thirds of England viewed his elevation with indifference or dislike; and in the eyes of the papacy, the supreme arbiter in questions of political morality, he was a usurper and the head of a church which had become schismatic by the expulsion of the lawful primate. He was attacked almost simultaneously from two quarters: from the north by the exile Tostig and Tostig's brother in arms, Harold Hardrada, the king of Norway; from the south by William of Normandy, who came, supported by the blessing of the Pope and the treasures of his father-in-law, the count of Flanders, to reform the English Church and to claim the inheritance of the Confessor. Over the northern army Harold won a signal victory at Stamford Bridge; Tostig and the king of Norway were left upon the field. But at the battle of Senlac, unsupported by the northern earls, Harold fell in his turn before the Norman duke. The country was paralysed by a disaster which probably affected only a fraction of its fighting force. The Normans made their way by easy stages, and without encountering opposition, to London, the headquarters of Harold's government. On Christmas Day, 1066, the Conqueror was duly crowned at Westminster amid the acclamations of his English subjects.

E. The Norman Period

(*a*) *Effects of the Conquest.*—The Norman Conquest is one of the turning points in English history. It came at a moment when the Teutonic policy of Egbert, Alfred, and Edgar was falling to pieces through the growth of new disruptive forces. In another century the great earldoms, if left to run their natural course of development, would have become independent kingdoms in fact if not in name. The Anglo-Saxon intellect had touched its zenith three centuries before the battle of Senlac, and since then had remained stationary or perhaps retrograded. Except under external pressure it was most likely that England would have remained impervious to the new ideas of law, politics, science, and religion, which had grown up under the fostering care of the continental churches. A short period of devastating warfare, a longer experience of the evils of Norman despotism and Norman feudalism, were not too high a price to pay for readmission to the European commonwealth. Nor is it a mere fancy to ascribe the higher qualities of the English nationality to the union of a stoical and freedom-loving, but sluggish and unimaginative, German stock with a race which had engrafted French taste, Italian statecraft, and Burgundian religious enthusiasm upon the robust moral qualities of Scandinavia.

(*b*) *Reign of William I.*—We have first to sketch the process by which the political ascendancy of the Norman was riveted upon the nation. This was the work of William the Conqueror (1066–1087), and it was barely commenced by the day of his coronation. Southeast England alone was then in his hands, and the submission of the earls of Mercia and Northumbria, tendered shortly afterwards, did little to secure the loyalty of those provinces. The west was only secured by the surrender of Exeter, where Harold's family had found a temporary refuge in the year 1068. The northerners were aided in their resistance by Malcolm of Scotland and Swein of Denmark. The English earls proved traitors, and the Confessor's nephew, Edgar Atheling, came forward as a claimant to the throne. The Danes, however, were bought off, the king of Scotland was intimidated into a profession of fidelity; England beyond the Humber was harried so mercilessly by the Normans that many parts lay desolate for sixty years to come; and the famous stand of the native English under Hereward the outlaw, in the Isle of Ely, was, for want of Danish help, an episode of merely local importance. In 1075 Waltheof, the last of the English earls, was lured by two of his Norman equals into a conspiracy of which the object was to raise the conquered people in a general rebellion for the benefit of the ringleaders. But the plot was disclosed, and Waltheof atoned for his folly with his life. Long before his fall the Church and the great mass of the common people had acquiesced in the foreign domination, and William's later campaigns against Norman and English elements of disaffection were partly waged with English troops. The explanation of his rapid success is to be found in the moderation with which he used his victory. While confiscating the lands of those who had actually fought against him, he left the great mass of proprietors in undisturbed possession. To all but the greatest landowners and stoutest patriots the Conquest meant little more than the exchange of an English for a Norman lord. Representing himself as the lawful heir of Anglo-Saxon kings, the Conqueror pursued the general policy of exacting none but customary rights, and of respecting vested interests. None the less he contrived, without departing from the strict letter of the law, to endow with English lands an army of between five thousand and six thousand Norman knights. His conquest, unlike that of Cnut, swept away the native ruling class, and put in its place an alien aristocracy, permeated with the spirit of continental feudalism, unacquainted with the language and traditions of their social inferiors, and seldom restrained from lawless violence by motives of piety or prudence. Fortunately for the future of the nation, the Anglo-Norman nobility was almost as dangerous to its master as to the native English, and William was constrained to hold it in check by measures which directly and indirectly safeguarded his new subjects. Though he yielded to the theory that all landholders as such were entitled to civil jurisdiction over their free and unfree tenants, he maintained the courts of the shire and hundred, and kept a tight hold on cases of a capital nature. He was chary of granting compact estates which might develop into principalities; the earldoms of Kent, Cornwall, Shrewsbury, Hereford, and Chester, and the episcopal palatinate of Durham, were created either in favour of his own kinsmen or for the protection of the frontiers against the Scots and Welsh. The enormous grants of land which he conferred upon others of his followers were composed of widely scattered manors; and in every shire the office of the sheriff was maintained as a check upon the feudatories. The great official earldoms were abolished, and those which he created carried with them no rights except over single shires.

ENGLAND UNDER THE TWO LAST ANGLO-SAXON KINGS

The Bayeux tapestry is some 70 metres in length, and half a metre in breadth, and is said to have been executed by Matilda, the wife of William the Conqueror, after 1066; it begins with a "representation" of King Edward the Confessor (Edward rex) seated upon the throne in his palace. Further on are riding Harald (II.), Duke of the Angles, and his men, to hunt in the neighbourhood of the church of Bosham (ubi Harold dux Anglorum et sui milites equitant ad Bosham ecclesia[m].) Then follows an open hall with a joyous drinking party, and Harald's sea voyage to the land of Count Wido (Hic Harold mare navigavit et velis vento plenis venit in terra[m] Widonis comitis).

The two lengths here reproduced (one-fifth of the original size) make up the first sixteenth of the tapestry. Our picture is taken from a copy formerly belonging to Anton Springer, now in the possession of the Historical Art Institute at the University of Leipsic.

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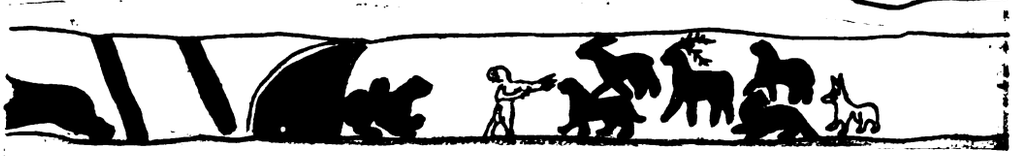

New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

ESTRY; ONE-FIFTH OF ACTUAL SIZE.

Mau

(c) *The New Feudalism and the Church.*—In the central government there was a careful avoidance of the appearance of change. The Conqueror promised at his accession to observe the law of Edward. The promise was substantially fulfilled so far as the private and criminal law were concerned; where these were changed, for example by the abolition of the death penalty, the change was popular. With regard to the central government the promise could not be kept. The relation of the Crown to the most important of its subjects was completely changed; those who had been primarily national officials were now feudal tenants of the king. The royal court of justice became feudal in composition, law, and procedure. For the Witan was substituted the Magnum Concilium, to which all tenants in chief were summoned. The new body had little influence upon the government, and served more as a means of publishing the king's will and obtaining the assent of his subjects to resolutions which he had framed without their help than as a constitutional check. The revenue, too, became feudal in its character. Though Danegelds were regularly levied, feudal aids and dues must have formed at least an equally important item in the royal budget. It is true that the Conqueror declined to consider his power as solely feudal in its character. In the year 1086 he summoned all the principal landowners of England, whether tenants-in-chief or not, to a *moot* at Salisbury, which reminds us of a Frankish May-field, and the assembled host were constrained to swear allegiance to the king as against all other lords. The principle thus enunciated was ever afterwards upheld, and proved a valuable safeguard against feudal rebels. But neither the Conqueror nor his successors were completely successful in combating the theory that the allegiance of tenants in chief was limited by the terms of their feudal contract.

The condition of the English Church had furnished a pretext for the Conquest, and it was therefore natural that William should encourage such reforms as would bring the English clergy into line with their brethren of the Continent. In his first steps towards this end he invited or tolerated the assistance of papal legates. But after 1070, Lanfranc, who replaced the schismatic Stigand in the primacy, was the chief counsellor of the Crown in ecclesiastical matters. A native of Pavia, and trained originally as a lawyer, Lanfranc migrated in early life to Normandy and entered the monastery at Bec, a house which had been largely instrumental in reforming the Norman Church according to Cluniac ideas. A statesman rather than a saint, Lanfranc showed perhaps more vigour than justice in his dealings with the English clergy. Native prelates were deposed whenever possible and Normans were nominated in their place; but in general his measures were well conceived and adapted to the peculiar circumstances of England. While he insisted on the celibacy of the regular clergy, he did not require those parochial priests who were already married to put away their wives, but only made it illegal for the rest to contract marriage in the future. His most momentous reform was the separation of the ecclesiastical from the lay courts. Hitherto the bishops had sat in the shire courts to try spiritual cases, and the result had been a scandalous intermixture of the canon and the common law. Henceforth all cases which concerned the cure of souls were to be tried before the bishop or archdeacon sitting without lay assessors. The result was to create a chain of new tribunals which steadily encroached upon the jurisdiction of the lay courts, and caused the greatest of the mediæval conflicts between the English Church and States. Lanfranc, how-

ever, can hardly be blamed for the distant effects of a measure which was primarily intended to disentangle the Church from secular interests. The concordat which he and William established between the Church and State is a proof of the archbishop's moderation. It provided that nothing should be done in any episcopal synod or council without the king's consent, and that no tenants in chief should be excommunicated except by the royal command.

A further clause is significant of the change which the Cluniac movement had produced in the position of the clergy. William insisted that no Pope should be acknowledged in England, and that no papal legates or letters should be received without his permission. He had cause to make these stipulations; for Gregory VII claimed an oath of allegiance to the papacy in return for the support which, as a cardinal, he had given to William's enterprise. The demand was refused. William promised to fulfil all the obligations which had been recognised by his predecessors, but would go no further, and Gregory was prudent enough not to press his point. But the abstract pretensions of the papacy, however cautiously they might be applied to particular cases, were still sufficient to justify William's uneasiness.

F. The Anglo-Norman Kings

(*a*) ***Rufus and the Charter of Henry I.*** — The Conqueror died in 1087 from the effects of a wound received at the sack of Mantes, a frontier town of France. He was succeeded in Normandy by his son Robert, who had been a headstrong subject and proved a feeble ruler. In England the influence of Lanfranc and the expressed wishes of the Conqueror procured the recognition of Robert's younger brother, William Rufus. A feud between the two brothers was the natural consequence of a partition which both resented. In England there were conspiracies to replace William by his brother, and the king retaliated by invading Normandy. The struggle ended in 1096 when Robert, in order to provide himself with funds for the first crusade, mortgaged Normandy to his brother. Rufus was now at liberty to engage in wild schemes for the incorporation of France with Normandy. But a chance arrow put an end to his career as he was hunting in the New Forest (1100); and in Robert's absence Henry Beauclerk, the third son of the Conqueror, obtained the recognition of his title from the English Church and nobles.

The new king inherited from his brother two domestic problems. Rufus had oppressed both the baronage and the Church. In his dealings with the former he had insisted on regarding feudal grants as conferring only a life estate, had demanded extortionate reliefs as the price of confirming heirs in the lands of their ancestors, and had abused the rights of wardship and marriage which a feudal lord possessed over his infant and female tenants. Vacant bishoprics and abbacies he had insisted on treating as though they were escheated fiefs; he had appropriated their revenues, prolonged the vacancies, and demanded, under the name of a relief, large sums from those whom he eventually appointed. Chief among the preferments which he had exploited was the see of Canterbury, left vacant by the death of Lanfranc in 1089. A fit of sick-bed repentance led him in 1093 to appoint the saintly Anselm of Bec as Lanfranc's successor. He had, however, afterwards repented of his repentance. Anselm, in his character of tenant in chief, was exposed to incessant persecutions from the *Curia Regis* (royal court),

and went into a voluntary exile in 1097. Henry's first measures were designed to conciliate the classes whom his father had offended. He recalled Anselm, and issued a charter of liberties in which he promised to the Church her former freedom, to the barons a just assessment of their feudal liabilities, and to the people in general the restoration of the law of Edward. He was thus enabled to defeat an attempt at bringing in his brother Robert as a counter-claimant, and to expel the unruly house of Belesme, whose head, the Earl of Shrewsbury, was the rallying-point of the disaffected barons.

(*b*) *Secular Policy of Henry I.*—As much a foreigner as his father and Rufus had been, Henry still contrived to conciliate the native English by a marriage with Matilda of Scotland, the niece of Edgar Atheling, and a lineal descendant of Alfred the Great, by reviving the courts of shire and hundred which feudal usurpation had been undermining, and by taking stern but necessary measures for the maintenance of the public peace. His hand fell heavily upon insubordinate barons and more vulgar malefactors. He executed justice on them not merely through the Curia Regis, but also through itinerant judges whom he sent on circuit through the shires to hold extraordinary assizes in the local courts. The repression of feudal independence was much facilitated by the conquest of Normandy. The single victory of Tinchebrai (1106) gave the king the possession of his brother's person and the duchy. Robert passed the remainder of his life in English prisons. The English baronage lost their best ally and the asylum on which they had always counted in the event of their rebellions proving unsuccessful. Normandy, however, proved an expensive acquisition. Until the death of Robert's son, William Clito (1127), the victor was never free from the danger of Norman rebellions aided by French gold and armies. Hence England was heavily taxed for Henry's foreign policy, and the greatness of his needs led to an establishment of an improved financial system, centring in the Exchequer, to which the royal sheriffs rendered a half-yearly account of the taxes, the proceeds of the law courts and demesnes, and other profits accruing from their shires.

(*c*) *Ecclesiastical Difficulties of Henry I.*—The relations of Henry with the Church were troubled by the question of investitures, which had arisen on the Continent long before 1100, but was first raised in England by Archbishop Anselm after his return from exile. The conflict was conducted without personal bitterness. But Anselm refused to depart a hair's-breadth from the policy enjoined upon him by the papacy, and Henry declined to renounce his claim upon the allegiance of the bishops. A compromise was, however, arranged with the Pope's sanction after Anselm had endured a second exile of four years' duration (1103–1106) rather than acknowledge the bishops invested by the king. Henry renounced the claim to invest newly appointed prelates with the insignia of spiritual office, but retained his former rights of patronage and feudal service practically undiminished. This compromise, though leaving the Church as far as ever from the freedom which it had been the object of the struggle to obtain, supplied the model for the Concordat of Worms (1122), which finally terminated the long war of investitures between the papacy and empire. It did not prevent further conflicts between Henry and the Church. In his later years he was harassed by the opposition of the Pope, and of a section among his own clergy, to that part of the Conqueror's

ecclesiastical settlement which affected the power of the Pope. He made, however, strenuous and partially successful efforts to check the growing practice of appeals to Rome.

(*d*) *The Anarchy of Stephen's Reign.* — The catastrophe of the White Ship robbed him of his only son, and his death left England and Normandy in dispute between two claimants (1135). On more than once occasion Henry had exacted from his barons an oath of allegiance to his daughter Matilda, the widow of the emperor Henry V, who had been married in 1129 to Geoffrey of Anjou. But the prospect of a female sovereign with an Angevin husband was equally displeasing to the Normans and the English. The majority of the barons on both sides of the Channel preferred the claim of Stephen of Boulogne, who was, through his mother, a grandson of the Conqueror, well known, moreover, in England and Normandy, and a model of knightly excellence. The precariousness of his position as an elective sovereign was, however, the strongest point in his favour. The barons and the church alike sold their allegiance to him on conditions. He was expected to abate the rigid autocracy which his predecessor had established, to restore to the Church her "freedom" of jurisdictions and elections, to leave the great feudatories practically sovereign in their fiefs. Disputes naturally arose as to the fulfilment of a compact so one-sided; disputes engendered conspiracies, and in his efforts to forestall the conspirators Stephen offended those men who were the mainstay of his government. He arrested and despoiled Bishop Roger of Salisbury, the great justiciar to whom the administrative reforms of Henry I had been due. The cause of Roger was warmly espoused by his fellow churchmen and furnished a convenient pretext to discontented barons. Matilda was invited to England (1139); with the help of her half-brother, Earl Robert of Gloucester, she gained possession of a considerable tract of country in and around the Severn valley; and castles were held in her name by rebels throughout the length and breadth of England. While Stephen hurried distractedly from castle to castle, and wasted in small enterprises the men and money which might have sufficed for a decisive campaign, the northern shires fell into the hands of David of Scotland, and the great feudatories sold their services alternately to him and to the empress, gaining new lands and new powers of jurisdiction by each successive treason. Unlicensed castles were rapidly multiplied and became the nests of robber gangs which pillaged at large, robbed on the highways, and held non-combatants to ransom. The Londoners seized the opportunity to set up a commune of the continental kind. The courts of the Church profited by the general anarchy to draw into their net all suits affecting clerks and church property. The issue of the dynastic struggle was decided more by accident than skill or strength. In 1141 Stephen was taken captive at the siege of Lincoln; but in the same year the earl of Gloucester fell into the hands of the king's friends, and the two captives were exchanged for one another. The earl of Gloucester died in 1147, whereupon the empress Matilda retired from England and from further share in the contest. It was taken up by her son, Henry of Anjou, whose marriage with Eleanor of Aquitaine, the divorced wife of Louis VII of France, gave him ample resources. In 1153 the death of Stephen's eldest son, the ambitious Eustace, paved the way for a compromise; by the mediation of the Church Stephen was induced to recognise the young Angevin as his coadjutor and heir. The anarchy came to an end; king and count

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ENGLISH STRONGHOLDS

ENGLISH STRONGHOLDS

1. Rochester Castle.—The first castle at Rochester was built by Bishop Gundulf, a famous architect, who had been previously employed by the Conqueror to build the Tower of London. The present keep, however, which is the earliest part of the castle, was built by Archbishop William of Corbeuil between 1123 and 1135. As commanding the road from London to the Kentish seaports, the castle of Rochester possessed great strategic importance and stood several sieges during the Middle Ages.

2. Conway Castle.—One of the strongholds built by Edward I. to hold down the Principality of Wales after the overthrow of Llewelyn. It consists of a castle and a walled town. The castle is now a ruin, and little or nothing of the old town remains except the walls. These walled towns were largely colonised with Englishmen and received privileges which cut them off from the inhabitants of the open country. Conway represents a later type of castle-building than Rochester. The characteristic feature of the thirteenth-century castle is that it possesses at least two concentric lines of defence.

devoted themselves harmoniously to the suppression of feudal license; and in 1154 the death of Stephen who was more anxious for good government than capable of giving it, brought his rival to the throne and opened a brighter era in the national history.

G. The Angevin Empire

(*a*) *Reforms of Henry II.* — Henry II was a true Angevin in his restless activity, his unbounded resourcefulness, and the furious determination with which he beat down resistance to his schemes. He had little sympathy with the English character or English traditions, and two-thirds of his reign were spent on the Continent in protecting, consolidating, or extending the heterogeneous collection of French fiefs which he inherited from his parents or acquired with his wife. But his marvellous administrative ability enabled him, in the intervals of other pursuits, to reform the whole fabric of English government. He revived and improved the fiscal machinery of his grandfather, and by the Inquest of Sheriffs (1170) tore away from this office the privilege of heredity, which had made the individual sheriff in preceding reigns as dangerous to the Crown as any feudal baron. He gave to the royal court of justice a fixed constitution, placed it entirely in the hands of professional lawyers, and separated it from the cabinet of administrative advisers. He extended the system of itinerant justices and made their circuits periodical. He modified the criminal law by ordering that in every shire sworn juries of inquest should be impanelled to present the names of suspected criminals, by forbidding the lords of private liberties to protect such criminals against arrest, and by limiting the opportunities of escape from punishment which were afforded by ecclesiastical sanctuaries and the ordeal. In regard to the law of land, he substituted recognition by a jury for the detested Norman trial by battle, and offered new and more expeditious remedies to those who complained of unlawful dispossession. While refusing to give up the royal rights of the chase and his special jurisdiction over the forests, he did something to codify and mitigate the iniquitous forest laws. He reduced feudal privileges within the limits fixed by the grants of his predecessors before 1135, and while encouraging trade, granting privileges to towns, and sanctioning the formation of trade guilds with extensive rights and monopolies, he prevented the communal movement from extending into his dominions. London, which was already in fact, and soon to be in law, the capital, he held in check; the illegal commune disappeared, and the privileges which the city had enjoyed under Henry I were curtailed.

(*b*) *Clerical Immunities and Thomas Becket.* — These wonderful successes were not unchequered with reverses. Henry attempted to curtail the judicial privileges of the Church, and with that end in view appointed his chancellor, Thomas Becket, to the see of Canterbury in 1162. Class feeling proved too strong for the personal loyalty of this tried subordinate. Becket obstinately resisted the king's wish to bring criminous clerks and suits relating to church lands within the purview of the royal courts. The claims of the Church were contrary to the usage which had obtained in the reigns of William I and Henry I. The king therefore took his stand upon the "ancestral customs" which he formulated in the Constitutions of Clarendon (1164). Becket went into exile rather than observe the Consti-

tutions, and the fact that Henry had taken this opportunity to forbid appeals to Rome gave the archbishop the support of the papacy. The precarious position of the papacy, then engaged in a fierce struggle with the empire, protracted the struggle. But Henry was at length compelled to recall the archbishop; and when, in consequence of new quarrels, Becket was murdered by over-zealous supporters of the king (1170), it was necessary for Henry to renounce the constitutions altogether, in order to escape sentence of excommunication. On minor issues he and his successors evaded the consequences of the renunciation; but it was not until the sixteenth century that the immunity of criminous clerks from the secular courts could be materially diminished.

(*c*) *Wars and Conquests (1154–1189).* — On the Continent also Henry fought a losing battle. Though he acquired Brittany by a marriage between his son Geoffrey and the heiress of that county, he failed to conquer Toulouse, Auvergne, Berri, and the French Vexin, possessions which he coveted as a means of strengthening his frontier on the side of France. His continental possessions were divided by violent provincial feuds, and his sons on the Continent turned against one another and their father, set province against province, and called in the king of France to their aid. The great king's end (1189) was accelerated by the humiliation of a defeat which he experienced from a coalition of Richard and John, his eldest surviving sons, with the astute Philip Augustus. His foreign empire was built on shifting sand, and only a few years more were needed to complete its ruin.

Against these reverses we must, however, set the extension of English influence in the British Isles. At his accession Henry recovered the north of England from the Scot, taking advantage of the death of David and the minority of his son, William the Lion. In 1173 the latter embraced the cause of Henry's rebellious sons and invaded northern England. Defeated and captured, he was not released until he had recognised Henry as his overlord by the treaty of Falaise. In Ireland an Anglo-Norman occupation of the east and south coasts was effected between 1169 and 1171, by the enterprise of Welsh Marcher lords who, with the consent of Henry, had taken service under Dermot, king of Neath. In the latter year the king visited Ireland to receive the homage of the settlers and the Irish clergy. His lordship over Ireland is said on good authority to have been recognised by the papacy, though doubt has been cast on the genuineness of the famous bull *Laud abiliter*, which is vouched by his historians to prove the grant. Whatever its justification, his authority was soon recognised in form by the whole of Ireland; the High King of Connaught and other native rulers became his vassals, while barons from England proceeded steadily with the conquest of the eastern parts of the island.

(*d*) *The Reign of Richard I.* — The period of 1189–1215 was marked abroad by the loss of all the continental possessions with the exception of Guienne; at home by a reaction, partly if not mainly feudal, against the growing centralisation of executive power which culminated in the barons' war and the Great Charter. The two sets of events are closely connected, for ill success abroad increased taxation and discontent at home. Both were the natural result of circumstances, but both were accelerated by the faults of Henry's successors, Richard and John. The former took up the plan which his father had meditated, but wisely abandoned,

of joining the third crusade to recover Jerusalem from Saladin, the Sultan of Egypt. Hitherto England had played but a subordinate part in the movement for the exclusion of the infidel from the Holy Land. Some volunteers had gone to serve under Robert of Normandy in the first expedition; but those who joined in the second had gone no further than Lisbon, though the capture of this Moorish stronghold was largely due to the valour of the English contingent. The first occasion on which the English Crown assisted the crusaders was in 1188, when Henry II levied for this purpose a tax of ten per cent on movable property (the Saladin Tithe). Richard preferred to raise the funds for his expedition by the sale of privileges, offices, and crown demesnes; and his force was mainly composed of men who had taken the crusading vow and therefore served without reward. But during the king's long absence, (August, 1190–March, 1194) the nation was harassed, at first by the exactions through which the regency met their master's reiterated calls for fresh supplies, and afterwards by the crushing taxes which were needed for his ransom. At the siege of Acre Richard quarrelled with the Duke of Austria, Leopold V. When the crusade was abandoned, with its main object, the recovery of Jerusalem, unaccomplished, Richard was shipwrecked in the Adriatic, and caught by the duke's men while attempting to pass through Austria in disguise. The full sum demanded for his release was £100,000; only a part was paid, but, to raise this, one-fourth of all rents and movable property had to be collected from the Church and laity. Nor was this the only bad result of the crusade. In Richard's absence his brother John excited odium against the chancellor, William Longchamp, whom the king had left at the head of the government. Longchamp was exiled from England by the baronage; and John then proceeded to form an alliance with Philip Augustus of France on the understanding that the dominions of Richard should be divided between them. Normandy was invaded by French forces, and John raised a rebellion in England. Although both attacks failed before the vigorous measures of the new regents, they left effects which were felt for the rest of Richard's reign. He found himself involved in an interminable war of skirmishes and intrigues against the king of France; and the English baronage were encouraged by John's example to resist the financial demands which the continental war entailed. The Great Council, which hitherto had been a source of strength to the Crown, readily lending the weight of its name to new laws and new taxation, now became an instrument of opposition; and the whole system of Henry II was called in question by the leaders of discontent. Something was done by Richard's able minister, the primate, Hubert Walter, to conciliate the lower classes and the lesser tenants in chief. A part of the duties hitherto performed by the sheriff were taken from that unpopular official and intrusted to *coroners* elected in every shire; and a new tax on land, the *carucage* (a substitute for the earlier Danegeld), was allowed to be assessed by elected juries (1194). Thus the right of self-government, of which the shires had been so long deprived, was partially restored to them, and the middle class of landowners, who served as coroners and assessors, were trained for their more difficult political duties of the future. But these boons, intended to mitigate the unpopularity of heavy taxation, were imperfectly appreciated; and Hubert Walter fell from power, sacrificed as a scapegoat to his master's unpopularity. Equally unsuccessful were the efforts of John to conciliate the trading towns. As regent after Longchamp's expulsion, the prince had sold to London the right of setting up a commune.

the queen, Eleanor of Provence, whom Henry married in 1236. They monopolised the highest honours and were enriched from the royal demesnes. They encouraged the king in his idle dream of reconquering the French possessions, with the result that he attempted the invasion of Poitou in 1242, and experienced a humiliating defeat from Louis IX at Taillebourg; subsequently they induced him to accept for his second son, Edmund, the crown of Sicily, which the papacy was endeavouring to wrest from the heirs of the emperor Frederic II, while they traduced and drove into opposition the king's brother-in-law, Simon de Montfort, who was the only able statesman of the royal party. Henry himself contributed to the popular discontent by the facility with which he allowed every new claim of the papacy upon the Church. Under the stress of the war with the Hohenstauffen Rome had begun to claim the right of taxing the national churches; and this pretension, resented by every class of Englishmen, was supported by the king, in whom religious feeling was developed to the point of pietism. Under the stress of these grievances, and encouraged by the general indignation which domestic misrule was daily aggravating, the Great Council made reiterated protests, refused to vote supplies, and finally demanded the right of nominating and controlling the royal ministers. In 1258 the king's financial embarrassments left him at the mercy of the Great Council; the result was the formulation of a new scheme of government (the Provisions of Oxford), under which supreme power was divided between two baronial committees, the one for executive and the other for legislative purposes. The Crown on the one side, the Great Council on the other, were by this scheme reduced to insignificance. It was a device for transferring power to those who considered themselves in virtue of birth, wealth, and influence the natural leaders of English society.

(c) *The Dictatorship of Montfort.*—The new government was not wholly ineffective. It expelled the alien favourites, cancelled the recent grants of royal desmesnes, and by renouncing the Angevin claims to all French territory outside Gascony it purchased peace with France; but it had no satisfaction to offer either to the towns, or to the lesser landholders, who since the time of Henry II had been qualifying for political life by an active share in local administration. Both these classes had grievances to be redressed; both demanded a share in the government. Hence the ruling barons lacked popular support. Simon de Montfort and the king's eldest son, the Lord Edward, dissociated themselves at the first opportunity from the new government which they had originally supported. The object of Montfort was simply to procure justice for the commonalty. Edward, on the other hand, thought merely of recovering popular support for the Crown. Acting under his son's advice, the king renounced the provisions in 1261, and proposed that Louis IX of France should arbitrate between himself and the barons. The suggestion was accepted, and by the Mise of Amiens the French king declared the Provisions null and void. The decision came as a crushing blow to the leaders of the oligarchic movement, and they retired from the struggle. But Montfort, at the head of a party which comprised some of the younger barons, the lesser tenants in chief, the towns, and a section of the clergy, refused to accept a settlement which left the king unfettered, and the people without a share in the government. At the battle of Lewes (1264) Montfort captured the king and Prince Edward. He immediately promulgated a new constitution, the most

SAXON CHURCH AT BRADFORD-ON-AVON

SALISBURY CATHEDRAL

EXPLANATION OF THE PICTURES OVERLEAF

SAXON CHURCH AT BRADFORD-ON-AVON.—Until 1870 this building was disguised by later accretions, and the chancel was used as a cottage. It was founded by St. Aldhelm, the Apostle of the West Saxons (*d.* 709), who dedicated it to St. Lawrence. It is built of cut stone, and the walls are over two feet in thickness. The arcading which runs round the exterior was made by cutting into the walls. The length of the interior is 38 feet, and the height of the nave to the top of the walls is 25 feet Over the chancel arch are carved two angels, the best extant examples of Anglo-Saxon sculpture. The chancel is square-ended. There were originally two porches, on the north and south, but the south porch has been destroyed.

SALISBURY CATHEDRAL was begun by Bishop Poore in 1220 and dedicated in 1258. The cloisters and chapter-house were built a few years later. The famous spire (404 feet high) was built in the fifteenth century. The cathedral is the purest example of the Early English style. It is 449 feet in length, and is built in the form of a double cross.

original and far-seeing scheme of political reform which the Middle Ages can show. It placed the nomination of councillors and ministers of state in the hands of a board of three, of whom Montfort was the chief. But the three electors and their nominees were made responsible to the Great Council, and Montfort introduced a radical change into the constitution of this body. He summoned to it in 1265 not only prelates and barons, but also two knights from every shire, and burgesses from a certain number of cities and boroughs. Shire representatives had been summoned on previous occasions, both in this reign and in that of John. But the towns had never before been represented; and the knights, who represented the estate of the lesser landholders, had only been consulted, in the past, about taxation. In this parliament the third estate took part in all the deliberations, and their assent to the final decisions is formally recorded.

Montfort appealed to two distinct interests in the nation. There was an ecclesiastical party, which resented the league between king and Pope and the consequent taxation of the national Church for the benefit of Rome. There was also a constitutional party, whose views were summed up in the thesis of their famous manifesto, the Song of Lewes, that "the king is not above the law, but the law above the king," and in the doctrine that the law should be made, and its application controlled, by a representative assembly. But it is the usual fate of enthusiasts to be dependent on the support of a well-intentioned but apathetic majority, which is easily converted from the new doctrine to the old. Montfort fell, the victim of reaction, at the battle of Evesham in 1265. He had incurred the suspicion of designs upon the Crown, he had failed to reform in a few months the accumulated abuses of centuries, and he had outraged the accepted ideas of loyalty and good faith. From the first he was confronted by a compact body of irreconcilables, with the Lord Edward at their head. As soon as his unpopularity waned, they fell upon him and restored the old order over his grave. He was long worshipped as a saint, but his party disappeared from English politics.

(*d*) *Edward I and Growth of Parliament.* — The influence of his ideas is, however, apparent in the policy of Edward I. The overthrower of Montfort succeeded his father in 1272, with no intention of satisfying the political aspirations of the third estate. But circumstances were too strong for him. He found the Crown impoverished and heavily in debt; the hereditary revenue barely sufficed for ordinary expenses; and throughout his reign he was involved, partly by circumstances but more often by his own choice, in prolonged wars. So far as he could he used feudal levies, liable to serve for forty days at their own expense; but it was no longer possible to win campaigns with forces of this kind. Making an extensive use of paid knights and men-at-arms, he required frequent grants of taxation from the Great Council; and it soon became evident that taxes upon the property of the non-feudal classes would only be tolerated if these classes were consulted. From 1273 onwards we find him trying experiments in representation. These culminate in the summoning of the so-called Model Parliament (1295). To this assembly the prelates and barons were summoned as to a Great Council; representatives of the inferior clergy as to a national synod; knights of the shire and burgesses as to Montfort's parliament of 1265, with this difference, that there was no attempt to pack the assembly as Montfort had done. Since 1295 the form of the English parliament has undergone considerable changes. The estate of the

lower clergy withdrew, by its own wish, soon after Edward's time, and thenceforth, till the reign of Charles II, voted supplies through the convocations of the two archiepiscopal provinces. The list of magnates and of towns entitled to be summoned was frequently altered even in Edward's reign. But from the year 1295 a parliament including representatives of towns and shires has been an essential feature of the English constitution.

The control of the new body over taxation was settled in principle as early as 1297, when the threat of rebellion, provoked by illegal imposts on exports and on the shires, compelled the king to sign the *Confirmatio Cartarum*. The language of this document is guarded, and Edward, while abandoning the "evil dues," carefully refrained from committing himself to any general principle. There is, however, little doubt that his concession was understood, and meant to be understood, as a promise that neither land nor movables should be in future taxed at the king's arbitrary will and pleasure. It should be noticed that it was the king's intention to consult the third estate on no other question save that of subsidies. For advice on legislation and policy he looked as of old exclusively to the magnates. But before the end of the reign the commons had asserted the principle that redress of the grievances expressed in their petitions ought to precede the grant of money; and thus the way was prepared for the claims which they advanced in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to exercise a power of control and revision over almost every department of the administration.

(*e*) *The Baronage, the Church, and Edward I.* — The development of this new assembly, through which a definite, although a subordinate, share of political power was allotted to the commons, could not fail to weaken the position of the baronage. The significance of parliamentary institutions from this point of view was recognised and resented shortly after Edward's death. But in his lifetime the new parliament was accepted by the estate of the barons as a necessity, and was no doubt the less criticised because it was the result of a gradual evolution. The reign of Henry III had shown how powerful feudalism could be so long as it stood on the defensive, and how little popular support would be worth in a protracted struggle with the traditional leaders of the nation. Edward therefore shrank from declaring open war upon feudalism, and preferred to use it rather than to crush it. The concessions which he made to win the support of the barons were almost as important as his covert invasions of their privileges. Already, as the ally of Simon de Montfort, he had helped, by the Provisions of Westminster, to bind and define the judicial power of the great lords over their free tenants. In the statute of Gloucester (1278) he went a step further, ordering a strict inquiry into the nature and source of all existing private jurisdictions. From this time forward a sharp distinction was drawn between "royal rights" of justice and ordinary seignorial rights which might be regarded as inherent in the ownership of land. The crown resumed all royal rights which had passed into private hands otherwise than by express grant or immemorial prescription. Owing to this policy the higher feudal courts became of little value to their owners and quickly fell into desuetude, while the importance of manorial courts was greatly diminished. On the other hand, the land laws of Edward I ministered to the aggrandisement of the great families. The statute *De Donis* (1285) restored the power of strict and perpetual entail, which had been undermined by a series of

judicial decisions; that of mortmain (1279), by forbidding religious bodies to acquire new lands, secured lay lords against one of the most frequent frauds through which they were robbed of their feudal dues; and, finally, that of *Quia emptores* (1290), which, while permitting the holder of unentailed land to sell it freely, made the buyer the immediate tenant of the seller's lord, came as a boon both to great landlords and to the holders of encumbered estates. It is not surprising that Edward, though he had to deal with a hostile coalition of barons in the crisis of 1297, was generally able to count on their support. Feudal levies were a valuable element in the armies with which he overran Wales and Scotland, and the estate of the barons did him good service in his conflict with the papacy.

This conflict assumed importance because it came at a time of friction between the monarchy and national Church. The statute of mortmain was naturally resented by the clergy, and it was followed by the writ of *Circumspecte Agatis* (1285), which defined the limits of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in civil cases. The protests of Archbishop Peckham against these measures did not call for serious consideration. But the hands of the next primate, Winchelsey, were strengthened by the daring and unexpected action of Boniface VIII in issuing the bull *Clericis Laicos*. Boniface forbade the clergy to pay taxes to the lay power without the consent of the Holy See; and it was not until the clergy had been outlawed and the Pope intimidated that the obligation of the Church to contribute subsidies for national purposes could be once more asserted. Winchelsey, defeated on the question of ecclesiastical privilege, made himself the leader of a baronial opposition; constitutional grievances were made a pretext for avenging those of the clergy. In 1300 Boniface VIII claimed Scotland as a fief of the papacy, and forbade Edward to invade that country. Again Winchelsey and the orthodox clergy were to be found upon the side opposed to the king. The struggle ended with the removal of Winchelsey from the primacy through the good offices of a new and more moderate Pope; and the statute of Carlisle, forbidding men of religion to pay taxes to any foreign power, gave the papacy a significant hint of what might be expected if it encouraged the perverse ambition of the national Church.

J. The Conquest of Wales and the Struggle for Scotland

(*a*) *Edward I and Wales.* — Turning from the futile dreams of continental aggrandisement which had brought his father to the verge of ruin Edward devoted his attention to consolidating the royal power within the British Isles. He interfered little with Ireland; but circumstances gave him the opportunity of asserting himself in Wales with permanent, and in Scotland with temporary, success. From the days of the Confessor, Wales, though divided between petty dynasties and convulsed by internal wars, had been a thorn in the side of England; the raids conducted by the Norman kings and Henry II, often with imposing forces and a vast expenditure of treasure, seldom resulted in a real extension of English influence. The colonisation of the Marches by predatory adventurers had proceeded steadily, and in the thirteenth century the plain country to the north and west and south of the Welsh mountains was securely held by a chain of castles, partly in royal and partly in private hands. But the growth of the Marcher

aristocracy had led to a new danger. The great houses linked their fortunes by marriage and alliance with those of the chief Welsh dynasties; and the princes of North Wales had shown first in the struggle for the Charter, and again in the civil wars under Henry III, that they were disposed to encourage every movement which might paralyse the hostility of the English Crown. If North Wales were once subdued the whole country would be at the feet of England. To this object Edward devoted himself between 1277 and 1283. By a skilful combination of land and sea forces Llewelyn, the ruling prince of North Wales, was hemmed up in Snowdon, and forced by the treaty of Conway (1277) to acknowledge his dependency on England. An attempt to repudiate the submission led to a second invasion, to the flight and death of the prince, and to the enactment of the *Statutum Gwalliæ* (1284) incorporating the principality with the dominions of the English Crown. The Marches kept their old privileges and organisation, except that the right of private war, which they alone of the English barons claimed to exercise, was abolished. The remainder of Wales was divided into shires (Cardigan, Carmarthen, Merioneth, Carnarvon, Anglesea, and Flint), which were governed, like those of England, through shire courts and sheriffs, but were unrepresented in the English Parliament, and subject to the authority of special justices whose headquarters were fixed at Carnarvon and Carmarthen. The Welsh shire courts administered the old Celtic private law, with such alterations as English ideas of reason and justice demanded; and the land remained Celtic in blood and speech and sentiment, though some attempt was made to create towns which should be centres of English influence. More than a century after Edward's measures it was still possible for Owen Glendower to resuscitate the instinct of national independence in Wales, and seriously to prefer a claim to represent Llewelyn's dynasty. But the Tudors completed the work which Edward had begun. Most of the Marches had then become, through forfeiture, escheat, or inheritance, the property of the Crown. Under Henry VIII they were partly grouped in new shires and partly incorporated with those already in existence. From 1536 onwards the shires and towns of Wales were represented in the English parliament; the remnants of Marcher lawlessness and privilege were stamped out of existence by the Council of Wales and the Marches, a local Star Chamber with large discretionary powers, which continued in existence until 1640. Since that time the differences between Wales and England, though going deeper than is always recognised, have been social and racial rather than political.

(*b*) *Scotland. John Balliol, William Wallace, Robert Bruce.*—The attempt to conquer Scotland arose out of claims of suzerainty similar to those which had justified the conquest of Wales. The import of the homage usually tendered by the kings of Scotland to their southern neighbours was uncertain; the Scots themselves claiming that it was merely due for the English lands of which their kings were tenants, while the English naturally saw in it a proof of the dependency of Scotland as a whole. It is neither possible to determine nor profitable to discuss the original nature of a relation which began as early as the tenth century, and meant in practice so much as the stronger party could make it mean and no more. The facts of real importance are that Scotland had, until recent times always proved a troublesome neighbour to England, that Alexander III, although

a son-in-law of Henry III, had stoutly refused to acknowledge himself the vassal of Edward so far as his kingdom was concerned, and that it was imperative to prevent Scotland from taking part in European combinations as a free and independent State. The death of Alexander III (1286) was followed at no long interval by that of his granddaughter, the Maid of Norway; the disputes which immediately arose among the numerous competitors for the vacant throne enabled Edward to assert his suzerainty. With the consent of all the claimants he conducted an arbitration which ended in the recognition of John Balliol as the rightful heir. The new king did homage to the full extent of Edward's pretensions, and it would have been well if the latter had remained content with this guarantee of peace, the greatest that could reasonably be expected, and a far greater concession than the pride of the Scottish people approved. An ill-judged attempt to assert the jurisdiction of the English royal court over Balliol and his subjects led to the virtual deposition of the vassal king, the election of a baronial committee of regency, and an alliance between the new government and Philip the Fair of France (1296), who had recently declared war upon Edward with a view to the recovery of Guienne and Gascony. The policy of the English king had precipitated the danger which it was intended to prevent. The danger was, however, promptly met. In 1296 the Lowlands were overrun by an English army, and Balliol, the nominal head of the national movement against the English supremacy, was taken and relegated to an English prison. Scotland was placed under English regents. The regalia of the Crown were sent to Westminster as a sign that the independent existence of the kingdom had now ceased. But in the following year one William Wallace, a poor knight of whose early life we know almost nothing, was able to collect an army, which at Stirling destroyed the garrison of occupation, and to make himself the head of a new national regency. A timely truce with France enabled Edward to return home from an uneventful campaign in Flanders, to effect a settlement with the leaders of the constitutional opposition at home (1297; *v. supra*), and to invade Scotland for the second time. At the battle of Falkirk the squares of Wallace's spearmen were shaken and scattered by the masterly tactics of the English king. Wallace became a homeless fugitive, to be betrayed and executed after years of wandering; and Scotland received a constitution under which the government was vested in a regent, a council, and the assembly of the Scottish estates. The latter body was to be represented in the English parliament, but to legislate independently for Scotland; the English shire system and the law of the Lowlands were to be applied without exception over the whole country. Moderate and skilfully planned, so far as details went, the new constitution was in its essence intolerable to Scottish pride; it was hardly promulgated before a new national leader appeared in the person of Robert Bruce, the grandson and namesake of a competitor who had all but defeated Balliol's claim to the throne. The Bruce, though overthrown almost as soon as crowned by a third army of invasion, defied his pursuers in the fastnesses of the Western Isles, and it was left for Edward's successor to complete the reduction of the rising, if he could. The old king, worn out by strenuous labours, died at Burgh on Sands, on the Solway Firth, in the act of launching a new host against the supporters of Bruce (1307). The greatest legislator and most far-seeing reformer of an age which all over Europe was rich in statesmen, Edward bequeathed to his son a kingdom more extensive, more compact, and

more highly organised than any which had hitherto existed in the British Isles, but at the same time loaded with debt, involved in a hopeless war, and weakened by the discontent of an aristocracy whose political ambitions became more dangerous in proportion as their feudal privileges and responsibilities were diminished by increasing centralisation.

(*c*) *Edward II and the Scottish War of Independence.* — The new king was the last man to extricate his inheritance from these embarrassments; profligate, extravagant, and idle, he abandoned public affairs to Piers Gaveston, an unpopular favourite of Gascon origin. The Scottish war was dropped at the moment when there was the best prospect of ending it with success; and the next few years were wasted in bickerings with the great barons, for which Gaveston was principally responsible. Led by the king's cousin, Thomas of Lancaster, the great earls clamoured for that influence in the royal counsels which according to custom should have been theirs. Incompetent and untrustworthy to a man, the malcontents would have merited little sympathy if the king had placed himself in the hands of an abler favourite. Even under Gaveston's guidance he pursued a more patriotic policy than that of his opponents; and it was an invasion of Scotland on his part which enabled them to assemble in council and pass, without the concurrence of clergy or commons, Ordinances for the banishment of Gaveston, the regulating of the government, and the limitation of the king's prerogative. The Ordinances provided for annual parliaments; but the form of government which they set up was one in which supreme power was divided between the ordainers and the estate of the baronage. It was an oligarchic constitution, similar to the Provisions of Oxford, but with even less pretence of solicitude for the common weal. The king would have been justified in challenging the Ordinances on the broad ground of constitutional principle. He chose rather to accept those which involved a question of principle, and only to disregard that which touched his favourite. The concession was inadequate; Gaveston, having fallen into the hands of his rivals, was beheaded without a trial, and the king, after having weakly consented to a reconciliation with the murderers of his friend, in the hope that by so doing he might save the last of the English strongholds in Scotland, was left by the opposition to fight the national cause without their aid. Attempting the relief of Stirling with a force which by no means represented the full strength of his kingdom, he lost the battle of Bannockburn (June, 1314), and with it his last hope of destroying Scottish independence. Stirling capitulated at once, and Berwick a few years later. The Scots in their turn took the offensive. Northern England was savagely raided, and Edward Bruce, crowned king of Ireland in 1315, waged incessant and successful war upon the English settlers of that island for the next three years. To the problem of meeting these attacks little thought was given by any English party. Edward's main thought was to be revenged upon his arch-enemy, the Earl of Lancaster. With the aid of new favourites, the Despensers, he sowed dissension in the ranks of his opponents; and in 1322 Lancaster, deserted by his adherents, experienced the same fate which he had meted out to Gaveston. A constitutional colour was put upon this act of vengeance by means of a parliament which declared the Ordinances illegal, and laid down the important principle that all matters touching the king, the realm, and the people should be settled exclusively by a parliament composed of the three Estates. It was, however, a time of general want and suffering. Famine

and murrain proved no less destructive than the raids of the Scot; and for all misfortunes the king was held accountable. A miserable intrigue between his wife, Isabel of France, and Roger Mortimer, a lord of the Welsh Marches, gave the starting-point for a conspiracy which was joined by all the enemies of Edward and the Despensers. The latter were seized and hanged; the king was deposed in favour of his son by a parliament in which the commons were present as approving though silent spectators. Even the murder of Edward a few months later (1327) failed to produce a reaction. But when the queen and Mortimer, acting as the self-constituted guardians of the young Edward, concluded a humiliating peace with Scotland, their popularity at once evaporated. A new conspiracy sent Mortimer to the scaffold, relegated the queen to a close, though honourable, confinement, and made Edward III king in fact as well as name (1330). The new ruler immediately established a name for vigour and military success. He once more attacked Scotland, which the death of Robert Bruce had left in the hands of an infant king. Edward, the son of John Balliol, was assisted in an invasion of Scotland and the English Edward avenged Bannockburn by a signal victory which he gained at Halidon Hill over the Bruce's partisans (1333). Edward Balliol became king of Scotland for a time, while the heir of the national idea was taken for safety to the court of France. It was a delusive success; Scotland could not be effectively conquered, the alliance of the nationalists with France was now more firmly cemented, and in 1339 Edward Balliol retired from the country in despair, leaving the field open for his rival's return. But the ephemeral success of his cause soothed English pride, and gave Edward III a breathing space in which to make good his position.

K. The Hundred Years' War. First Stage, 1337–1396

(*a*) *Character and Origin of the War.*—The Hundred Years' War is, after the secular conflict of papacy and empire, the most important crisis of the Middle Ages. It was a trial of strength between the two most compact and highly developed of mediæval states. One of these it ruined, while upon the other it threw a strain which accelerated the natural processes of decay and transformation. It ushered in an epoch of complex diplomacy, shifting combinations, and protracted wars, in consequence of which despotism, more or less popular in its character, became the normal type of European polity. Its various effects upon European politics, from Bohemia to Spain and from Scotland to Sicily, belong properly to European history; but some account of its general character is necessary to explain the nature and order of the changes to which it led in England. It was due to the desire of the French monarchy to recover the last shreds of the Angevin empire from the heirs of Henry II. Philip VI, the first Valois king, took up the plans which more than one of his predecessors had framed for this purpose. He sheltered David Bruce in exile, and afterwards assisted him in the recovery of Scotland; he attempted to break the long-standing alliance between England and the Flemish towns by imposing on the latter a count of French sympathies; in short, he neglected no opportunity of injuring English interests. Edward began the war in self-defence, although, after its commencement, he raised a counter-claim to the throne of France, in virtue of his descent on the

maternal side from Philip the Bold (d. 1285). This step was taken mainly to remove the feudal scruples of the Flemings, who refused to serve against the king of France. The danger to the Flemish and Gascon trade and the piracies of the French made the war popular with the English commons. Their subsidies were generously granted, and the expenses of a war in which all ranks, from the duke to the man-at-arms, fought for daily wages, were chiefly defrayed from the purses of the middle and lower classes. After 1345, when the military operations took a wider scope, and plans of conquest shaped themselves in the minds of Edward and his son, national pride, the interests of a nobility growing rich on spoils and ransoms, and a series of brilliant victories, maintained the popularity of the war.

(*b*) *Events of the War, 1337–1396.*—At first it appeared as though the victory of Edward would be soon complete. The navy of France was destroyed at Sluys (1340), their main army was shattered at Crecy, and David of Scotland became an English prisoner[1] at Nevill's Cross (1346); the victory of Roche Derrien (1347), though trivial in itself, placed Brittany at the disposal of the English party; and, finally, King John of France fell into the hands of the Black Prince at Poitiers (1357). With this disaster anarchy was unchained in France. Threatened simultaneously by a sedition in the capital and by an insurrection of the oppressed peasantry in the surrounding country, the regency of France consented to the treaty of Bretigni (1360), under which the English kept Calais (captured in 1347), Poitou, Saintonge, the Angoumois, the Limousin, Perigord, Quercy, Rouergue, Guienne, and Gascony.

This treaty marks the highest point of English fortunes in the first stage of the war. Under John's successor, Charles V, the French monarchy slowly began to recover from the wounds inflicted in the past twenty years. The Black Prince who, as Duke of Aquitaine, administered the continental possessions, rashly involved himself in a war respecting the Castilian succession. An expedition to Castile shattered his health, drained his resources, and, in spite of temporary success, ultimately led to an alliance between France and Castile which cost the English their command of the sea, and enabled Charles V to resume the aggressive with some success. The Black Prince returned home to die. Under the governorship of his younger brother, the incompetent John of Gaunt, English power dwindled till, at the death of Edward III, Bordeaux, Bayonne, Dax, and Calais were the only French towns of importance left to his grandson. The early successes in France had been due to the superiority of English armies. No missile weapon of the age could compare with the longbow in efficiency, and this weapon was almost an English monopoly. In tactical skill Edward and his son were superior to any general whom they encountered. The new practice of paying the soldiers of all ranks had transformed the English fighting force from a disorderly mob into a disciplined army. But the capture of strong places was difficult. It was easier to overrun France than to hold it. When the war ceased to be self-supporting the burden of maintaining an army on hostile territory became insupportable. Edward had undertaken a task which was beyond the powers of any feudal state. It would have been well if his successors had recognised this truth and impressed it on the nation. But under Richard II operations of an aimless kind were intermittently pursued, while allies fell away and the narrow seas were

[1] He was released and recognised as king of Scotland in 1357.

scoured by French and Scottish privateers. The French government, grown bolder with success, began to lay plans for the invasion of England, and actually sent auxiliaries to Scotland. In 1396, Richard II, having freed himself from the trammels of the regency, was sufficiently wise and courageous to conclude a truce for twenty-eight years. But this step was made an additional count in the long list of charges which his enemies compiled against him. Although the truce was not formally renounced after his fall, the relations of the two countries remained dubious and tense. The last and greatest stage in the struggle had still to come.

L. Parliament, Crown, and Baronage, 1327–1413

(*a*) *Parliament under Edward III.* — The deposition of Edward II was followed, in English politics, by fifty years of unstable equilibrium. On the question of the war there was no radical difference of opinion between the king and people. The constant demands for new subsidies gave rise to complaints, and new claims of control and audit on the part of the commons. But their respect for the king prevented them from pushing remonstrance to extremes until years and infirmity compelled him to leave the management of parliament to his favourites and kinsmen. The third estate, acting invariably on the maxim that "redress should precede supply," made every new tax an excuse for demanding remedial legislation. In particular they claimed statutory recognition of their right to be the sole source of taxation, to appropriate for specific purposes the supplies which they had voted, to audit the royal accounts, and to impeach or demand the removal of ministers of whom they disapproved. These rights the king was ready to grant, but no less ready to disregard whenever circumstances strengthened his position. The Commons were more successful in formulating than in applying valuable principles of parliamentary government; their formal separation from the House of Lords, which took place early in the reign, made it difficult to unite the various elements of the opposition, and some time had to elapse before the knights of the shire, who represented the lower gentry, realised the complete identity of their interests with those of the towns. When, as in 1371 and 1376, a court faction placed itself at the head of the third estate, the true importance of the latter at once became manifest. On the second of these two occasions the commons impeached and punished the two most obnoxious of the royal ministers. But the sequel is instructive. The Black Prince, who had instigated the attack through jealousy of the influence which John of Gaunt possessed with the old king, died in the middle of the session. The opposition, left leaderless, collapsed; the ministers were released, and the speaker of the Commons was thrown into prison. The next parliament, in which the lower house was packed with the friends of John of Gaunt, obediently condoned the duke's defiance of its predecessor.

(*b*) *Richard II and the Princes of the Blood.* — Edward III had usually been on good terms with his baronage. But the composition of this estate was different at the end of his reign from what it had been at the beginning. A single earl of the royal blood had been sufficiently influential to menace the safety of Edward II. But Edward III, blind to this warning, had given positions as great as that of Thomas of Lancaster to several of his younger sons and kinsmen. The

intrigues of these princes of the blood were a fertile source of trouble from the moment when the crown devolved upon the infant son of the Black Prince. John of Gaunt attempted to provide for a regency without reference to the wishes of parliament. This design was frustrated; and Parliament successfully insisted on a share in the nominations to the royal council. But from 1377 to 1381 the government was practically in the hands of John of Gaunt; his inefficient and extravagant conduct and the French war necessitated burdensome taxation which gave the signal for the Peasants' Revolt (*v. infra*, p. 541). Gaunt was scared into retirement by the evidence of his unpopularity which the revolt afforded, and the king fell into the hands of a faction headed by his half-brothers, the earls of Kent and Huntingdon. Another faction no less formidable gathered head under the king's uncle Thomas of Gloucester; in 1386 it impeached the Earl of Suffolk, and saddled the king with a board of eleven advisers whose functions resembled closely those of the Ordainers. Richard temporised and began to make preparations for attacking his enemies by armed force. His purpose was forestalled; he fell into the hands of the Gloucester faction. A servile parliament condemned to death the chief of Richard's ministers and friends, and the Gloucester faction continued to control the administration.

(*c*) *The Personal Rule of Richard II.* — A few months later the king unexpectedly asserted his authority by declaring himself of age. He dismissed the obnoxious regents, and appointed a new council, to which, with sagacious moderation, he called some of those who had been his opponents. Parliament, formerly so zealous in the service of the opposition, acquiesced in the overthrow of a form of government which had been established by the authority of both houses, and for eight years Richard ruled without hindrance from his relations and on good terms with the estates. The explanation is that he had succeeded in procuring the support of John of Gaunt, the most formidable among his uncles. The court parties were therefore evenly balanced; the natural respect of the Commons for an hereditary title was under these circumstances sufficient to guarantee his position. In this position Richard might, with common prudence, have continued for the rest of his life. But he chafed against his dependence, and the fear of conspiracies affected his mind to the point of madness. In 1397 he suddenly arrested the heads of the Gloucester faction; some were executed, some imprisoned, and Earl Thomas himself was murdered in prison without a trial. These proceedings, counterbalanced as they were by profuse grants of dignities to the Lancastrian faction, were passively accepted by parliament, which was carefully packed with royal creatures and surrounded by the armed body-guard of the king during the whole of its proceedings. In a second session, under constraint of the same kind, the estates voted to Richard a life revenue, and made him completely independent of their assembly for the future by sanctioning the appointment of a standing committee of eighteen members with full powers to act in the name of parliament.

The power thus won was used oppressively in many instances. London and many of the shires were heavily fined on the charge, true or false, that they had abetted the king's enemies. The king's livery was granted to all who would wear it, and was treated as a license for indiscriminate purveyances. But Richard was no tyrant, and the general body of the nation was long suffering. He might

THE CORONATION OF RICHARD II.

EDWARD IV. AND HIS COURT

EXPLANATION OF THE PICTURES OVERLEAF

THE CORONATION OF RICHARD II.—Richard of Bordeaux, the son of the Black Prince and Joan of Kent, succeeded Edward III. in 1377 at the age of ten. The picture from which our portrait is taken may be seen in the chancel of Westminster Abbey.

EDWARD IV. AND HIS COURT.—Edward IV. was born in 1442; the eldest son of Richard Duke of York; was his father's lieutenant in the Wars of the Roses; was crowned King at London after Richard's fall at the battle of Wakefield (1460); was expelled by the Earl of Warwick and the Lancastrians in 1470, but returned in the following year and recovered his position by the battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury. He died in 1483. By his wife, Elizabeth Woodville, he had two sons, of whom the elder should have succeeded him as Edward V. But both were murdered in the Tower by the order of their uncle, Richard Duke of Gloucester.

long have pursued his course of absolutism with impunity if he had not rashly attempted to rid himself of the Lancastrians, through whom he had gained his end. He banished Henry of Hereford, the son and heir of John of Gaunt, without the semblance of a trial; and on the death of the old duke (1399) he confiscated the Lancastrian estates. Henry of Hereford was the most popular member of the royal house. He had been a crusader in Prussia, he excelled in knightly exercises, and he had been treated with palpable injustice. When in July, 1399, he took advantage of Richard's absence in Ireland to land and raise the standard of rebellion he was joined at once by numerous adherents; and Richard returned only to enter a captivity in which he perished mysteriously a year later. The crown, which he had resigned in the hope that his life would be spared, was claimed by Henry of Lancaster, and his right was confirmed by the three estates. So the long-dormant right of national election was revived; the house of Lancaster came to the throne with a title which, however they might cloak the fact, was, and was generally considered to be, parliamentary. Never had parliament interfered so often and so decisively as in the reign of Richard II. It alternately exalted and debased the king and his opponents. There was no department of the government too important for its interference; no custom so old that it might not alter or abolish it. But when we go beneath the surface of events and study the influences at work we find that the personal and territorial influence of a few great nobles determined the acts of parliament. The Commons had ceased to be insignificant by becoming the sharpest weapon of party warfare.

(*d*) *Lancastrian Parliamentarism.* — The reign of Henry IV was not wholly untroubled by factions of the old kind, now the more dangerous because they were bound up with the claims of various pretenders. In Cheshire and the Welsh Marches, the personality of Richard had been popular; in Wales, Owen Glendower headed a growing band of nationalists; in the north of England, the Percies and other families which had been Lancastrian were alienated from Henry by disappointed ambition. An impostor pretending to be Richard appeared for a time in Scotland; the Earl of March, whom Richard had designated as his heir, had the support of the Percies and Glendower. Fortunately France was paralysed by the feuds of Burgundians and Armagnacs; Scotland by a minority and the capture of the young James I by the English in 1405. Hence the Welsh got little help from France, the Percies none from Scotland. The Welsh rising, which began in 1400, was for a time successful, and Owen Glendower was actually crowned Prince of Wales by his followers (1402). But, having formed a coalition with the Percies to set the Earl of March upon the English throne, Glendower was defeated by the royal forces at Shrewsbury (1403), though the Percies came to his aid. Harry Percy, "Hotspur," the life and soul of the English malcontents, perished in the battle. His father, Northumberland, failed ignominiously in the attempt to raise the north against the crown (1404), fled to Scotland, and was subsequently slain at Bramham Moor (1407) when conducting a raid into Yorkshire. Owen Glendower, although a thorn in the side of England for some years longer, failed to carry the war across the English border. His rebellion, which at one time had made him master of the principality, died down by degrees; the date of his death, the place of his burial are alike unknown. After 1404 the chief difficulties of Henry IV were caused by parliament and by his own son.

The king was personally unpopular; his title clearly rested on the good will of the nation. He had been elected to reform the state of the country and restore the rule of law; but his government was expensive, and no brilliant military achievements were placed to his credit. Parliament therefore criticised him freely, and it might have gone hard with him if he had not conciliated the clergy by helping them to pass the statute *De Hæretico Comburendo*, the first persecuting measure in the national history. In 1404 the Commons clamoured for a reduction of expense and the dismissal of foreign favourites. They would only grant a subsidy on condition of being allowed to appoint treasurers who should supervise the expenditure of the sum voted. In 1406 they demanded "good and abundant governance," insisted on the choice of new and more acceptable counsellors, nominated a controller of the royal household, and insisted upon appointing auditors of their subsidy. In 1411 they were induced by the heir apparent, Henry of Monmouth, to consider the question of setting aside the king, who was now worn out with sickness. At this point, however, the king showed an unexpected spirit, sent for the speaker of the lower house and intimated that he would have no novelties discussed. The Commons took the rebuke in a submissive spirit; the prince and his supporters were removed from the privy council, and the king enjoyed some measure of independence for the remainder of his reign. But in the years 1399–1413 the chief power in the State had passed from Crown to parliament; the executive had learned to take the orders of the Commons, and had begun to avoid responsibility by adopting submissively the advice of inexperienced representatives. The death of Henry IV (1413) left his son and namesake face to face with domestic problems of no small difficulty.

M. The Social Question, 1348–1413

(*a*) *The Black Death and the Labour Problem.* — The terrible pestilence known as the Black Death (Vol. VII, p. 178), which was the greatest scourge of seventeenth-century Europe, visited England in 1348–1349 and on a smaller scale in subsequent years. Affecting the country districts almost as severely as the towns, it swept away from a third to a half of the total population. It is probable that a few years restored the population of the country to the old level; but in the meantime many changes of far-reaching import had been set on foot. The passing scarcity of labour accelerated the rise which had already begun in the general rate of wages; increased wages and restricted cultivation led to a rise in the prices of agricultural produce, and against the double evil king and parliament sought to provide by legislation. The Statute of Labourers fixed the maximum price of the important articles of food; it also gave power to the justices of the peace in every shire to fix the rates of wages. Such measures could not produce the desired effect, but they caused great bitterness of feeling among producers and labourers, since hired labour was becoming daily more essential in the agricultural economy of the nation. Before 1300 the lords of manors depended chiefly upon serf labour for the cultivation of their demesnes. Since that date it had become a usual practice to commute labour services for money payments according to the current rate of wages. These bargains, advantageous to both parties when first arranged, proved ruinous to landlords when the rate of wages was doubled by the plague. Unable to obtain labour at the rates which

were fixed under the new statute, they conspired with the labourers to defeat it; but at the same time sought to reimburse themselves by a stricter exaction of the labour services and dues in money or kind to which they were still entitled from their serfs. The two classes of the landless labourers, oppressed by unjust legislation, and of the land-holding serfs, irritated by the claims of masters whom they had ceased to respect, drew together and formed a party of considerable size which was skilfully knit together by subterranean agitators. The teaching of John Wyclif, himself the opposite of a socialist, was interpreted by popular preachers in such a way as to fan the flame.

(*b*) *Wyclif and the Peasants' Revolt.* — Wyclif, an Oxford doctor of theology, had become a public character by the mission, which he undertook in 1374, to negotiate a concordat between the Pope and the national Church. Subsequently he distinguished himself by vigorous attacks upon the extortions of the papacy, which the captivity of Avignon and the great schism had discredited in general estimation, by supervising the preparation of an English bible, and by sending out poor preachers to address the people in homely language on the evils of society and the necessity for amending them. Though linked at one time with John of Gaunt by the tie of their common opposition to the hierarchy, Wyclif was definitely committed to no political party. It was an abstract doctrine, borrowed from the scholastics, to the effect that power ceases to be legitimate when unlawfully used, which commended the preaching of his priests to the discontented classes. A rising of the peasants broke out in 1381; the occasion in some places was supplied by the collection of a poll tax, which, although graduated, weighed more heavily upon the poor than the rich. But the area affected by the rising was so considerable — the whole of east and southeast England — that we must suppose the preparations to have been on foot before the unpopular impost was demanded. London was forcibly entered by the men of Hertford, Essex, and Kent; much damage was done to the property of John of Gaunt, alien merchants, and court favourites; the primate, Simon Sudbury, was beheaded on Tower Hill. But the boldness of the young Richard II saved the situation. He induced the mob to disperse by granting manumission to the villeins; the more local risings were mercilessly crushed with the aid of the gentry and superior clergy. Parliament refused to confirm the bargain which Richard had made with the villeins, both lords and commons protesting that they would rather all die in one day than lose their rights. But the alarm which the rising had produced made landholders readier to adopt a new method of farming which was now coming into vogue. They began to let their demesne lands at a rent to tenant farmers; the remaining services of the villeins were rapidly commuted, and the class soon acquired the new name of copyholders. Henceforth the peasant holding land was practically a freeholder, His rent was a fixed one, and though he was still subject to the manor court the restraints upon his personal liberty disappeared. Some traces of villeinage remained in certain parts of the country as late as the sixteenth century, but Tudor writers regard it as, for practical purposes, extinct. The chief disability which clung to the descendants of villeins was that of exclusion from the franchise. This was limited by a statute of 1430, which introduced as a necessary qualification for an elector in the shires the possession of a freehold of forty shillings' annual value. Copyholders, though often men of substance and education, did not acquire the franchise till the great Reform Bill of 1832.

favour, but the reaction against the expenditure which the new conquests entailed was all the more severe when it came. The English did not realise how much the dissensions of France had contributed to their success, nor did they understand that half the kingdom remained to be conquered. Their confidence was soon rudely shaken. The new king was an infant; his uncle Bedford upon whom the regency devolved, though a capable statesman and soldier, was hampered by the intrigues of his brother Gloucester. The English cause soon began to suffer reverses. On the death of Charles VI, which followed soon after that of Henry V, the dauphin took the title of Charles VII and maintained himself, with the aid of a Scottish alliance, in the lands beyond the Loire. Though beaten at Crévant (1422) and Verneuil (1424) the nationalists showed a stubborn spirit, while in the north the efforts of Bedford to conciliate the Normans by wise government were unsuccessful. In 1429, indeed, the English cause appeared to be in the ascendant. Orléans, the key to the Loire, was besieged and at the last gasp; but the apparition of Jeanne d'Arc, as a prophetess of the national cause charged with a divine commission to lead the troops of Charles, breathed a new spirit into his men. Orléans was relieved, and Jeanne d'Arc, conducting her sovereign through the English province to Rheims, celebrated his coronation with all the accustomed forms. The capture of Jeanne d'Arc at Compiègne enabled the English to burn her as a witch, but failed to shake the restored prestige of Charles; and in 1435 he was reconciled to the Burgundians upon whose support had rested all the English hopes. A quarrel between Philip of Burgundy and Bedford's half-brother Gloucester had obliterated the resentments caused by the crime of Montereau. Bedford died immediately after the desertion of Burgundy was made public. In the hands of his brothers, Cardinal Beaufort and the duke of Gloucester, the tottering English cause was soon overthrown. An attempt to purchase peace by the arrangement of a marriage between the young Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou, a kinswoman of Charles VII, merely excited discontent in England without conciliating France. The new queen introduced a new bitterness into the factions of the court; and an alliance between herself and Beaufort was immediately followed by the arrest and mysterious death of Gloucester (1447).

(*c*) *Feud of Lancastrians and Yorkists.* — Beaufort outlived his brother and enemy by only a few days; but in the person of Suffolk the queen found a new minister through whom to rule; the place of Gloucester as head of the opposition was taken by Richard, duke of York, a good administrator and one of the few generals who had won distinction in the French wars, but hateful to the queen because, uniting the claims of two lines descended from Edward III, he stood next in succession to her husband. The king counted for nothing in the government; he was of weak intellect even before the hereditary taint of madness became apparent, and left everything to his wife except that on occasion he endeavored without effect to play the part of peace-maker.

York appears originally to have been a loyal subject. But there was much in the conduct of the government which might legitimately be criticised, and his censures were none the less plainly expressed because he was excluded from a share of power. The parliamentary constitution had proved a total failure; the House of Commons was composed of members returned by corrupt influence and in the interest of a few great families. Since these families furnished the mem-

bers of the privy council, to which every royal minister was subject, their supremacy was assured. All business of any consequence, much that was trivial, came before the council for settlement, and was transacted without method or despatch or technical knowledge. The result at the best of times, was "lack of governance"; and throughout the country life and property were insecure. Only a change of system could mend the evil. But the people, encouraged by the Yorkist party, looked for individuals on whom to throw the blame. The queen and her favourites became the scapegoats of the constitution. They cannot indeed be acquitted of mismanaging the war in France. Year by year ground was lost, and the positions of the English garrisons, ill-found, ill-fed, ill-paid, grew more desperate. Normandy was lost piecemeal in 1448–1449; Guienne in 1451; even Calais was in danger in 1452. The nation, which had never been willing to pay for the defence of these possessions, cried out against the treachery through which they had been lost.

O. The War of the Roses

(*a*) *The Yorkists claim the Throne.* — The first symptom of approaching trouble was the impeachment of Suffolk by the House of Commons in 1480. The unpopular minister was seized by his enemies and beheaded in mid-channel when attempting to escape abroad; immediately afterwards the southeastern counties rose in revolt and marching upon London, under the lead of one Cade, who was not improbably a Yorkist instrument, demanded that the duke of York should be called to power, and the queen's favourites dismissed. Although easily suppressed this rebellion influenced the queen's mind against York. When, in 1452, he made a personal appearance, at the head of an armed force, to reiterate the demands of Cade, she answered with fair words; but the birth of an heir to the throne (1453) gave her courage to attack York as a traitor. It became for the duke a matter of life and death that he should assert his right to a position on the Council, and to the office of protector during the fits of madness which had begun to seize the king at intervals. The queen's determination to exclude him from power made war inevitable. It began with the battle of Bloreheath (1459); and from that point until the accession of Henry VII (1485) the crown was in dispute between the rival houses of York and Lancaster. For the duke soon found it necessary to assert his pretensions; and they passed, after his defeat and death at Wakefield (1460), to his son Edward IV.

(*b*) *Character of the War.* — The war of the White Rose (York) and the Red (Lancaster) originated in a conflict of personal ambitions between two branches of the royal family. From first to last it was a war between aristocratic factions in which the Commons took as little part as possible. No principle was at stake, nor was the country divided, as usually happened in the civil wars of France and Germany, upon the lines of racial or provincial demarcations. Roughly speaking the south and southeast shires held for the Yorkists, the north and Wales for the Lancastrians. But to this general rule there were many local exceptions; the attitude of every district depended upon the territorial influence of the great families. The aristocracy had lost the more imposing of the old feudal privileges, but land was still the great source of wealth and consideration, while private ambition and

the troublous state of the times had produced a new and bastard feudalism. The timid and the ambitious among the middle and lower classes assumed the livery of a great lord, whose private quarrels they pursued in return for maintenance against the authority of the law-courts and the executive; thus every great proprietor could bring a little army into the field. To which side he would bring it depended chiefly upon the ties of blood and the private feuds in which he was entangled. Scores of quarrels were fought out under cover of the dynastic question. The Yorkists succeeded in winning the passive favour of the commercial classes, of whose grievances, as of many with far less foundation, duke Richard had been the mouthpiece before the war broke out. The accidental circumstance that Margaret of Anjou was forced to rely upon the lawless barons of the north confirmed the towns in the prejudice which they entertained against her. Yet the Yorkists, if judged by the character of their claim, were the more unconstitutional party of the two. Richard and his son demanded, in effect, that the parliamentary title of Henry VI should be set aside in favour of one which rested on hereditary right. The reign of Edward IV is a sufficient proof that he had no respect for constitutional liberties and that his own interests were his guiding star. He was allowed to overthrow the Lancastrians in the hope that he would establish a more efficient government. He did in fact establish a personal system of rule which kept the country in a state of quiet; but he did his utmost to destroy all constitutional guarantees at the same time. He endeavoured to substitute a council of favourites and connections for one of territorial magnates. But he did not create a skilled executive, and he reduced the power of the legislative to a shadow.

(*c*) *The Reign of Edward IV.*—The complicated story of his fortunes after 1460 is not worth tracing in detail. He was crowned in 1461, annihilated the Lancastrian army at Towton a few weeks later, and made himself master of his rival's person. Eight years later he was expelled in consequence of quarrels with Warwick, his ablest supporter, and with Clarence, his brother and the heir-apparent. These rebels overthrew their master by forming a coalition with the fugitive Lancastrian queen and with Louis XI of France (1470). But Edward recovered his position with the aid of Charles the Rash, the Duke of Burgundy, to whom it was of vital importance that French influence should not reign supreme in the country from which the weavers of Flanders derived their raw material. Henry VI was taken and put to death; Warwick ended his days on the hard fought field of Barnet; Margaret's son, the young prince Edward, was taken after a victory over his mother's forces at Tewkesbury, and put to death upon the field; Margaret herself fled to France, where she passed the remainder of her days in exile. Clarence, spared for a time in consideration of his treachery to Warwick, was secretly executed some years later (1478). From 1471 to 1483 Edward ruled without a rival. The most notable event of his reign, after the destruction of the premature constitutionalism initiated by the Lancastrians, was the conclusion of the long strife with France which Henry V had revived with such disastrous consequences. Edward held fast by the Burgundian alliance. But he refused to entangle himself deeply in the schemes of Charles the Rash for the dismemberment of France, and eventually sold the English claim on France for a round sum of money. This bargain, concluded at Pecquigny in 1473, marks

the close of the mediæval stage in English foreign policy; it is an unconscious concession to the new national spirit made by the least national of kings. In domestic government the tyranny of Edward serves to bridge a period of transition. He broke with the traditions of the past, but he left it to a representative of the rival house to lay the foundations of the future. An ill-judged love-marriage with Elizabeth Woodville had caused his temporary expulsion; and after his death the Woodville connection was fatal to his children.

(*d*) *The Usurpation of Richard. III.* — On the death of Edward (1483) his brother Richard of Gloucester, who had taken up the feud of Clarence with the Woodvilles, seized his two nephews, in whose name their mother and her relations hoped to rule, and either put the boys to death or spirited them away (1483). Parliament was induced to declare the sons of Edward illegitimate and to accept the claim of Gloucester, who was crowned as Richard III. But he held the crown for barely two years. The public conscience, though hardened by a long series of political crimes and judicial murders, revolted against Richard's culminating atrocity. He became a mark for the intrigues of every ambitious schemer, although he bought the friendship of the Woodville interest by offering to marry his niece Elizabeth. Buckingham failed to overthrow his former friend and master (1484); but Henry Tudor, a representative in the female line of the claim derived from John of Gaunt, the progenitor of the Lancastrians, proved more successful. Deserted by his most popular supporters Richard fell before this new rival at the battle of Bosworth Field. The Tudor was crowned on the battle-field as Henry VII; and parliament and the nation acquiesced in the title thus irregularly asserted. A marriage between the new king and Elizabeth of York blended the White Rose with the Red. The country drew a deep breath of satisfaction at this omen of a lasting settlement. Twenty-five years of strife had created a longing for peace and ordered government which was one of the strongest forces in English politics for many years to come.

P. The Close of the Middle Ages

(*a*) *Need of a New Policy and New Institutions.* — At the close of the Middle Ages we may pause for a moment to ask what was the legacy which they bequeathed to modern England. From many points of view the period 1066–1485 had been either sterile or disastrous. The foreign policy of the Norman and Plantagenet kings had been directed towards schemes of continental empire, which were too great for the resources of their island dominions, especially when a growing national feeling in France brought all classes to the support of the Valois monarchy. In 1485, of all the possessions which she had won abroad, England kept only Calais, a port valuable indeed for purposes of trade and for the command of the narrow seas, but a poor satisfaction for some four centuries of warfare and diplomacy. In the reign of Edward IV the English were almost cured of their continental ambitions. Others, however, had yet to be developed. The discovery of the New World was only beginning, and England was far from being the first of nations to realise the prizes which might be won in America, in Africa, in the Far East. If we turn from foreign policy to the consideration of domestic institutions the outlook, in 1485, is brighter. The Lancastrian period had completed the parliamentary constitution, which was first outlined by Simon

de Montfort and Edward I. In the fifteenth century it was understood that the power of imposing taxes, other than the ancient and customary dues of the crown, lay exclusively with parliament. Henry IV had been compelled to admit that a money-bill must originate in the House of Commons. So, again, the right to petition had become the right to present bills for the royal approval; the Crown might reject them, but might not introduce unauthorised amendments. During the wars of the Roses the responsibility of ministers to parliament had been asserted by both parties; the formidable procedures of impeachment and attainder had taken shape as weapons to be used against the complaisant tools of arbitrary power. Finally, the right of both houses to perfect freedom of debate had been admitted by the Crown. But, on the other hand, the growth of parliament had been premature. The two houses had proved themselves capable of obstructing government; they had done nothing to increase the efficiency of the executive. The members of the lower house showed neither capacity for rule nor independence of judgment. Parliament was Yorkist or Lancastrian, according to the fortune of war, and consistent in nothing but the readiness with which it proscribed the beaten party of the moment. Elections were seldom fairly conducted in the fifteenth century. Where intimidation and corrupt influence failed to return the candidate of a local magnate, the sheriff could usually be suborned to make a false return. The Commons had represented the private interests of the great houses. There was now a hope that better days might come. The baronage emerged from the wars of the Roses with shattered fortunes and prestige, while the Crown was enriched by three successive sets of confiscations, those of the Lancastrians, of the Yorkists, and of the new Tudor sovereign. But for the time being the nation had ceased to reverence parliament; the new wealth and influence of the Crown was used to keep the national assembly in a state of weakness and humility. For a century after this date parliament was rarely allowed an opportunity of dictating the conditions of a grant, or of offering an independent criticism upon royal policy. The constitutionalists of the Stuart period were the first to appeal consistently, and with success, to the precedents of parliamentary sovereignty which the reign of Henry IV afforded. Turning from the legislature to the executive we find that the case was even worse. The great offices of state, the privy council which controlled them, were archaic in constitution, and ill-adapted for the tasks imposed upon them. A new distribution of duties, more perfect organisation, the replacement of high-born but inexperienced magnates by energetic but expert statesmen, — such were the crying needs of the central government. The local administration, which Henry II had made the most scientific of his age, was now totally inadequate to satisfy the requirements of the community. It was imperative to create new officials in the place of the sheriffs who had so long fulfilled with equal inefficiency the various functions of the tax collector, the magistrate, and the captain of militia; nor would any system be successful which did not give the landowners, the national leaders of public opinion, an interest and a share in maintaining the public peace. In the towns the trammels which the gild-system had imposed upon all kinds of industry could no longer be defended. Whatever advantages the gilds had once secured for the community by their inspection of goods, by their regulation of wages and the conditions of labour, by their encouragement of local industry through the maintenance of a local monopoly, they were now more mischievous than useful.

THE CORONATION OF KING HENRY IV. OF ENGLAND

Du couronnement du roy henry duc de lancastre Quy se fift du consentement de tout le commun dangleterre Et de la maniere de la feste quy si tirt. Le chapitre lxxviiie

EN lan de nostre seigneur mil c c c c, vng moins, aduint en angleterre ou mois de septembre, et le darrain iour dicelluy mois par vng [...]
estoient. Et la fut tout ledist poeuple assamble a Westmoustier ce mardi deuant dit present le duc de lancastre et ses gens. Et la calenga le duc de lancastre le royaulme dangleterre et requist a estre roy par trois manières de cas, Premierement par conquest, secondement pour tant quiil se disoit estre droit hoir de la couronne. Et tierchement par ce que le [...]

Of the coronation of King Henry, Duke of Lancaster, which took place with the consent of the whole community of England. And of the manner of the festival that took place. Chapter 78.

In the year of our Lord 1400 less one (that is 1399) it happened in England, in the month of September and on the last day of the said month on a . . . .
were. And there all the people was assembled at Westminster on the aforesaid Tuesday in the presence of the Duke of Lancaster and his men. And there the Duke of Lancaster claimed the kingdom of England and demanded to be king for three kinds of reasons: in the first place by conquest, and in the second place by assertion that he was the true heir to the throne. And thirdly because the . . . .

London: Wm Heinemann.

Printed by the Bli

THE CORONATION

(From the old French fifteenth century Froissar

estoient/ Et la fut tout ledit poeu-
ple assamble a Wesmoustier ce mar-
di deuant dit/ present le duc de lan-
castre et ses gens/ Et la calenga le
duc de lancastre le royaulme dangle-
terre/ et requist a estre roy par trois
manieres de cas/ Premierement p
conquest/ Secondement pour tant
que il se disoit estre droit hoir de la cou-
ronne/ Et tierchement par ce que le

by the Bibliographisches Institut, Leipzig. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

ATION OF HENRY IV. OF ENGLAND.
Froissart MS. in the civic Library at Breslau, drawn by M. Pfauth.)

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(*b*) *Decay of the Church.* — If the whole constitution of lay society stood in need of reform, the Church had suffered no less from the growth of abuses at headquarters, and in every department, from the failure of the clergy to maintain their former position as the pioneers of intellectual progress and the censors of national morality. The inmates of the monasteries were sunk in sloth and ignorance. They may not have been so generally vicious as the Protestants of the next generations contended; but monasticism was no longer respected as serving any useful purpose. Popular liberality had almost ceased to flow in the direction of religious houses, and the wealth which they had derived from the piety of past generations was grudged to them by the laymen of the fifteenth century. The preaching friars were not so obviously useless as the monks; but even the friars had lost their high ideals, and earned their subsistence by flattering a contemptuous populace. The bishops were for the most part engrossed in politics; nominated either by the king or the Pope they seldom owed their rank to any fitness for its religious duties. The reaction against Lollardry had made them staunch supporters of the papacy, which, in the time of Grosseteste, they had been inclined to criticise. Conscious of the slight hold which they possessed upon the respect of the laity, they sought to improve their position by leaning on the support of Rome or of the Crown. And, although Lollardry had been silenced, Lollard congregations still met in secret. Copies of Wyclif's *Wicket* were widely circulated, and his teaching added point to the criticisms, which the merest common-sense suggested, upon the abuses of the Church courts, the intolerable multiplication of ecclesiastical dues, the lax and immoral lives of the secular clergy. The springs and sources of religious idealism were running dry; if they could not be reopened it was certain that the Church would cease to be of any value or significance. Men would look elsewhere for guidance; they would shake off the weight of a system which no longer possessed any charm or authority.

(*c*) *Results of the Middle Ages.* — There were, however, latent in society the seeds of a new and better order, and the Middle Ages produced in England some abiding results of value and importance. Within a hundred years from the battle of Senlac the fusion of the Norman ruling class with the native population was complete. The centralisation of the Angevins broke down the barriers of prejudice and custom and privilege which had separated province from province and class from class. Patriotism became intense in every rank of society; and in the fourteenth century the substitution of English for French as the common language of social intercourse bore witness to the growth of a national individuality. Grasping and unscrupulous as the barons of the Lancastrian period showed themselves, they were less a source of danger to society than the aristocracies of France and Germany. The privileges of nobility were in England comparatively few, and the younger sons of a great house were, in the eyes of the law, but simple commoners; on the other hand, a writ of summons to the house of lords could be issued at the pleasure of the crown to any subject, and carried with it nobility of rank. Thus, although custom gave to the House of Lords a preponderant influence in the legislature and the larger half of places in the privy council, it was possible to recruit that chamber from time to time with the ablest and most influential members of the middle class; and in the House of Commons were to be found many knights of the shire whose pride of birth was hardly less than that

of the peers. There was no inseparable gulf between the two houses, and they were capable upon occasion of pursuing a common policy.

Respect for the law and the officers of the law was another hopeful feature of society. English law had developed steadily and without a break from the accession of Henry II; the great legislative measures of that sovereign and of Edward I were supplemented by the evolution of an elaborate case-law in the royal courts. The legal treatise attributed to Glanville, but more probably the work of Hubert Walter, which was written between 1187 and 1189, is a proof that the reduction of precedents to order had even then begun. Bracton, writing in the years 1250–1258, compiled mainly from recorded cases his *Tractatus de Legibus*, a manual of legal principles, which was for generations the standard authority. In his hands and that of later exponents, such as Britton (c. 1291) and Littleton (1475), the common law became scientific without becoming tainted to any appreciable degree with the theories of civilians and canonists; uncouth in terminology, abounding in archaisms, and so intricate that it could barely be mastered by the study of a lifetime, it was still regarded with pride as a national heritage, and was on the whole well adapted to the needs of the nation by which it had been developed. The judges and the lawyers of the English courts acted, at the worst of times, as a check upon royal despotism and feudal lawlessness. The personal intervention of the Crown in matters of justice was a thing of the past. Edward IV once sat in the King's Bench for three successive days; but this was noted as a surprising occurrence, and it is not recorded that he ventured to take a personal part in the proceedings. In the sixteenth century the doctrine that the king could not lawfully interfere with justice became rooted in the common law.

Again we have to remark that the intellectual revival of the fifteenth century found a ready welcome upon English soil. Already before this time the nation had shown the promise of great things in literature, in science and philosophy. Amongst the vernacular poets of the Middle Ages the first place indeed belongs to those of Italy; but Chaucer and Langland are only inferior to Dante and to Petrarch. The Franciscan Roger Bacon, whose *Opus Majus*, *Opus Minus*, and *Opus Tertium* (1267–1271) ranged over the whole field of the known sciences, is the greatest of those inquirers into nature who took the Aristotelian treatises at their starting point, and in his protest against the blind acceptance of authority struck a note which is echoed by his more famous namesake of the seventeenth century. Amongst the great scholastics the Englishmen Alexander of Hales († 1245), Duns Scotus († 1308), and Ockham († c. 1349) hold a foremost place, and represent the subtlest forms of mediæval metaphysics. The Lancastrian and Yorkist periods cannot boast thinkers of such power and brilliance. But the lawyer Fortescue (1394–1476), the translator Caxton (1491), who is better remembered as the founder of the first English printing-press, and Sir Thomas Malory, the compiler of the Morte d'Arthur (1485), gave an impetus to the development of English prose. The poetic tradition was handed on by Gower († 1408), Lydgate, and Hoccleve. By the middle of the century the English scholar was already a familiar figure in the class-rooms of the great Italian humanists and the library which Bishop Gray of Ely, one of the earliest of these pioneers, bequeathed to Balliol College, Oxford, bears witness to the new direction which the studies of the universities were taking.

(*d*) *The Renaissance and Economic Change.* — Early in the reign of Henry VII the foundation of Greek studies was laid in Oxford by the teaching of William Grocyn and Thomas Linacre. The new learning was still subordinate to the study of theology, but was rapidly acquiring an independent interest and value. The revival of an active impulse towards religious reformation followed as a natural consequence from the teaching of these two scholars, of their pupils More and Colet, and of their Dutch colleague Erasmus, who came to Oxford in 1498.

Lastly, we may notice the beginnings of an economic revolution which, though incidentally productive of distress and discontent, was to increase the wealth of English society, and to give the industrial and commercial classes an importance far greater than they had hitherto possessed. Agriculture was still the main source of wealth, the landlord the most important member of the community. But sheep-farming was now more profitable than tillage. The rapidity with which arable land was converted into pasture at the close of the century is a proof that the demand for wool, the staple English export, had increased and was expected to increase still further. The wool trade, which before the time of Edward III had been mainly in the hands of foreigners, was now almost monopolised by Englishmen; and when Edward IV granted privileges to the Hanse merchants (1474) he did so on condition that the ports of the Baltic should be opened to English traders. The chief claim of the Yorkists to popularity had been that by their foreign policy, and to some extent by their legislation, they aimed at the development of trade. The merchant class was a power with which the most autocratic sovereign was bound to reckon.

2. THE REFORMATION AND COUNTER REFORMATION

A. England and the Balance of Power

(*a*) *Early Difficulties of Henry VII.* — The hereditary claim of Henry VII was of the slightest kind. His mother, Margaret Beaufort, was a descendant of John of Gaunt; on the paternal side he could only claim as ancestors a line of Welsh squires. His grandfather, Owen Tudor, had married the widow of Henry V, but was not otherwise distinguished; the family had only acquired the earldom of Richmond in his father's time. Henry owed his strongest claim to the act of parliament which decreed that the inheritance of the crown should rest in King Henry VII and the heirs of his body. He fortified his position by a marriage with Elizabeth of York, the daughter of Edward IV. But the early years of the reign were disturbed by plots in favour of Yorkist candidates, among whom two laid claim to be princes of the blood. A certain Lambert Simnel won the support of the Irish by alleging himself to be Edward of Warwick, the son of the ill-starred Clarence (1487). Between 1492 and 1499 more serious trouble was caused by a Flemish youth, one Perkin Warbeck, who passed as Richard, the second son of Edward, and claimed that he had escaped when his elder brother was murdered by Richard III. Warbeck was supported by Margaret of York, the sister of Edward IV, and dowager-duchess of Burgundy. He was received at the court of Scotland, married a kinswoman of James IV, and received promises of Scottish assistance. Each of these pretenders invaded England,

and it would have gone hardly with the new king if he had not in each case defeated the pretender at the first encounter. The great families connected wit' the Yorkist line, and all classes in the north of England, merely awaited a favourable opportunity to revolt. Of these, however, and of other possible claimants, Henry freed himself in good time. Simnel ended his days as a scullion in the royal kitchen; Warbeck, at first imprisoned in the Tower, was afterwards executed in consequence of an attempted escape. His fate was shared by his fellow captive, the true Edward of Warwick. The two De la Poles, cousins of Edward IV, saved themselves by flight (1501), a number of their kinsmen and friends were executed (1502), and at length the Tudor cause seemed reasonably secure.

(*b*) *Domestic Policy of Henry VII.* — To improve his position was the one object which the king pursued through a reign of twenty-four years. In his domestic policy he improved upon the example of the Yorkists, aiming like them at the establishment of an autocracy based upon middle-class support, but pursuing this end with greater skill and caution. He took for his ministers ecclesiastics and men of humble origin upon whose devotion he could count implicitly. He devoted his main care to finance. By heavy fines imposed upon suspected nobles, by demanding benevolences from wealthy individuals, by the sale of privileges, by the unscrupulous exploitation of the law courts and by strict enforcement of his feudal rights, he amassed a considerable treasure without demanding frequent subsidies. There was too much unrest in the country to permit of regular taxation. In 1488 and 1497 attempts to collect a tax which parliament had voted were followed by local risings; and although the rebels were easily defeated, the king took the double lesson to heart. His forbearance was rewarded by emancipation from parliamentary control; only once in the last thirteen years of his reign was it necessary for him to meet the House of Commons. This policy was not resented. The king's exactions led to loud complaints from the victims, but the immediate burden fell upon the wealthy few. The Commons were more anxious to be protected than ambitious of a voice in determining the royal policy. The king gave them that which they desired. He used the jurisdiction of the privy council to stamp out the practices of livery and maintenance through which the nobles had become a terror to their social inferiors. In spite of pretenders and rebellions his reign was one of security and peace. His legislation is commended by the high authority of Lord Bacon, but it was in administration that the king excelled. The two best known measures which were enacted in his reign, though important in their consequences, are by no means elaborate. One of these provided that no man should incur the guilt of treason by obedience to the king *de facto* (1495); the other, passed in 1487, fixed the composition and powers of the Star Chamber, a judicial body in close connection with the Privy Council, and designed to exercise the Council's jurisdiction for the punishment of powerful offenders.

(*c*) *Foreign Policy.* — The diplomacy of Henry VII was both subtle and successful. He came to the throne at a time when the three great powers of the Continent, Spain, France, and the Empire, were on the point of opening a long conflict, in which the traditions of the mediæval state system were cast to the winds, and territorial aggrandisement became the sole aim of enterprising sover-

eigns. Though remote from Italy, which soon became the main theatre of strife, Henry held a strategic position of some value within striking distance of France and of the Netherlands; the power of England, while much inferior to that of the three states already mentioned, was consequently deemed sufficient to turn the balance in favour of any side which she espoused. Without committing himself too deeply, Henry sold his friendship dear, pressed every advantage, and was seldom outwitted in a bargain. From Philip, the archduke of Flanders, he obtained, in 1496, the treaty known as the *Magnus Intercursus*, which secured freedom of trade for English merchants and closed the Netherlands against English rebels. In 1506 the archduke, having been accidentally driven ashore on the English coast, was detained until he granted further privileges so damaging to Flemish trade that the new agreement was called by his subjects the *Malus Intercursus*. From Ferdinand of Aragon, the father-in-law of the archduke, Henry obtained a still more valuable concession. In 1501 the princess Katherine of Aragon was given in marriage to Arthur, the heir of the English throne. The prince died in the following year, before the consummation of the marriage; but Katherine was then betrothed, with her father's consent, to the future Henry VIII. In this way the Tudors established themselves upon an equal footing with the older dynasties of Europe, and secured a powerful ally. Friendship with Spain and Burgundy was the sheet-anchor of the foreign policy of Henry VII. But after 1492 he contrived to avoid hostilities with France, the chief enemy of his allies. At the king's death (1509), England, though still a power of the second rank, was universally courted and regarded as the arbiter of European politics. Not less skilfully had Henry conducted his dealings with the commercial powers, Venice, Portugal, and the Hanse Towns, from all of whom he demanded reciprocity of privilege. The great position which he had won was diligently used on behalf of English trade, although, with characteristic caution, he gave but slight encouragement to the great explorers of the period whose discoveries were to revolutionise the economic state of Europe. The voyage of the Cabots (1497) which brought them within sight of North America was undertaken with the sanction and protection of the king. The expedition sailed from Bristol, and in 1498 the Cabots received permission to engage English vessels for a second voyage. But a present of £10 was the most substantial aid which the bold Venetians received from the king. Henry was in accord with his subjects on the subject of the explorations. The time had not yet come for Englishmen to show an active interest in the New World.

(*d*) *The new Alliance with Scotland.* — Short-sighted in this respect, Henry gave, in a business of a different character, an exhibition of exceptional sagacity. He it was who brought about the close connection of the Tudors with the Stuart dynasty of Scotland. In spite of the friendship between Edward III and David Bruce, the subsequent relations of their kingdoms had been the reverse of friendly. French diplomacy and the raids of the borderers of both nations had kept alive the ill-feeling kindled by the war of independence. In the latter stages of the Hundred Years' War the troops of Scotland shared the fortunes of more than one pitched battle with their French allies. James IV proved himself, after Bosworth, a loyal friend to the defeated Yorkists. Instead of avenging the injuries suffered in the past, Henry took the surest means of averting future collisions. He

arranged in 1498, and brought to a conclusion four years later, a marriage between James and his eldest daughter, Margaret. The advisers of Henry expressed doubts as to the policy of a match which might have the ultimate effect of placing a Scot upon the English throne. The king, however, ridiculed their fears. The greater power, he said, would always draw the less; union would never redound to the hurt of England. The peace with Scotland which he desired was not to be secured for many years to come. Still, Henry may be fairly credited with the first project, since the time of Edward I, for a peaceful union of the kingdoms.

(*e*) *Administration of Ireland.* — With the question of Ireland he dealt in an astute but less satisfactory matter. The English party had steadily lost ground in the island since the time of John, and in the reign of Edward III the home government had definitely abandoned all hope of controlling the country outside the pale, the district in the immediate neighbourhood of Dublin. The statute of Kilkenny (1366) drew a sharp line between the inhabitants of the pale and the remainder of the population, providing that the former were to live by English law, and forego the use of the Irish language, but leaving the latter to their own devices. The statute had failed to attach the pale to England; and outside the pale the settlers had sunk to the level of the natives among whom they lived. Occasionally a vigorous governor, such as Richard of York, acquired a personal ascendancy, but the Irish Yorkists were even more trouble to the first Tudor than those who hated English authority in any shape or form. After vain experiments in the direction of firm government, Henry VII adopted the plan of setting Irishmen to govern Ireland, with the result that the country remained in a state of anarchy, but ceased to trouble England. Before, however, this autonomy, if so it may be called, was granted the parliament of the pale had been induced to pass a statute known as Poyning's Law (1494), which was of more importance in after ages than at the time when it was first enacted. This law provided that no bill should be laid before the Irish parliament without the consent of the English Privy Council.

(*f*) *Accession of Henry VIII (1509). Wolsey's Ministry.* — Widely different was the spirit in which Henry VIII approached the problems of home and foreign policy. He commenced his reign by sacrificing his father's ministers, Empson and Dudley, to the popular outcry against these too faithful agents. Aspiring, versatile, accomplished in the new learning, the friend and patron of scholars, capable of making heavy sacrifices for a whim or a generous impulse, Henry VIII was the antithesis of his father. He threw himself into the religious controversies which Luther had aroused, and earned by his pen the title of *Defensor Fidei;* he trifled with extensive plans of foreign wars and conquests, dreamed of subduing France, and offered himself as a candidate for the Empire. Yet for many years he allowed his government to be controlled by a statesman who had imbibed the main principles of Henry's policy. Thomas Wolsey, at first the king's almoner, afterwards archbishop of York (1514) and cardinal (1515), aimed at gratifying his master's ambition by skilful mediation between the continental powers. Of necessity the cardinal embarked at times in enterprises for which England had adequate resources. After he had brought England into the Holy League (1511) which had been formed by Spain, the Venetians, and the emperor

to expel the French from Italy, Wolsey was compelled to find troops and money for useless attacks on the French frontiers (1512–1513), in which his master reaped some trifling laurels by the battle of the Spurs (Guinegate) and the capture of Thérouanne and Tournay. The most brilliant success of the war was won, however, upon English soil in the absence of the king. James IV, invading England in the interests of France, was defeated and slain at Flodden Field (August, 1513), rather through his own rashness than from any remarkable skill on the opposing side. Wolsey was fortunate in being able to wind up the war by advantageous treaties both with France and Scotland. His abilities were better displayed in the course of the fierce rivalry between Hapsburg and Valois, which commenced when Francis I was defeated by Charles V in the imperial election of 1519. It has been supposed that Wolsey's dealings with Francis and the emperor were inspired by the ambition of procuring the papal dignity for himself. He was certainly tempted with this bribe on more than one occasion by Charles V, and would doubtless have accepted the tiara if it had been offered in good earnest. But the main object of his tortuous intrigues was to aggrandise his master. He succeeded in convincing Charles and Francis that the attitude of England must decide the issue of their quarrel. He bargained alternately with each, and in 1520 was formally accepted as a mediator. His hope was to maintain the equilibrium of France and the Empire. When war broke out he took the side of Charles as that most acceptable to the king, who never ceased to dream of emulating Henry V; but, after the defeat and capture of Francis at Pavia (1525), all the weight of English influence was used to save the French kingdom from dismemberment.

(*g*) *The Divorce Project and the Fall of Wolsey.* — But the principle of maintaining the balance of power began to weary Henry VIII; and Wolsey without his master's confidence was powerless. At home the cardinal was unpopular; he had concerned himself little with domestic questions, although some have discovered in one of his measures the germs of a new and fruitful reform. To improve the intellectual standard of the clergy he began at Ipswich and Oxford to build and endow great colleges, the funds for which were provided by the suppression of small and depopulated monasteries. He may have hoped to forestall those attacks upon the church which there were the best of reasons for expecting. But his best energies were given to diplomacy, and it was currently supposed that he thought of England merely as a treasure house, to be despoiled for the benefit of his master and himself. He made heavy demands upon the Commons, which provoked unfavourable comparison between his administration and that of Henry VII; nor did he improve matters by attempting to browbeat recalcitrant members, and to raise benevolences when the liberality of parliament proved insufficient. Like all his house, Henry VIII was sensitive to popular discontent. Now, as more than once in later years, he resolved to make a scapegoat of his minister; and his plan was brought to a head when Wolsey pressed him to cement an alliance with France against the Empire, by repudiating Katherine of Aragon and marrying a French princess. The king caught at the first half of the plan. He was weary of Katherine, and mortified that she had borne him no male heir to make the future of the dynasty secure. But he had fallen under the spell of Anne Boleyn, a lady of considerable attractions and doubtful reputation, who appeared at his court about 1522. Wolsey was instructed to obtain from Rome a declaration

that the marriage with Katherine had been null and void *ab initio* (1527), and he was soon allowed to see that his French policy must give way to the wishes of Anne Boleyn.

The course which Henry desired the Pope to take was repugnant both to ecclesiastical law and to the conscience of the age. The marriage with Katherine had been contracted under a dispensation from the Pope, the validity of which Henry had never seriously questioned during eighteen years of married life. It is untrue (although he resorted to this plea) that the legitimacy of Katherine's daughter, the only offspring of the marriage, had been disputed by a French ambassador. The divorce was demanded neither by dynastic considerations nor by the foreign policy of the king. It threatened, in fact, to estrange a large proportion of his subjects, and to irritate Charles V without leading to a closer connection with Francis. Yet Wolsey, rather than forfeit his position, undertook to press the king's suit at Rome. Possibly the cardinal counted on the Pope's refusal to set aside the dispensation of his predecessor; and Clement VII did after much hesitation, insist upon reserving the case for his own decision with the full intention of deciding against the king. But the Pope's firmness proved the ruin of Wolsey, who incurred the suspicion of having opposed in private the concession for which he pressed in public. The cardinal was suddenly stripped of all his honours and the greater part of his wealth. Permitted to retain the archbishopric of York he lived for a time in seclusion; but he was at length accused of treason and summoned to stand his trial. He died of a broken heart on his way to answer a charge to which his whole career gave the lie (1530); and his death removed from the scene the last and most skilful exponent of the foreign policy devised by the king's father. The idea of maintaining the balance lay dormant until the religious struggle, on which Germany had already entered and England was entering, had divided Europe into two hostile camps, and dynastic ambitions had become inextricably confused with dogmatic controversies.

B. The Religious Reforms of Henry VIII and Edward VI

(*a*) *Character of the English Reformation.* — Before 1530 England was distinguished from her continental neighbours partly by the possession of a constitution in which a unique importance was assigned to popular representatives, partly by a social system in which there existed no sharp and impassable frontiers between class and class. But the whole of the national life was overshadowed, at the close of the Middle Ages, by an ecclesiastical system which was framed on a model common to all the nations of the West; and in matters of the faith England, like all other Catholic communities, accepted the authority of Popes and general councils. The Reformation intensified the insularity of English life and national character; for the nation left the Catholic communion without entering either of those two Protestant churches which rose, in the sixteenth century, to a position of international importance. Although highly conservative in tendency, the Anglican communion bears little resemblance to any other. The principle of subordination to the State, which its leaders accepted from the first, gave it stability as a national church, but incapacitated it for any wider sphere of action. Even Scotland after some hesitation refused to accept Anglicanism and threw in her lot with Calvin of Geneva.

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FOUR NOTABLE KINGS

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FOUR NOTABLE KINGS

1. HENRY V.—Eldest son of Henry IV. by Mary Bohun; was born in 1387. During his father's reign he earned military distinction in the war against Glendower and the Percies. He also became notorious by his wild life and escapades; but the stories told by the chronicler Hall and immortalised in Shakespeare's play of "Henry IV." appear to have no historical foundation. He succeeded his father in 1413 and reigned till 1422. The events of his reign are treated in the text of our history. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, where his helmet, shield, and saddle may still be seen.

2. HENRY VIII.—Second son of Henry VII. by Elizabeth of York; born 1491; became heir to the throne by the death of his brother Arthur, 1502; married his brother's widow Catherine in 1509, by whom he had one daughter, Mary. He succeeded to the throne in the same year. He divorced Catherine in 1534, and afterwards married (2) Anne Boleyn, beheaded in 1536, by whom he had issue Elizabeth; (3) Jane Seymour, died in 1537, after giving birth to the future Edward VI.; (4) Anne of Cleves, whom he divorced in the year of their marriage, 1540; (5) Catherine Howard, who was beheaded in 1542; (6) Catharine Parr, who bore him no children and outlived him. Henry died on January 28, 1547.

3. CHARLES I.—Second son of James I. and Anne of Denmark; born in 1600; became heir to the throne on the death of his elder brother, Henry (1612); visited Spain in 1623 on the business of his Spanish marriage, but broke off negotiations and shortly after married Henrietta Maria of France. Succeeded his father in 1625; began a career of arbitrary government in 1629, which led to the Great Rebellion (1642) and ultimately to his own execution (1649).

4. WILLIAM III.—Only son of William II., Prince of Orange, and Mary, daughter of Charles I. of England; born in 1650, after his father's death. Was elected Captain-General of the Dutch forces and Stadtholder in 1672; married Mary, the eldest daughter of the future James II., in 1677. In 1681 began to form a European league against Louis XIV. of France. Came to England and expelled James II., at the invitation of the Whigs, in 1688; jointly with his wife accepted the Crown on February 13, 1689. Continued to reign after the death of his wife (December 28, 1694); died of the effects of a fall from his horse on March 8, 1702, leaving no issue.

This peculiar character of Anglicanism is due to the circumstances under which the English Reformation took place. There were Lutherans and other Protestants in England when Henry VIII, unable to procure a divorce from the Pope, decided to deny the authority of Rome. But the English Protestants were then a mere fraction of the nation, and they were not invited to advise the government in the work of destroying and remodelling ecclesiastical institutions. Henry VIII intended that there should be no changes of dogma, or only changes of the slightest kind. His object was to bring the courts, the revenues, the patronage of the Church entirely under his control; to make what confiscations seemed convenient; to allow such alterations in the forms of service as were imperatively demanded by his subjects. The first effects of the Reformation were, therefore, constitutional and legal. The growth of a strong Protestant party, attaching paramount importance to certain dogmas and certain forms of church government, was a gradual process. The earliest changes effected by Henry VIII were indeed sanctioned by parliament. But parliament did little more than register edicts which it did not dare to resist. The body which should have been the chief guardian of liberty became the most reliable instrument of a despot.

(*b*) *Circumstances favourable to Reform.* — It must not be supposed that the impulse towards ecclesiastical reform was wholly wanting in the nation. The claims of the papacy to rights of patronage, jurisdiction, and taxation had been long resented. Even in the fourteenth century those of the first class were attacked by the statute of Provisors (1351), those of the second and third by that of Præmunire (1353); and both measures were renewed with increased severity by the parliament of Richard II. Wyclif's attacks upon the abuses of the Curia were the most popular and best-remembered aspects of his teaching. Under the Lancastrians England had taken some interest in the conciliar movement, of which the ultimate object was to reform the government of the Roman Church. And under the Tudors we can distinguish two parties of different composition which were profoundly anxious to raise the tone of popular religion. The Renaissance in England, as in Germany, was coloured by devotional feeling; the great Oxford scholars were also religious reformers. Nowhere were the satires of Erasmus on the Church more eagerly read and discussed than in the cultured circles of which Warham, More, and Colet were the leading spirits. Lutheranism secured an English following between 1520 and 1530; and the sect, though chiefly composed of obscure and humble enthusiasts, had caused anxiety to Wolsey before his overthrow. But in parliament the Lutherans and the scholars were practically unrepresented, and the latter were almost without exception repelled into extreme conservatism by the feeling that the king, acting under purely selfish motives, was likely to overwhelm the true and false elements of the national faith in a common ruin. Amongst the lords and commons Henry depended for support partly upon those who were irritated by the very tangible abuses of the church courts, by the excessive fees of ordinaries, by the moral censorship of immoral ecclesiastics; partly upon those who looked for a share of the Church's wealth; but chiefly on the timid and inexperienced, who believed that the divorce was essential to save the dynasty, and the ecclesiastical revolution to put the legality of the divorce beyond all question.

(*c*) *The Reformation Parliament.* — For seven years parliament was engaged in the work of reforming the Church. Legislation moved slowly at first, while there was still a hope of intimidating the Pope; nor, when this hope failed, could the king secure all that he desired at once. Each new step raised new fears of resistance, and the momentous work was interrupted by a serious rebellion, the Pilgrimage of Grace (1536–1537). The chief measures aimed against the Church were as follows. In 1529 popular sympathy was conciliated by legislation against pluralities, excessive fees, non-residence, and clerical trading. In 1531 the clergy were compelled, by the threat of a Præmunire, to acknowledge the king as the supreme head of the Church. In 1532 benefit of clergy was restricted, and the payment of first-fruits to Rome was abolished. In 1533 it was forbidden to bring appeals before the Roman Curia, and an act for the submission of the clergy provided that nd convocation should meet or pass any canons without the royal license. In 1534 the king received the power of nominating to all archbishoprics and bishoprics (by the *congé d'élire*); and the act of Supremacy made it treason to deny the king's power in matters ecclesiastical. In 1536 the work of spoliation was commenced by the suppression of the smaller monasteries; and in spite of the rebellion to which this measure gave occasion the greater monasteries shared the same fate within the course of a few years (1537–1540). The enormous spoils, both land and movables, were chiefly squandered upon courtiers, or used as bribes to secure the loyalty of the great families. A few new bishoprics were founded and endowed with monastic lands, but this measure, though loudly advertised, does not account for a tithe of the confiscations.

(*d*) *Thomas Cromwell.* — The moving spirit in the councils of the king, the man who shaped his legislation and intimidated parliament to pass it, was the base-born Thomas Cromwell, one of Wolsey's servants, who had not only escaped the shipwreck of his master's fortunes, but had afterwards wormed himself into the favour of the king. Imbued with the lessons of the Florentine Machiavelli, this upstart made it his first object to establish an autocracy. He was of no religion; he had no scruples; and though free from the vice of wanton cruelty, he persecuted, without distinction of creed or class or merit, all who criticised the revolution. He burnt Lutherans to vindicate his master's orthodoxy; he beheaded More, the leader of the humanists, and Fisher, the most respectable of the bishops, for objecting to the royal supremacy. He pacified the rebels of 1536–1537 by lying promises, and removed the fear of future risings by indiscriminate executions. His spy system was perfect; he knew everything and forgave nothing. But he fell at length a victim to the despotism which he had created. He attempted, in his fear of a Hapsburg ascendancy, to bind Henry VIII inextricably to the cause of the German Protestants. The king followed his minister's advice so far as to issue the Ten Articles (1536) and to marry the sister of the Duke of Cleves. Then he drew back, for he had no mind to be a heretic in dogma or in foreign policy. The Six Articles, enacted by parliament in 1539, announced the adhesion of the English Church to the real presence, the communion in one kind, clerical celibacy, and auricular confession.

(*e*) *The Later Years of Henry VIII.* — In 1540 Cromwell was attainted and sent to execution. His place at the king's ear was taken by reactionaries,

who atoned for their assent to the royal supremacy by the severity with which they persecuted heterodox opinions. Still the party of moderate reform gained ground at court and in the nation. It was represented by the primate Cranmer, a pliant but well-meaning theologian, who drifted by imperceptible stages towards the Protestant position and exercised no little influence on the king. An English version of the Bible, prepared by Coverdale upon the basis of Tyndale's rendering, the English litany, and a primer of English prayers, were the great services of Cranmer to the national Church. Though opposed and denounced by Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, the chief of the reactionaries, Cranmer retained to the last his influence over Henry.

The Reformation began with a violent change in foreign policy. Yet the king reverted at the earliest opportunity to the leading ideas of his first minister, in so far as he aimed at preserving the attitude of a neutral and a mediator. But he could no longer venture on officious intervention such as that of Wolsey. It was Henry's good fortune that the English Reformation coincided with a crisis in the relations of Hapsburg and Valois, and that the crucial years which followed his destructive legislation were those in which the Protestants of Germany engrossed the mind of Charles V. England was thus able to dispense with serious alliances, dynastic or religious. What attention the king could spare from domestic affairs was chiefly concentrated upon the Scottish question. In Scotland also there were two parties hostile to the Church,—the one Lutheran by conviction, the other consisting of greedy nobles who coveted the lands of bishoprics and conventual establishments. Henry entertained some hopes of luring his nephew James V to embark upon the same course as himself; failing in this, he neglected no opportunity to foster an English party in the northern kingdom. James retaliated with a French alliance, which he cemented by his marriage with Mary of Guise; and this step led to the outbreak of hostilities. On the death of James (1542) the crown of Scotland passed to a minor, Mary Stuart. Her mother, who shared the duties of the regency with Cardinal Beaton, had work enough to cope with heretics at home and would gladly have concluded peace with England; but Henry pressed his advantage, harried the Scottish border, and encouraged the Scottish Protestants to murder Beaton (1546). The English king hoped by this policy to secure the complete control of Scotland, and to unite the crowns by a marriage between his son and Mary Stuart. But he did not live to realise the folly of thus provoking a high-spirited and patriotic nation. He died early in 1547, leaving his own inheritance to a minor, and his death was the signal for English troubles not less acute than those he had fostered so unscrupulously in Scotland.

(*f*) *The Question of the Succession.*—A church of ambiguous complexion, a despotism newly established and dependent upon popular support, a bitter feud between reactionaries and radicals, such were the legacies of Henry VIII to the nation. His numerous marriages, divorces, and settlements of the succession had introduced another element of confusion into politics. By Katherine he left a daughter, Mary; by Anne Boleyn, whom he married in 1533 and beheaded in 1536, a daughter, Elizabeth; by his third wife, Jane Seymour (†1537), a son, Edward VI. The crown had been settled on Elizabeth before her mother's fall. It had again been settled on the children of Jane Seymour in 1536, Mary and Elizabeth being declared illegitimate. A third act of 1544 settled it on

Edward VI and his issue, with remainders to Mary and Elizabeth. Finally the king, in a will authorised by parliament, provided that, on failure of his children and their issue, the descendants of his younger sister, Mary, Duchess of Suffolk, should succeed in preference to those of Margaret of Scotland. More than one rebellion, and a fatal struggle between a Stuart and a Tudor queen, were the outcome of the hopes aroused or disappointed by these dispositions. It availed the king's children but little that he had diligently persecuted and proscribed the families of Yorkist or Lancastrian descent. The heirs whom he recognised were sufficient to provide posterity with war and strife.

(*g*) *The Protectorate of Somerset.*—Under the will of Henry VIII the government, during his son's minority, was to be vested in a council of which he had fixed the composition. The members were chosen apparently with reference to their religious opinions. Most were committed to Protestant principles, and Gardiner's name did not figure on the list. In his later years Henry had shown himself all but convinced that the Reformation, if it was to be permanent, must be carried further. It would seem that he deliberately left to his executors the fulfilment of a policy which, however essential, was absolutely opposed to his earlier declarations. So at least the Council of Regency interpreted their mandate, and they selected as protector of the realm that one of their number who was most inclined to an extreme reformation. This was the young king's uncle, the Earl of Hertford, or, as he soon became with the good will of his colleagues, the Duke of Somerset.

The duke was an idealist, though not untainted with the sordid materialism of his age. Economic reforms floated confusedly before his mind, and his one difficulty was where to commence in remodelling a world which indeed called urgently for many changes. His first step was to relax the tyranny of the dead king. A parliament which met in 1547 was allowed to repeal all persecuting statutes enacted since the time of Richard II, and most of the new treasons which had been created since 1352. The cancellation of the Six Articles gave relief to Lutheran, Zwinglian, and Calvinist alike. A statute was also repealed by which the late king had been empowered, under certain restrictions, to give his proclamations the force of law. So much the long-suffering Commons imperatively demanded, and Somerset, if he did not approve all these concessions, saw no possibility of denying them. It was with greater zeal that he lent himself to the religious policy of Ridley, Hooper, Latimer, and the foreign preachers who flocked to England on the news of Henry's death. Already, in 1547, the regency sanctioned a book of homilies and a set of injunctions to the clergy by which war was declared on images, the worship of the saints, and pilgrimages, while a new statute of confiscation handed over to the government the endowments of chantries, and also those of guilds and other corporations, so far as they had been appropriated to religious purposes. A Lutheran communion ritual, issued in 1548, proved but a halfway house to an English Book of Common Prayer (1549); the universities were subjected to a drastic visitation, in consequence of which the adherents of the Henrican settlement were for the most part expelled to make room for Calvinist divines and teachers.

In religion the Protector, though moving fast and renouncing all pretence of compromise, was cordially supported by Cranmer, by a majority of the bishops,

ETON COLLEGE CHAPEL

CHAPEL OF KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

EXPLANATION OF THE PICTURES OVERLEAF

ETON COLLEGE CHAPEL.—Dates from the reign of Henry VII. and is a magnificent example of the Perpendicular style.

CHAPEL OF KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.—Commenced about 1479 and finished in 1530. The interior is 45 feet wide, 78 feet high, and 290 feet long. The windows and the vaulting of the roof are the most remarkable features of the decoration.

and by a large minority of laymen. The conservative majority were stunned by the suddenness of the attack, and the innovators found it unnecessary to apply the severer forms of persecution. Several members of the regency, many of the rising class of gentry, amassed enormous fortunes by the new confiscations. But there was more difficulty when the Protector turned his attention to the social evils of the day. Here it was scarcely possible to suggest any remedies acceptable to the landowning interest, which ruled supreme in both houses of the legislature, and yet it seemed impossible to neglect complaints and protests which were only too well founded.

(*h*) *The Social Problem.* — From the first commencement of the Tudor period there had been signs of an impending social revolution. They were early made the subject of remedial legislation; they are vividly described in the preface to the Utopia of Sir Thomas More; they furnished Latimer with copious material for homilies against the self-seeking of the upper classes. The oldest and most extensive cause of suffering was the substitution of sheep-farming for tillage. To create extensive pastures the landlords appropriated common lands and did their best to destroy the old system of manorial husbandry to which the country owed the boasted yeoman class, the backbone of every English army. The great profits of sheep-farming naturally produced a rise of rents, which told heavily against the tenant farmer. The demand for agricultural labour decreased; and the government did everything in its power to prevent the rate of wages from rising above the standard which had been fixed by legislation at a time when prices were much lower than they had now become. The suppression of the monasteries intensified these evils by bringing in a new race of landlords who treated their lands as a commercial speculation, and presented, both in their methods of farming and in their relations with tenants, a sharp contrast to the conservative and easy-going policy of the evicted monks. It is no wonder that the sturdy vagrant became a familiar feature of the highways and a terror to substantial men, or that the problem of the aged and impotent poor caused the government profound perplexity. Legislation of terrible severity was initiated against the former class by an act of 1531. The latter were at first ordered to beg their bread under protection of a royal license (1531), and afterwards made a charge upon the alms collected by the churchwardens of their respective parishes (1536). But the causes producing both the one class and the other continued to operate with increasing force. Pauperism throve chiefly in the open country, but the towns also were suffering from the plague-sore. Changed conditions of trade and the restrictive policy of the guilds had reduced many once thriving communities to destitution. The debasement of the coinage, begun by Henry VIII and continued under the Protectorate, contributed in some degree to the ruin of doubtful credits and precarious speculations. There was a vague but angry feeling that the economic depression was an outcome of the recent changes in religion. Of those who felt themselves aggrieved, some desired reaction, others preferred to demand that the rights of property should be revised no less summarily than the government and the doctrine of the Church.

(*i*) *Failure of Somerset's Policy.* — Somerset failed to understand the complicated nature of the economic situation. He thought a few simple measures would

suffice; and in 1548 appointed land commissioners with orders to enforce the old laws against enclosures. The commissioners reported that it would be well to legislate against large holdings, absentee landlords, and the practice of farming for commercial gain. These wild proposals were rejected by parliament, to the intense disappointment of those who had expected that the land commission would bring back the Golden Age; and Somerset committed the mistake of encouraging the popular outcry against the landed classes, and of publicly condoning the destruction of enclosures.

An unsuccessful war with Scotland still further aggravated his unpopularity. The French connections of the queen-mother, Mary of Guise, sympathy for the Scottish reformers whom she had begun to reduce with the aid of French troops, and the hope of uniting the two crowns by a marriage between his nephew and Mary Stuart, all these were plausible reasons for interfering in the north. In conception the policy of the Protector had obvious merits, in execution it proved a humiliating failure. The English victory at Pinkie Cleugh (1547) had worse consequences than a defeat; they were realised in 1548 when Mary Stuart was sent to Scotland to be educated in the Catholic faith and as the future bride of the dauphin Francis. The indignation of Scotland at English interference gave Mary of Guise increased facilities for the employment of French troops; the Protestant cause declined in Scotland, and there was a danger that the country might be used in future by the Catholic powers as a base for the reduction of England. Close on the Scottish failure followed the risings of the peasants in Devonshire and Cornwall against the new Prayer Book; in Norfolk, under Jack Ket, against enclosures (1549). The council of regency, though easily victorious over both rebellions, was thoroughly alarmed; in 1549 Somerset was removed from his office and imprisoned in the Tower.

(*k*) *The Rule of Adventurers.* — With his fall disappeared the title of Protector. The office of regent was put into commission, being vested in the council as a whole. But the moving spirit, the protector in all but name, was Warwick (afterwards Duke of Northumberland), a coarse and self-seeking adventurer, who enriched himself and his colleagues with a total disregard of public interests. From purely selfish motives he threw in his lot with the more fanatical reformers, and carried to extremes the innovating policy of Somerset. The immigration of foreign Protestants, chiefly refugees from Germany, was encouraged; and professional chairs were found at Oxford and Cambridge for Peter Martyr and Martin Bucer. A second prayer book (1552), which adopted the Zwinglian theory in regard to the Eucharist and other controversial questions, was substituted for the comparatively moderate book of 1549. Forty-two Articles (1553), the first Anglican confession of faith, were issued ostensibly with the approval of convocation, but in reality upon the sole authority of the council, and subscription was required from all the clergy. Iconoclasm, the disuse of vestments, the denunciation of all forms and ceremonies, were warmly encouraged; under cover of the factitious excitement produced by the official preachers the government proceeded with the confiscation of endowments and church plate. Those whose opposition Northumberland had reason to fear stood in the greatest peril. Somerset was brought to the block on unsubstantiated charges (1552); the Princess Mary, who obstinately refused to abjure her mother's faith, would have

shared the same fate if the council had not feared the effect of such a crime on public feeling. It was plain that her brother, a sickly and precocious youth, would not live to attain his majority; and Northumberland trembled for his head if Mary should succeed in accordance with the will of Henry VIII. To avert the danger the duke pressed his ward to make a will altering the succession. This was done, and Edward designated as heiress of the crown the Lady Jane Grey, a granddaughter of Mary of Suffolk, the second sister of his father. Jane Grey had been already married to the son of Northumberland, who hoped in this way to secure the crown for his posterity. Immediately afterwards the king's death left it to be decided whether the new settlement was to prevail against the old; whether Protestantism was to hold the field over the Erastian Catholicism which the legislation of 1530–1540 had set up and that of 1547–1553 had overthrown.

3. THE MARIAN REACTION

(*a*) *Overthrow of Jane Grey. Mary's Spanish Marriage.* — The issue of the struggle was not long in doubt. Northumberland was detested; time had cast a halo over the memory of Henry VIII, whose opinions it was understood that his elder daughter represented. While Jane Grey was solemnly proclaimed in London, the princess Mary fled to the eastern counties and appealed to her father's friends. They responded with enthusiasm; the supporters of Northumberland melted away; and before many days had passed he, his son, and the Lady Jane were prisoners in the Tower. Their execution followed as a matter of course, and excited little sympathy. But the less important members of the dynastic conspiracy escaped lightly; public apprehensions as to a violent reaction were calmed by the queen's assurance that she intended to put no force upon men's consciences. The promise was ill-kept. The leading reformers — Ridley, Coverdale, Hooper, Cranmer — were soon committed to prison; and although the foreign Protestants were allowed to depart unscathed, the queen's coronation was followed by a step which boded ill for the future of the new faith. She consented to marry Philip, the son and heir of Charles V, the greatest of Catholic sovereigns. This could only mean the restoration of the unreformed religion, which again could only lead to persecution. A Protestant conspiracy was accordingly framed with the object of setting up Elizabeth as queen. The leader was Sir Thomas Wyatt, who led an army of Kentish Protestants to London in the hope of seizing the queen and capital. But the rebels were ignominiously routed, and Mary could afford to treat all but the ringleaders with contemptuous lenity. Parliament, meeting a few weeks later (April, 1554), was asked to sanction the Spanish marriage. It did so upon condition that England should not be expected to assist the Hapsburgs in their unceasing struggle with the house of Valois. Shortly afterwards Philip came to England and the marriage was celebrated. The terms of the marriage settlement had been so framed, by the wish of parliament rather than of Mary, as to leave him no influence in the government, and he soon withdrew in disgust from a country in which he found himself both unpopular and insignificant.

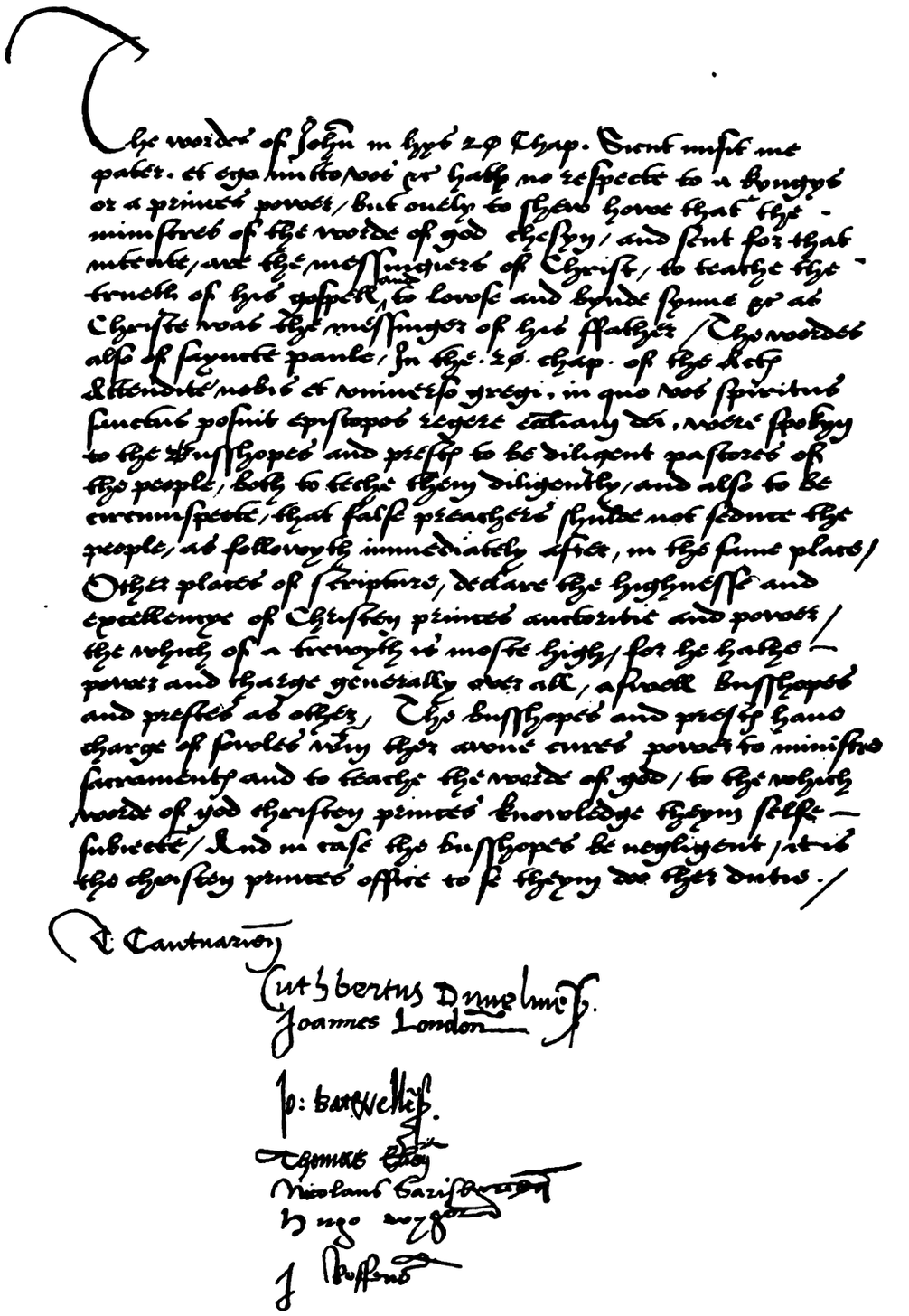
(*b*) *The Marian Persecutions.* — But the marriage had disastrous consequences. Disappointed in her hope of children, Mary sought consolation in a fanatical support of the true faith. It was against the wishes of her husband that she became

a persecutor; so far as he was concerned the fears of the Protestants were unfounded. The advice of his father and his own common-sense showed him the undesirability of persecuting a nation from the good will of which he might derive the most substantial aid. But Mary would not be restrained; the warnings of her husband were outweighed by the encouragement which she received from her cousin, Cardinal Pole. The cardinal was sent to England as a papal legate (1554) to receive from parliament the tokens of national repentance. He remained to direct the queen's policy, with the narrow zeal and the blind hopefulness of a repatriated exile. Parliament insisted that there should be no interference with the impropriators of ecclesiastical endowments. But for heretics the two houses showed less sympathy; the persecuting statutes of Richard II, Henry IV, and Henry V were re-enacted without much discussion. Early in 1555 the legate began to use against the reformed preachers the powers which had been thus conferred. Some of his victims recanted, but more were burned. The government struck at the leaders as a matter of course. Hooper, Ridley, Latimer, Cranmer were all brought to the stake as quickly as the formalities of legal procedure would allow; but the inquisitors were soon busy with obscurer victims. The number of those who suffered has been much exaggerated. There were rather less than three hundred in four years, and these were drawn from a comparatively narrow area, from London and the eastern counties. The sixteenth century witnessed many epochs of more destructive persecution. But the reaction which the burnings excited was all the greater because they left the great majority of Protestants untouched. The queen's severity was sufficient to exasperate, not enough to produce the apathy of despair.

(*c*) *Failure of Persecution. Mary's Death.* — To all but the queen and Pole and a few kindred spirits it was soon evident that England could not be reclaimed for the old faith. Mary herself recognised this fact before her end, and the knowledge added bitterness to the disappointments of her private life. These were sufficiently grievous in themselves. To childlessness was added the early loss of any affection which her husband had ever felt for her. The Spanish connection brought upon herself and Pole the displeasure of the fiery Paul IV, who was at feud with Charles and Philip; and a French war, into which she allowed England to be drawn at the instance of her husband, led to the loss of Calais (1558), the last of the continental possessions. Of this humiliation she said that when she died the name of Calais would be found stamped upon her heart. For a month or two more she threw herself with increased zeal into the work of persecution; but at the end of 1558, prematurely aged by disease and grief, she died. The great majority of her subjects received the news with joy. It was the general hope and expectation that her successor, the daughter of Anne Boleyn, would sweep away the agents and the apparatus of Mary's propaganda. England was not yet Protestant; but four years of Pole and Mary had discredited for ever the militant and ultramontane Catholicism of the Counter-Reformation.

4. THE ELIZABETHAN ERA

(*a*) *The Main Aspects.* — The reign of Elizabeth is interesting from many points of view, and in many respects she left the impress of her individuality



THE DOCUMENT IN WHICH THOMAS CRANMER, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, AND SEVEN BISHOPS RECOGNISE THE AUTHORITY OF A CHRISTIAN RULER IN SPIRITUAL MATTERS. ABOUT 1537

(Original in the British Museum, Stowe MSS. 141, f. 36)

EXPLANATION OF FACSIMILE OVERLEAF

T[homas Cranmer], Archbishop of Canterbury; Cuthbert [Tunstall], Bishop of Durham; John [Stokesley], Bishop of London; John [Clerk], Bishop of Bath and Wells; Thomas [Goodrich], Bishop of Ely; Nicholas [Shaxton], Bishop of Salisbury; Hugh [Latimer], Bishop of Worcester, and J[ohn Hilsey], Bishop of Rochester, subscribe [in 1537?] the following declaration in support of the secular authority of Christian princes in ecclesiastical affairs.

The wordes of John in hys 20 chap. [v. 21], Sicut misit me pater, et ego mitto vos, etc., hath no respecte to a kyngys or a princes power, but onely to shew howe that the ministres of the worde of God, chosyn and sent for that intente, are the messingiers of Christ to teache the trueth of his gospell and to lowse and bynde synne, etc., as Christe was the messinger of his Father. The wordes also of sayncte Paule in the 20 chap. of the Actes [v. 28], Attendite nobis [sc. vobis] et vniuerso grego, in quo vos spiritus sanctus posuit episcopos, regere ecclesiam dei, were spokyn to the Busshopes and prestes to be diligent pastores of the people, both to teche them diligently and also to be circumspecte, that false preachers shulde not seduce the people, as followyth immediately after, in the same place. Other places of scripture declare the highnesse and excellencye of Christen princes auctoritie and power, the which of a trewyth is moste high, for he hathe power and charge generally over all, as well busshopes and prestes as other. The busshopes and prestes haue charge of sowles within ther awne cures, power to ministre sacramentes and to teache the worde of God, to the which worde of God christen princes knowledge theym selfes ubiecte. And in case the busshopes be negligent, it is the christen princes office to se theym doo ther dutie.

(From the second series edited by George F. Warner of "Facsimiles of Royal, Historical, Literary, and other Autographs in the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum")

upon the nation which she guided with success and popularity for over forty years. It is impossible to give within our limits of space a full account of her doings or of the age in which she lived. But her greatest achievements were effected in the fields of diplomacy and ecclesiastical government; the chief glories of Elizabethan England are connected with the development on the one hand of a national literature, and on the other of a national marine. To these four subjects the following section is accordingly devoted.

(*b*) *The Queen and her Ministers.* — The queen commenced her reign with a declaration of Anglican sympathies and an acknowledgment of the supremacy of parliament, by ordering that the English liturgy should be used as the sole form of public service until parliament should otherwise provide. This proclamation sounded the keynote of the reign, although it must be owned that, while her devotion to the religion of her father was sincere, her respect for parliament was based upon a grudging perception of the fact that autocracy was a thing of the past. There were many occasions on which she would have quarrelled with the Commons had she dared; her views and theirs were rarely in complete accord. But in her most self-willed moments she remembered that her throne was supported solely by the good will of the nation, and in the last resort she invariably passed from threats and remonstrances to the language of conciliation.

In this wise resolve she was confirmed by her ministers. Seldom has any sovereign commanded the devotion of more able servants. Sir William Cecil (afterwards Lord Burleigh), at first her secretary of state (1558–1572), afterwards lord treasurer (1572–1598), Sir Nicholas Bacon, the lord keeper (1558–1579), Sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state (1573–1590), are the most famous of her advisers, and the flower of that official aristocracy which her father and grandfather had called into existence. None of these men ever acquired a complete control of the queen's policy. She listened attentively to their views, selected, or refused to select, a plan according as the humour seized her, and not infrequently reduced them to despair through her own wilfulness or through attention to the instances of the favourites (Dudley, Earl of Leicester, Hatton, Essex, and others) who played upon her inordinate vanity to their own advantage. Yet she was less capricious than she seemed; the suspense in which she kept the nation, parliament, ambassadors, and her own council was often due to the profound caution with which she walked in the midst of complex and conflicting forces. She had her father's instinctive power of gauging popular feeling, her grandfather's art of analysing the international situation. Often she was wiser than her ministers, and although she seldom ventured on a decisive step her inaction may be described as masterly. The desire of her friends and enemies alike was that she should commit herself to a settled course by marriage, by alliances, by statements of intentions. Her fixed resolve was to remain uncommitted as long as it was possible to do so; and for this end she was prepared to sacrifice veracity, consistency, and honour. It was often a sordid policy, and she was sometimes reproached as timorous. In reality she was capable of the most reckless daring. If she balanced, it was in the manner of the rope-walker, for whom a false step means destruction. She showed a supreme faith in the security which an insular position and the conflicting ambitions of the continental powers conferred upon her kingdom; there were times when she staked her own head and the prosperity of England upon her confidence in this security.

(*c*) *The Ecclesiastical Settlement.* — Never was this dexterity more needed than at the commencement of her reign. She had to effect a religious settlement which would appease the Protestants without irritating the Marian reactionaries into rebellion; to hold fast by the friendship of Spain without committing herself to another war with France; to resist the rival pretensions of Mary Stuart, yet to leave it uncertain whether Mary might not ultimately inherit the English throne; to encourage foreign Protestants, yet to escape the stigma attaching to the heresiarch.

Her religious settlement was adapted to these complex requirements. She settled the constitution and doctrine of the Church by parliamentary legislation, because the convocation of the clergy was imbued with the Marian system and hostile to all change. But she used her utmost efforts to prevent parliament from heedless tampering with doctrine, and modified her claims of supremacy to avoid the reproach of despotism. The Supremacy Act of 1559 dropped the offensive title "Supreme Head of the Church," and merely declared the queen supreme governor of the realm, as well in all spiritual things or causes as in temporal; the oath of supremacy was to be demanded only from ecclesiastical persons, from laymen holding office, and from tenants in chief. All she required of private individuals was that they should not publicly dispute against the supremacy. By a special proclamation the queen disclaimed any intention of interfering with the church's doctrine or forms of worship. The Act of Uniformity was passed at the same time to settle the forms of public worship. It prescribed the use of Edward's second prayer book, with some alterations intended to gratify the moderates who would have preferred that of 1549, and to avoid offending the extreme party who desired a prayer book more Protestant in tone than any which had yet appeared. It was made a criminal offence to use any other form of public worship, or to speak against the prescribed form; and non-attendance at church was to be punished by a fine of twelvepence for each Sunday.

The first of these acts also settled the question of royal jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters. The Crown received the rights of hearing all appeals, of visiting and correcting all heresies, schisms, abuses, contempts, and enormities. These powers were to be exercised by royal delegates, who might be laymen. The odious heresy laws were repealed; heresy still remained a capital offence, but it was made more difficult to secure the conviction of any save the most flagrant heretics.

In the later years of the reign many legislative and administrative measures were framed to define points which had been left vague in the settlement, to provide more effectual machinery for enforcing it, and to sharpen the penalties against those who refused conformity. The spirit of the settlement, which in government followed the example of Henry VIII, in doctrine and ritual that of Cranmer, remained unaltered; we may therefore anticipate the course of political developments to sketch the outlines of the queen's ecclesiastical policy.

All the bishops, a large number of the cathedral clergy, and about two hundred parish priests, abandoned their preferments rather than accept the oath of supremacy. Their places, however, were soon filled, and in Archbishop Parker the queen found a capable and moderate primate to direct her future measures. Under his advice the Thirty-nine Articles (an amended version of the Forty-two Articles of the last reign) were published in 1563. Studiously moderate in

language, on disputed questions cautious to the point of ambiguity, the new confession was accepted by every section of the clergy, and it was made binding on the clergy alone. In 1563, and for some time to come, the ceremonies and vestments of the prayer book formed the only subject of serious dispute. Elizabeth stood firm against the cry of the growing party of Puritans for more simplicity in public worship. Parker's Advertisements (1566) fixed a standard of outward forms which gave much offence and led to many suspensions among the clergy. The minority fell back upon the plea that nothing should be made obligatory which was not demonstrably enjoined by Scripture; and, on the basis of the appeal to Scripture, Puritanism now began to assume a doctrinal form. Conventicles multiplied in London and some other places; and although the queen publicly announced that she desired to tamper with no man's conscience, but merely to enforce outward conformity, this principle did not mollify the "conventicle-men," or prevent the government from imprisoning them. The malcontents soon found a leader in Cartwright, a Cambridge professor of divinity, who began by denying that Scripture authorised the episcopate to exercise authority over their fellow clergy, and by pleading for the revival of diocesan synods. After his expulsion from Cambridge, Cartwright went further, and in his Admonition to Parliament (1572) claimed autonomy for the Church and maintained that the ecclesiastical supremacy should be vested in general councils of the clergy. Princes, said Cartwright, are bound by the decrees of the Church; they ought, in the prophet's words, "to lick the dust off the feet of the church." There were many to whom this language was repugnant, and who yet were Puritans in the matter of ceremonies and doctrine. The spirit of these moderate Puritans was represented in parliament, in which the book of Common Prayer was challenged and the Articles were criticised from time to time. Elizabeth took her stand on the principle that the affairs of the Church were the exclusive affair of the Crown, not to be discussed without her license; and in spite of angry protests was able to prevent Puritanism from leaving its mark upon the statute book. In the country at large Puritanism presented a more difficult problem; "prophesyings," or unlicensed preachings, were frequent and popular; the printing-press was called to the aid of the Puritans, and scattered broadcast libellous attacks upon episcopacy. In 1590 an attempt on the part of Cartwright and his friends to set up a system of unofficial diocesan synods was detected and caused considerable alarm; but in 1583 Whitgift succeeded to the primacy, and with his aid Elizabeth entered on a campaign of vigorous repression. The ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Crown was now committed to a Court of High Commission, which assumed the right of interrogating all the clergy upon oath as to their beliefs and practices. An act was passed in 1593 which threatened with severe penalties all who neglected to attend at church or persisted in attending conventicles. The Star Chamber, which as early as 1566 had assumed a censorship of the press, now became the coadjutor of the High Commission in repressing nonconformists and their literature, with the result that severer penalties were made possible, while on the other hand the Tudor despotism in secular affairs, of which the Star Chamber was the symbol and expression, became hateful to every sectary. It would be a mistake to regard Elizabeth and her ministers as fanatical in their adhesion to episcopacy, or to a particular set of forms and ceremonies. Hooker, who may be regarded as the classical apologist for the Elizabethan settlement, maintained that in these matters

each church has a discretion. But he also regarded uniformity within each church as essential; he thought that the lay power should both prescribe uniformity and enforce it by all the penalties that might be needful. It is needless to say that real uniformity was not secured. Hundreds of the clergy, thousands of the laity, though restrained from opposition by patriotism and respect for the queen's person, waited with impatience for the advent of a new sovereign who should introduce a more liberal system.

Elizabeth opposed Puritanism, at first as something new-fangled and likely to offend the majority of her subjects; latterly because the victorious career of Calvinism gave her reasons for suspecting that Puritanism spelled democracy in Church and State. Stronger, however, than either of these motives for persecution was the hope of keeping in touch with the moderate wing of the Catholic party. For a year or two she was so far successful that even Rome hoped for the speedy reunion of the Anglicans with the mother Church. The Bull of 1562, which forbade the English Catholics to attend the Anglican service, made a breach with the devoted adherents of the papacy inevitable and destroyed the middle party. Hence the oath of supremacy was more stringently applied by an act of 1562. The rising of the Catholic earls (1569), and the ill-judged pronouncement by which, in 1570, Pius V absolved the subjects of Elizabeth from their allegiance, led to more drastic legislation against Catholics; and penal laws in their turn produced more conspiracies in favour of the imprisoned Mary Stuart. Even after Mary's execution and the repulse of the Armada had dissipated the fear of a rebellion assisted by the Catholic powers, there was much persecution of the English Catholics. In this respect Elizabeth bequeathed to posterity an evil example. Her penal and disabling laws were not entirely swept away until the nineteenth century. Yet the Catholics as a body remained loyal in the great crises of her reign. None of the plots against her spread far or deep into the nation. The utmost efforts of the Jesuits whom Allen sent over from his seminary at Douay (founded 1567) produced little result.

Elizabeth's schemes of comprehension were therefore unsuccessful, in so far that they left outside the pale of the state Church an increasing body of Protestants and a body of Catholics which, although diminishing, remained, and was to remain, considerable. None the less she succeeded in making Anglicanism the creed of the majority. The enormous influence which the Anglican clergy exercised in the politics of the seventeenth century is a sufficient proof of the thoroughness with which the work of Elizabeth had been done. It was the church of her creation which undid the work of Cromwell in 1660 and expelled the Stuarts in 1688.

The queen's religious policy had, moreover, been adapted with great skill to the needs of the international situation. It remained ambiguous just as long as ambiguity was needed to prevent attacks from abroad; it became defiant when England could afford to despise the threats of the Catholic powers.

(*d*) *Foreign Policy. The Question of Mary Stuart.* — At the death of Mary Tudor the country was still engaged in war with France. Calais had been lost, and France was prepared to follow up the advantage thus obtained; Mary Stuart and her husband the dauphin had assumed the royal arms of England. The Guises looked for the day when England would be a French dependency, and

English resources would be brought into the field against Philip of Spain. Elizabeth saw the danger; she also saw the value of her friendship to Philip. With his aid she was able to secure favourable terms at Cateau-Cambrésis. She surrendered Calais, but the honour of England was saved by the empty promise that Calais should be restored in eight years' time. The unpopularity of the peace in France brought the Guises, who had opposed it, once more into power; immediately afterwards the accession of their nephew the dauphin, as Francis II, made them doubly dangerous. The obvious means of checking the Guises was to form an alliance with the Protestants of Scotland; the great obstacle to this course was the necessity of preserving Philip's friendship. To form the Scottish without breaking the Spanish alliance was the first of Elizabeth's great exploits in diplomacy; and it was the more remarkable because she contrived to forward the political designs of the Scottish Protestants without in any way committing herself to the support of their religious tenets. With Philip's secret consent an army was sent to assist the party of Knox in expelling the French troops of Mary of Guise. This was effected; the Scottish Reformation was saved; and it became certain that Scotland would not serve the Guises as a base from which to menace England.

In 1561 Mary Stuart, left a widow by the early death of Francis II, returned to Scotland to turn the tide of Protestantism and to watch for an opportunity of making good her English claims, either as the opponent or as the heiress-designate of Elizabeth. Mary would not cease to quarter the English royal arms; Elizabeth would not recognise her as successor to the throne. Hence their relations were strained, and it became Elizabeth's supreme object to prevent her rival from forming a close union with the English Catholics or with a foreign Catholic power. Philip's jealousy of France was still the chief safeguard for England. But the marriage of Mary with her cousin Darnley (1565) seemed for a time as though it would make the Scottish queen independent of external help. The marriage united the Scottish Catholics around the throne; the Protestant ministers, whom Mary had hitherto been obliged to accept, were dismissed from power and chased out of Scotland. Then, however, the murder of Rizzio (1566), contrived by the Protestant lords, but assisted by the conjugal jealousy of Darnley, produced a schism in the ranks of Mary's following. The queen sacrificed the Catholic cause and her English hopes to the desire of vengeance. She sought allies among the Protestants, even among the assassins of Rizzio; and Darnley's murder soon atoned for that of Rizzio (1567). The queen's part in the crime was suspected from the first; her marriage wth Bothwell, the chief agent in the murder, turned suspicion to certainty, alienated from her the hearts of all respectable Catholics, and gave the Protestant leaders the opportunity of returning and recovering power. The queen was imprisoned at Lochleven Castle; her half-brother, Murray, became regent for the infant James VI; and the only result of a last effort on the part of Mary and her few remaining supporters was a defeat at Langside (1568), which necessitated her flight to England.

She threw herself upon the mercy of Elizabeth; it was a desperate step, but it caused untold embarrassment to the English government. Elizabeth could not afford, even if she had been willing, to restore her cousin and destroy the Protestant ascendancy in Scotland. She had not the right to try Mary for the murder of Darnley; nor was she anxious to deprive the English Catholics of the hopes which

they based upon Mary's claim to the succession. She therefore resolved to discredit without formally condemning Mary, and to keep her as a prisoner without treating her as a criminal. Mary's request that the complaints against Murray and the Scottish Protestants might have a hearing was made the excuse for appointing a committee to sift the charges against Mary herself; the Scots were persuaded to produce the Casket Letters purporting to be written by Mary to Bothwell; and when Mary's fame had been irreparably blasted by this evidence the proceedings of the committee were suspended.

Mary was kept a prisoner; but Elizabeth would gladly have restored her as the nominal queen of Scotland if Mary would have abandoned her claim to the English throne, and if Murray would have consented to give his sister the shadow without the substance of power. Since both remained obdurate there were two alternatives for Elizabeth. She might execute Mary as a murderess; this was the course which the English ministers desired, but Elizabeth shrank from the danger of foreign intervention and Catholic rebellion. The other possible course was to detain Mary, keeping a strict watch against intrigues with foreign enemies and English malcontents; this Elizabeth took. She had in consequence to face a number of conspiracies: that of the northern earls (1569), that of Ridolfi (1571–1572), the intrigues initiated by the Jesuits Campion and Parsons (1580–1581), the Throgmorton plot (1583), and the Babington plot (1586). But the queen had counted the cost of her forbearance, and relied with justice upon the ability of Burleigh and Walsingham to frustrate all conspirators.

(*e*) *Foreign Policy. Marriage Schemes.* — In the meantime she asserted herself in the field of international diplomacy; she revived the policy which Henry VII and Wolsey had so successfully pursued of acting as a make-weight between the evenly balanced factions of the Continent; but she effected her object by new methods skilfully adapted to her own situation and the circumstances of the Counter-Reformation. It is doubtful whether she ever had the intention of taking a husband; but her hand was offered as a bait at one time or another to nearly all the eligible princes of the Catholic party. It is true that she declined, without much hesitation, an offer from Philip of Spain, who was inseparably, though unjustly, associated in the minds of her people with the religious persecutions of her sister's reign. But the idea of an Austrian or French marriage was continually mooted; and the courtship of Francis, Duke of Anjou, went far enough to form the basis of important changes in the foreign relations of the two countries most concerned. Such projects were allowed to remain open so long as they proved useful; but Elizabeth had no intention of tying herself to the Valois and so offending Spain irrevocably, or of provoking Mary's adherents to desperation by a Hapsburg marriage. She was often pressed by her ministers and parliament to solve the problem of the succession by marrying some one, no matter whom. But she read the needs of her situation more accurately than her advisers. The uncertainty of the succession was a source of strength as well as of danger. After marriage projects her main weapons were found in intrigues with the Protestants of the Netherlands and France. The Bull of Pius V (1571; *v. supra*, p. 568) caused her to be regarded as the natural head of the Protestant interest; and she used this position to inspire her co-religionists with courage for the struggle against her actual and potential enemies. She gave but small assistance, and she drove hard

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FOUR NOTABLE QUEENS

FOUR NOTABLE QUEENS

1. MARY TUDOR, daughter of Henry VIII. by Catherine of Aragon; born in 1516; declared illegitimate after her mother's divorce (1534); but in 1544 made heiress to the throne in the event of her half-brother, Edward, dying childless. She was persecuted for her religion by the regency in the reign of Edward VI.; and an attempt was made, at his death, to set her aside in favour of Lady Jane Grey. She began, however, to reign in 1553, within a month of Edward's death. She married Philip of Spain in 1554, but there was no issue by the marriage. She died in 1558.

2. QUEEN ELIZABETH, daughter of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn; born in 1533; educated partly by her half-sister Mary and partly by Queen Catharine Parr. Conformed to the old faith under Mary Tudor; but when she succeeded to the throne declared herself a Protestant. The chief events of her reign are given in the text of our history. She never married, but consoled herself by exacting the grossest flattery from courtiers and men of letters. She died in 1603.

3. MARY STUART, daughter of James V. of Scotland and Mary of Guise; was born in 1542. In 1548 was sent to France; in 1558 married the dauphin, afterwards Francis II. On the death of her husband she returned to Scotland (1561); married Henry Darnley in 1565; and after his murder took Bothwell for a third husband (1567). Overpowered by the opposition, she fled to England in 1568, where she remained in confinement till her execution (1586). By Darnley she had a son, who succeeded her in Scotland as James VI., and in 1603, on the death of Elizabeth, became James I. of England.

4. VICTORIA, the only child of the Duke of Kent, son of George III., was born at Kensington Palace on May 24, 1819. Recognised by William IV. as his heir-presumptive in May 1837, and succeeded to the throne the following month; married Prince Albert of Saxe Coburg Gotha, 1840; widowed 1861. Proclaimed Empress of India in 1876. Died at Osborne, Isle of Wight, January 22, 1901, and was succeeded by her eldest son, Albert Edward, under the title of Edward VII.

bargains with her allies. The Huguenots were compelled to bribe her with the town of Havre (1563); but received in return no substantial help, and the massacre of St. Bartholomew (1572) provoked from Elizabeth the mildest of remonstrances. Until 1585 she allowed the heroic Netherlands to conduct their resistance against Philip single-handed, except for the support which her diplomacy occasionally afforded, and the diversions effected by the spontaneous depredations of English privateers upon Spanish colonies and shipping. Leicester's expedition of 1585–1586 was a mere source of expense and embarrassment to the Seven Provinces, and a bitter mortification to English Protestants jealous for their country's honour.

(*f*) *Elizabeth and the Protestants.* — It was the force of circumstances which lay beyond her control that made Elizabeth at length the armed defender of Protestantism and the mistress of the seas. As the true drift of her home policy became apparent, as English buccaneering and trade rivalry became more formidable, Philip of Spain drifted from friendship to a cold neutrality, and thence to active enmity. His agents fomented the plots of English Catholics and encouraged the growth of a Catholic reaction in Scotland; at length in 1580 a small body of Spanish troops went to the aid of the Irish Catholics and nationalists in Munster. It became clear that the reduction of the Netherlands would be followed by an invasion of England. By 1585 Elizabeth found herself committed to war with Spain, and the formation of the Catholic League in France (1584) made it probable that the two great powers of the Counter-Reformation would unite against her. Reluctantly she threw down the gage by the execution of Mary Stuart, who was condemned nominally for her share in the Babington plot, but in fact to ensure that the imminent foreign peril should not be complicated by dynastic conspiracies at home. Immediately afterwards Philip set up a claim to the throne of England and began to prepare the Armada.

(*g*) *Elizabethan Sea-power.* — On more than one critical occasion England had learned the importance of maritime supremacy. One naval victory had saved the crown to the infant Henry III; another had enabled Edward III to use the channel without fear or hindrance as a highway for the invasion of France; a third, fought with disastrous issue in 1372, had left Aquitaine at the mercy of Charles V and Du Guesclin. In the reign of Henry V the "dominion of the narrow seas" had been asserted, and the value of naval power both for military and for commercial purposes had been fully recognised. Yet the Tudors, in other respects so quick to feel and to promote the tendencies of their age, had been remiss in building up a navy and a mercantile marine. Henry VII is recorded to have built a royal ship of war, larger than any which the Crown had hitherto possessed. Henry VIII founded the Woolwich and Deptford dockyards, and collected a fleet which at his death numbered seventy sail; if his policy had been continued, England would have been well prepared for defence. But in the reign of Edward VI the old ships decayed without being replaced; at the death of Mary Tudor the royal ships were but forty-six in number. The naval expenditure of Elizabeth was, before 1588, surprisingly small; her captains and seamen, though unrivalled for skill and daring, were wretchedly paid, and her effective navy included only some thirty vessels, of which less than half were of the first

rank for fighting purposes. But the defects of the navy were made good by the spontaneous growth of the merchant marine. The largest private ships were built to carry guns, since piracy and smuggling at the expense of the Spanish and other hostile governments had long been recognised as legitimate and lucrative forms of enterprise. The Levant and Guinea trades, the voyages of exploration which began with the expedition of Chancellor Willoughby to the White Sea (1553), the opening of the Newfoundland fisheries (c. 1548), the American voyages of which Hawkins set the example (1562, 1564, 1567), all contributed to form a hardy race of navigators. A census of seamen, taken shortly before the coming of the Armada (1583) enumerates over 1400 master mariners and 11,500 common sailors in the ports of England and Wales. England was still far from being a maritime nation, but no other European power could show as large a proportion of seamen to population.

(*h*) *The War with Spain.*—Religion and commercial interest had combined to make the English seaman the enemy of Spain. The Spaniard claimed a monopoly of trade with his colonies in the New World, and treated as pirates the English adventurers who persisted in providing the West Indies and the Main with negro slaves and other necessaries. The captives of the Spaniard were perhaps no worse treated than the recognised usages of warfare permitted; but every adventurer hanged or detained for illicit trading beyond the line was represented in England as a victim of the inquisition. The sailors of the two nations had been long at open feud before their governments decided on a formal rupture. The war virtually began in 1568, when Hawkins was attacked by the Spanish fleet in the harbour of San Juan de Ulloa (Vera Cruz), and Elizabeth had done more than lend a passive countenance to the reprisals of her subjects. To avenge Hawkins she seized, in 1569, certain Spanish treasure-ships which had imprudently ventured into the ports of the south coast of England. Drake, who in 1572 captured the Panama treasure-train, and in 1578 commenced his circumnavigation of the globe by a bold raid upon the west coast of Spanish America, was knighted by the queen, and she became a partner in his spoils. When, in consequence of the Spanish ambassador's complicity in the Throgmorton Plot (1584), diplomatic relations were suspended, it was only necessary for Elizabeth to give the signal and Drake with his fellow adventurers were in a moment converted from buccaneers to champions of Protestantism and national independence. A joint-stock expedition (1585–1586) carried fire and sword through the Spanish Main; in 1587 Drake entered Cadiz harbour and "singed the beard" of Philip by destroying the better part of the vessels which had been collected for the invasion of England. English superiority at sea was even more strikingly demonstrated in 1588. A fleet of seventy vessels, chiefly collected from the seaport towns, and directed by Drake under the nominal command of Lord Howard of Effingham, chased the Armada through the narrow seas from Plymouth to Gravelines. Medina Sidonia, the Spanish admiral, commanded one hundred and thirty ships, of which the largest were superior in size and complement to any which Drake could produce. But a large number of these were mere transports; and ship for ship the Spaniard was inferior both in guns and in seamanship. The greatest naval victories of Spain had been won in the Mediterranean; neither the ships nor the men of Medina Sidonia were fitted for oceanic warfare. Their one hope lay in grappling; but the English, getting the weather

gauge from the first and holding it throughout, fought at long range; and the issue was decided before the storms by which the ruin of the Spanish fleet was completed had begun. The last hope of Medina Sidonia failed when he found, upon anchoring at Calais, that the land army, which Parma had been instructed to collect in the Netherlands, was not yet collected and that the commander was unwilling to risk a descent on England. About one half of the Spanish fleet never returned to Spain. The prestige of Philip II had sustained a fatal blow, his resources were inadequate to the preparation of a new force; and for the remainder of her reign, Elizabeth, though haunted by the nightmare of a Spanish invasion, had no real cause for fear. Her attempts to continue the naval war were less successful than might have been expected from this brilliant commencement. A disastrous attack on Lisbon (1591) was hardly balanced by the heroic but unsuccessful defence which Sir Richard Grenville of the "Revenge" offered, off the Azores, to a whole Spanish fleet; the death of Drake, in the course of a raid upon the Main (1596), left England without an admiral of genius. But to such a point had the Spanish power sunk that Howard of Effingham and the incompetent Essex were able to enter the harbour and sack the town of Cadiz without encountering serious resistance. Though England lived under continual apprehension of attack, there was not in fact the slightest danger from Spain after 1588.

(*i*) *The End of Elizabeth.* — The last years of Elizabeth are disappointing enough if we pay regard simply to their political events. The queen persisted blindly in the persecution of Catholics and Puritans, although in the year of the Armada both had given signal proofs of loyalty. The death of Walsingham (1590) and the old age of Lord Burleigh left the supreme direction of affairs in the hands of the latter's son, Sir Robert Cecil, an astute and active politician, but ill-fitted to fill the place which the older counsellors had vacated. Old age did not make the queen less indifferent to the flatteries of personal favourites; and although among these the brilliant Ralegh found a place, he was eclipsed by Essex, who aspired to the chief share both in the direction of the Spanish war and in the home administration, but proved himself as incompetent in Ireland as at the sack of Cadiz. From Essex the queen at length freed herself when the proofs of a treasonable correspondence with the court of Scotland were laid before her. Smarting under a well-merited recall from Ireland, the earl had proposed that James VI should enter England at the head of an army, and insist upon being recognised as Elizabeth's successor; on the detection of the plot he strove to raise London in rebellion. For these offences Essex paid with his head (1601); but other flatterers, not less unworthy, remained about the queen, and national aspirations for civil and religious liberty found advocates who could not be despised. The House of Commons showed themselves, in the year of Essex's death, outspoken and insistent critics of one flagrant abuse, that of monopolies; the queen was compelled to satisfy them by the withdrawal of the obnoxious patents. The Martin Mar-Prelate controversy proved that the censorship was only half capable of dealing with the critics of ecclesiastical institutions; and the agitation against episcopacy, after seven years of governmental persecution, was scotched rather than suppressed by the execution of Penry the arch-pamphleteer.

(*k*) *Economic Problems.* — The economic situation of England also left much to be desired. Some flagrant evils had been diminished by the measures of the queen's early years. With the help of Sir Thomas Gresham, the founder of the Royal Exchange, she effected the reformation of the coinage, which had been debased in an ever-increasing degree to relieve the financial exigencies of her three immediate predecessors. The Statute of Apprentices (1563), though continuing the policy of regulating wages which the parliament of the fourteenth century had inaugurated by the Statute of Labourers, vested the power of fixing the local standard in the justices of the peace for each county, and thus substituted a more elastic rule for the cast-iron maximum of former legislators. The clauses relating to apprentices, from which the statute took its name, were an attempt to exercise through the central government those duties of supervision and regulation, as regarded technical education and admission to practise the several industries, which the mediæval trade guilds had performed for their own localities. Foreign trade was promoted by the grant of privileges to merchant companies, each of which received the monopoly of a particular foreign market. The Russian, Eastland (or Baltic), and Levant companies rose into importance through the queen's protection; and the incorporation of the East India Company at the close of the reign (1600) was a step of momentous importance for England's future in the East. But of India, as of the New World, we may say that the Elizabethans indicated to posterity the possibilities of commercial greatness without using them for the advantage of their own generation. Ralegh, who grasped the fundamental principles of colonisation and expounded them in masterly fashion, failed to make his colony of Virginia a success. In commerce the developments of the Elizabethan period were more significant than profitable. The question of pauperism was a pressing one until the end of the queen's reign. The prosperity of the middle classes was counterbalanced by the hardships of the labourers, whose wages, though increasing in their nominal amount, by no means kept pace with the general rise of prices. The great Poor Law of Elizabeth (1598) is a monument of sound statesmanship, but illustrates the magnitude of the social evil against which it was directed. The wise principles which it embodied were the fruit of long and bitter experience.

(*l*) *Elizabethan Literature.* — When we turn to literature there is a brighter story to be told. Three countries of Europe were in the sixteenth century inspired by the models of the Italian Renaissance to the production of new masterpieces. In France the poets of the Pléiade, with Ronsard and Du Bellay at their head, proved that classical elegance of style could be attained in the vernacular languages of Europe; while Brantôme and Montaigne continued in prose the work of Rabelais, and demonstrated that as a vehicle for wit, fancy, and philosophic reflection French could hold its own with Latin. In Spain, Calderon, with his high seriousness of purpose, and Cervantes, with his humorous melancholy, illuminated the decaying ideals of the Middle Ages. In England, Spenser, Marlowe, and Shakespeare gave expression to the spirit of the new era through a poetry coloured with the imagery and the sentiments of the past, but at the same time instinct with the speculative audacity, the profound confidence in the possibilities of human nature, the love of country, and the joy of living which the great discoveries of the fifteenth,

the great conflicts and the great victories of the sixteenth, centuries had inspired in the free Protestant peoples of northern Europe. No careers could well be more different than those of the three Elizabethan poets; but the three types of life which they represent are alike characteristic of the age. Spenser was an ardent Protestant, with an intellectual leaning towards Puritan doctrine; he linked his fortunes with those of the Elizabethan conquerors of Ireland, and made his great epic, the Faerie Queen, a manifesto against the unreformed religion. Marlowe, a university man, who gave his stores of classical learning to the service of an intensely romantic imagination, embodied in his life as in his plays the revolt of the age against measure and convention. He lived at the centre of a knot of eager, wrangling wits; he died the victim of a tavern brawl. Shakespeare, whose genius, equally great in tragedy and comedy, rises above the conditions of his age, was in active life a prosperous man of business, anxious to found a position and a family, using his highest ideals and profoundest meditations for the accumulation of a competence; truly typical in the versatility of his intellect and in the utilitarianism of his temperament. All three reached the climax of their poetic development about the same time. The first instalment of Spenser's Faerie Queen was published in 1589, the last in 1596. The great tragedies of Marlowe, Faustus, the Jew of Malta, and Edward II, appeared in the years 1588–1593. Shakespeare's dramatic career began shortly before 1592 and was finished in 1611. Their common theme is human nature. With Spenser, spiritual aspirations, the significance of human affections, and the relation of man to the unseen powers are the leading themes; faith in the moral potentialities of man is the keynote of his verse. To Marlowe the study of passion and ambition had an irresistible attraction. Shakespeare, while he inherits Marlowe's interest in the heights and depths of passions, is more impressed by the rich and complex variety of every individual nature, by the subtle action and reaction of will on will and mind on mind, by the irony of fate and the paradoxical union of opposing traits in the same character. There have been literatures more fertile in abstract ideas, of a more chastened fancy, of greater precision and clarity in expression, than the Elizabethan; there is none which deals in a spirit so penetrating and imaginative with the mysteries of individual passion.

V. THE STUARTS

A. Charles I

(*a*) *The Scottish Reformation.*—The accession of James I naturally leads to a close connection between the histories of England and Scotland. In both countries his policy sowed the seed for a future reaction. But whereas in England the opposition to the Stuarts was political no less than religious, in Scotland all other questions were subordinated to those of ecclesiastical government; and the influence of Scotland is largely responsible both for the peculiar lines on which English Nonconformity developed and for the programme which the Presbyterian section of the Nonconformists adopted. It is therefore necessary that we should notice the leading features of the Scottish Reformation and the position of the Scottish Presbyterians in 1603.

Protestant doctrines entered Scotland between 1520 and 1530. The country

had been previously infected to a slight extent with the theories of Wyclif; but there is no good reason for regarding the Wyclifite martyrs, Resby (1407) and Craw (1433), or the more famous Lollards of Kyle (1494), as the spiritual fathers of the Scottish Reformation. Wyclifites had little in common with Luther, of whom Patrick Hamilton, the first of the Protestant leaders, was a follower. Hamilton suffered for his faith in 1528; and the government of James V was able to confine the new doctrines within narrow bounds, because Protestantism was associated in the popular mind with English sympathies, and it was notorious that Henry VIII looked to the reform of the Scottish Church as a means of isolating Scotland from the Catholic powers of the Continent. To this aim English policy remained constant after the death of James; but the persecution of Cardinal Beaton, the chief adviser of the queen regent, did much to turn popular feeling against the church which he represented. With the execution of George Wishart (1546) the Scottish Reformation really began. Wishart was avenged by Beaton's assassination; and when Mary of Guise called in French troops to aid her in the struggle against heresy and rebellion, she gave the Protestants an opportunity, which they were quick to seize, of identifying their cause with that of national freedom. During the protectorate of Somerset, English and Scottish Protestantism were developing on parallel lines, and in Scotland the new faith gained ground even more rapidly than in the southern kingdom. Somerset threw away a golden opportunity of making the unity of religious views a basis for a closer political connection. After his fall and before the accession of Elizabeth a new influence was brought to bear upon the Scottish Reformation; when Elizabeth resumed the policy of conciliation she found that the alliance must be almost entirely one of political expedience. Scotland had become Presbyterian and Calvinist, while England remained Episcopal in church government and eclectic in doctrine.

(*b*) *Elizabeth and the Scottish Protestants.* — This change in Scottish Protestantism was the work of Knox, the greatest of Calvin's disciples. In 1560 his co-religionists accepted a liturgy and a confession of faith which had been compiled in the Genevan spirit and under his direction; these fixed an impassable gulf between Scottish and Anglican theology. Simultaneously appeared the Book of Discipline (1560), also framed by Knox, which foreshadowed the introduction of the Presbyterian system. The result of these changes upon the mind of Elizabeth and her advisers is reflected in her behaviour towards the Protestant opponents of Mary Stuart. They fled to England for protection in 1565; but she mistrusted the tendencies of the creed which they represented, and left them to their own resources. In this she was consistent with the policy which had dictated the treaty of Leith; but by pursuing such a policy she forfeited all claim to influence the final settlement of the Scottish Church which took place after the flight of Mary Stuart. The regents Moray (1568–1570), Lennox (1570–1571), Mar (1571–1572), and Morton (1573–1578), were entirely dependent on the good will of the Protestant clergy. Morton indeed was strong enough to prevent the wealth of the Church from falling into the hands of the ministers; he insisted upon appointing bishops who held their office upon condition of surrendering the main portion of their revenues into his own hands or those of favoured lords; and the pittance which had been allocated to the

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FOUR GREAT THINKERS

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FOUR GREAT THINKERS

1. BACON.—Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Albans, son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, was born in 1561 and educated at Cambridge. In 1581 became a member of the House of Commons. Was in straitened circumstances owing to his father's death, and devoted himself to the legal profession. A friend of Lord Essex, who endeavoured without success to obtain for him one of the Crown law offices. But took a leading part in the trial of Essex for high treason, and wrote an apology for the sentence passed on the earl. In 1604 was knighted by James I.; became Solicitor-General in 1607, Attorney-General in 1613, Lord Keeper 1617, Chancellor 1618. Owing to his defence of the king's absolute prerogative was impeached by the Commons on a charge of taking bribes, and condemned (1621). Passed the rest of his life in scientific researches and literary work.

2. JOHN LOCKE.—Philosopher, born in 1632 at Wrington, near Bristol, the son of John Locke, an attorney. He was educated at Westminster under the famous Dr. Busby, and at Christ Church, Oxford. He settled at Oxford and devoted himself to medical and scientific studies. Elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1668. In 1667 he accepted an offer from Ashley, afterwards Lord Shaftesbury, to become an inmate of his household, and took up his abode at Exeter House, in the Strand, acting as medical and general adviser to the family. Became secretary to Shaftesbury when the latter was made Lord Chancellor in 1672. After the fall of Shaftesbury he was accused of complicity in the Rye House Plot and fled to Holland. There he became acquainted with William and Mary, and after the Revolution he returned to England. His "Essay on the Human Understanding" appeared in 1690. He died at High Laver on October 28, 1704, and is buried in the churchyard there.

3. ISAAC NEWTON.—Sir Isaac Newton was born in 1642; matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1661. In 1665, before he had graduated, he broached the hypothesis of universal gravitation. In 1667 became a Fellow of Trinity; in 1669 Lucasian Professor; in 1672 was elected to the Royal Society and began to communicate papers on optics. In 1680 proved that the courses of the planets could be explained by gravitation. In 1685 began the preparation of his Principia, which was published in 1687 at the expense of the Royal Society. In 1689 sat for Cambridge in the Convention Parliament. In 1696, having assisted in reforming the currency, became Master of the Mint. He published his Optics in 1704; was knighted in 1705; died in 1727.

4. DARWIN.—Charles Robert Darwin, the naturalist, born 1809, was at first intended for the medical profession, and studied medicine at Edinburgh (1825–6; then went to Christ's College, Cambridge, where he took a pass degree (1828–1831)) with a view to holy orders. In 1831 sailed as naturalist in H.M.S. *Beagle* on a voyage of scientific research. Returned in 1836, and at once began to elaborate his theory of evolution. His work on "The Origin of Species" was published in 1859, after fifteen years of preparation. Then followed "The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication" (1868) and "The Descent of Man" (1871). He died on April 19, 1882.

reformed clergy from the old endowments was frequently intercepted by the government of the regency.

(*c*) *James and the General Assembly.* — But from 1575 the General Assembly began to assume an importance in the State which far exceeded that of the corrupt and servile parliament. Fear of a religious reaction compelled Morton and, after Morton, the king himself to treat with some respect the theocratic claims of the ministers. James fought hard for the maintenance of episcopacy, and by degrees formulated a policy of absolutism which had the support of moderate men and of many who sighed for a return to the old religion. But his only prospect of success lay in dividing the Protestants among themselves; he renounced all hope of establishing a strong episcopate in order that he might obtain a parliamentary grant of the Church's lands (1587); and in 1592 he was compelled to sanction an act which formerly recognised Presbytery. The Genevan system had triumphed; but the ministers abused their opportunity and the weakness of the Crown. Their insolence fostered in the mind of James a belief that Puritanism was necessarily connected with democratic and theocratic principles which could not fail to subvert all government if they were permanently accepted. In the years immediately preceding the death of Elizabeth the king was working by circuitous means towards the endowment of the "Tulchan" bishops with substantial wealth and power.

(*d*) *James' Church Policy after 1603.* — He came to England with a determination that he would never allow the Presbyterian spirit to gain a footing in the Anglican communion, and that his English resources should be used to remodel the Scottish kirk upon Elizabethan lines. The second half of the plan was accomplished when in 1606 a parliament, assembled at Perth, accepted an act for the restitution of bishops; the measure was followed by the expulsion of the most prominent among the Presbyterian leaders. In England James' policy was emphatically proclaimed at the Hampton Court Conference, in which he and the bishops met those of the clergy who pressed for a simplification of the established ritual. The king came to the conclusion that the advocates of simplicity were Presbyterians in disguise, and dismissed their petition with an absolute refusal. Thus in both countries an impetus was given to religious disputes: the king had identified himself with practices and forms of government which a large proportion of his subjects condemned on conscientious grounds.

(*e*) *James and Parliament.* — In England other causes of friction soon arose. James was at variance with his parliaments from first to last. Sometimes the quarrel was due to his superior enlightenment, as when he concluded peace with Spain, when he projected a legislative union between England and Scotland, when, being balked in the plan, he procured a judicial decision that Scots living in England were entitled to all the private rights of native Englishmen, when, finally, he framed plans for an increased measure of toleration to the Catholics. But even when his views were sound he showed no tact in his manner of unfolding them; and there were cases in which his projects involved a serious menace to constitutional liberty. He inherited Elizabeth's conception of the prerogative without being able to plead, like Elizabeth, the dangers of foreign intervention as an

excuse for absolutism. The Commons, on the other hand, were not disposed to treat him with the forbearance which had always characterised their attitude towards his predecessor. He won a remarkable triumph over them in 1606 when the judges ruled that he could impose new customs duties without the leave of parliament; and he used this permission to make good the deficit in his budget which resulted from the reluctance of the Commons to vote him adequate supplies. But they took their revenge by refusing his request for a fixed income in lieu of his feudal dues and privileges. They opposed his scheme for marrying his son Charles to a Spanish princess, and made a hero of Sir Walter Ralegh, whom he caused to be executed for a descent upon a Spanish settlement in the valley of the Orinoco (1618). In 1621 they impeached various persons to whom the king had sold monopolies, and compelled him to punish the chancellor, Lord Bacon, the most able exponent of autocratic principles, with a heavy fine and dismissal from all offices. The ostensible charge against Bacon was one of bribery and corruption; the real offence was his criticism of parliamentary government and his hostility to Coke, the greatest of living lawyers and a staunch defender of constitutional principles. James abandoned the monopolists and Bacon to their fate; he was always on the verge of a serious breach with parliament, but always retracted in time to avoid the final rupture; it would have been well for his dynasty if he had yielded sooner and with better grace. Obsequious judges and his native pertinacity preserved for him a larger share of power than the Commons desired. But the consequence was to leave his successor in a position from which even a king more tactful and far-sighted than Charles would scarcely have emerged with credit.

(*f*) *General History of the Reign.* — In several respects this reign was an age of new developments. It saw the growth of a new and more political form of Puritanism. It also saw the first appearance, under the guidance of Laud, of the High Church party. James completed the conquest of Ireland and crowned the policy of colonisation, which under Mary and Elizabeth had already been pursued on an extensive scale, by settling six counties in Ulster with Scots and Englishmen. Of better omen was the settlement established in New England by English Puritans, who had expatriated themselves to avoid the persecutions of the Star Chamber and High Commission Court (1620). These religious exiles succeeded where Ralegh and the gold-seekers had failed, and the first half of the seventeenth century saw the foundations of an English North America securely laid. On the other hand, the glories of the Elizabethan epoch, the great explorers, the great dramatists and men of letters, the seamen who had made our naval supremacy, passed from the stage without leaving successors to fill their place. Most of the new developments which marked the age foreboded strife and unrest and civil war. Peace was the object which James most cherished after that of his own aggrandisement. But peace was not to be secured. In spite of himself he was dragged, at the end of his reign, into the first operations of the Thirty Years' War as the ally of his son-in-law, Frederic the Elector Palatine. The strain and stress of a foreign war gave the first shock to the unstable equilibrium of English society. The follies of Charles I soon made it impossible for that equilibrium to be restored.

(*g*) *Charles I and Buckingham, 1625–1628.* — Charles and his favourite Buckingham had given proofs of their incapacity before the death of the old king. But their mismanagement of the negotiations for the Spanish marriage, which James had earnestly desired (1623), invested them with a halo of popularity. The nation detested the Spanish connection as un-English and un-Protestant. This popularity was soon forfeited. Buckingham mismanaged England's share in the Thirty Years' War. Charles found in Henrietta Maria of France a wife whose nationality and religion were alike detested by his subjects. From the beginning of the reign parliament showed a reluctance to grant even the customary supplies, and the dismissal of Buckingham soon became the indispensable condition of further subsidies. It was in vain that the favourite courted national prejudice by entering on a war with France and leading an expedition to the relief of the Huguenots in La Rochelle (1627). The government was forced to meet the expenses of the campaign by a forced loan, and to provide for the new levies of soldiers by means of billeting. Buckingham at first bore the blame for these arbitrary measures. But the assassination of Buckingham (1628) produced no improvement in the policy of Charles; and the Commons were reluctantly forced to the conclusion that the king rather than his ministers should be held responsible for all the shortcomings and excesses of the administration.

(*h*) *The Period of Autocracy, 1628–1640.* — Even before the death of Buckingham the opposition secured a signal triumph, and gave the country a foretaste of their programme, by extorting the king's assent to the Petition of Right (1628). This celebrated statute forbade the billeting of soldiers on private householders; made it illegal to enforce martial law in time of peace; condemned the practice of arbitrary imprisonment by which the royal demands for forced loans had been made effectual; and reasserted the ancient principle that no tax or impost could be raised without the assent of parliament. To these terms Charles assented with a tacit and disingenuous reservation of the rights inherent in his royal prerogative, and he continued to levy customs duties without statutory sanction. This evasion of his promise, and the encouragement which he and Laud gave to the clergy of the High Church school, provoked from the Commons a string of angry protests. Charles retaliated by imprisoning the leaders of the opposition, and for the next eleven years did his best to govern without parliament (1629–1640). In this policy he had able supporters. Strafford (Lord Wentworth), originally a member of the opposition, but converted to the side of prerogative by his indignation at the impracticable and obstructive tactics of the Commons, proved himself a vigorous and resourceful administrator. He was first appointed president of the Council of the North, a local Star Chamber which Henry VIII had created after the Pilgrimage of Grace; subsequently he went to Ireland with a commission to continue the work of colonisation, to manage the Irish parliament, and to make the island a profitable possession for the Crown. In all these objects he was signally successful, the more so because he paid no attention to laws which would have imposed inconvenient checks upon his action; and the fear gained ground in England that Ireland would be made the training-ground of armies for the coercion of England. Laud, now Archbishop of Canterbury, devoted himself to English finance, to the reform of the Church in a High Church sense, and to the maintenance of a severe censorship upon the press. Under his direction the Star Chamber

and the High Commission became a terror to Puritans and constiutional pamphleteers. Through Laud's influence Charles had in 1629 forbidden all religious controversy. The archbishop trusted that the majority of the nation would in course of time become habituated to the elaborate forms and ceremonies which he admired, provided that the voices of hostile critics were rigorously silenced. But his utmost efforts failed to check unlicensed writing and preaching. He only succeeded in cementing more firmly the alliance between the political and religious opposition.

The king was strong in the support of the judges, the recognised interpreters of the common law. They sanctioned the imprisonment of the parliamentary leaders; and the high-minded Eliot, who had been the moving spirit of the Commons, died in prison (1632). So, again, they allowed the statute of 1624 against monopolies to be evaded, and ruled in 1637 that the king could levy ship-money for the defence of the realm without consulting parliament. John Hampden refused to pay his quota of the new tax; but when he appealed to the courts a majority of the judges confirmed the previous ruling (1638). But monopolies and ship-money were insufficient to meet the king's expenses, even though his relations with the continental powers were pacific. He was obliged to press his feudal rights to the utmost, to revive obsolete claims of forest-right over lands which had been in private hands for generations, and to use the Star Chamber as an instrument of levying enormous fines at the slightest provocation. It was certain that he would be unable to avoid meeting parliament if any necessity for exceptional expenditure should arise.

(i) *Scotland and the Long Parliament.* — Yet his own zeal and that of Laud impelled him to choose this opportunity for provoking a struggle with the Scottish Presbyterians. In 1637 Charles prepared to consummate the triumph which James had won by the introduction of episcopacy. A new prayer book for use in Scottish churches was prepared by Laud and sent down to Scotland. A riot began in the church of St. Giles in Edinburgh on the first Sunday morning when the new liturgy was used. Then followed the subscription of the National Covenant by all classes of the Scottish nation; and a General Assembly of the Church, which was so largely reinforced by laymen as to resemble a national parliament, declared in favour of a return to the strict Presbyterian system. The king ordered the assembly to dissolve. But it defied him, as its predecessors had so often defied his father; and when Charles advanced to the border with a hastily raised and ill-provided army, he found himself confronted by a force stronger than his own, under the command of David Leslie (1639). The only possible course was to grant the Scots for the moment all that they asked. Charles could not acquiesce in this humiliation. He called a parliament in 1640, expecting that national pride would induce the Commons to postpone domestic difficulties until the Scots had been chastised. But the Commons were obdurate. They informed the king that redress must precede supply, and were dismissed within three weeks of their first meeting. A second attempt to raise an army without taxation failed. The Scots entered England and forced Charles to make terms. Pending a definite settlement, he was obliged to make himself liable for the pay of the Scottish army. The peers, whom he asked to help him in his financial straits, insisted that he should have recourse to parliament. Accordingly the Long Parliament was con-

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FOUR GREAT ADMIRALS

FOUR GREAT ADMIRALS

1. DRAKE.—Sir Francis Drake, born at Tavistock (co. Devon) in 1545; served with Hawkins, and in 1570 and 1572 led expeditions to the West Indies. In 1577 started on his voyage round the world, from which he returned in 1580; for this feat he was knighted by Queen Elizabeth. In 1585 captured St. Domingo and Carthagena in the Spanish West Indies; in 1587 burned the vessels collected at Cadiz for the Armada. In the next year served as vice-admiral of the fleet which defeated the Armada. Died at Portobello in 1596, in the course of a West Indian expedition.

2. HAWKE.—Edward, Lord Hawke, born 1705, captain in Royal Navy 1734, rear-admiral, 1747; in the latter year won the battle of Belleisle against the French fleet. Vice-admiral in 1748; in 1757 took command of the Mediterranean fleet; in 1759 won a victory over the French at Quiberon Bay. Made Vice-admiral of Great Britain in 1765; created a peer in 1776; died 1781.

3. HOWE, RICHARD, born 1726, was the second son of Viscount Howe, sometime Governor of Barbadoes. He was educated at Eton, entered the navy in 1740 and accompanied Lord Anson in his voyage round the world; became a lieutenant in 1745 and flag-captain in 1748. Succeeded to the title on the death of his elder brother in 1758. Vice-admiral 1775, and went to America "to take measures for the restoration of peace" with the colonies; appointed Commander-in-chief in the Channel in 1782; relieved Gibraltar and defeated the combined French and Spanish fleets in 1782; on the death of Rodney, in 1792, appointed Vice admiral of Great Britain His most famous exploit was his victory over the French fleet on June 1, 1794. He died in 1799.

4. NELSON.—Horatio, Viscount Nelson, born 1758; went to sea in 1771; became a post-captain in 1779; and commodore, under Sir John Jervis, in the Mediterranean fleet, 1796. Took part in the battle of Cape St. Vincent, 1797. In 1798 defeated the French fleet at Aboukir Bay, and was created Baron Nelson. In 1800 was second in command at the bombardment of Copenhagen; in the same year was made a viscount. From 1803 to 1805 commanded the Mediterranean fleet in the war against Napoleon. On October 21, 1805, destroyed the combined French and Spanish fleets at Trafalgar, but fell in the action.

vened at the close of 1640, and the new members began the work of criticising the executive, with the knowledge that the king could not afford to dismiss them as he had dismissed their predecessors.

(*k*) *Measures of the Long Parliament, 1640–1642.* — Under the leadership of Pym, the greatest orator and party manager of their body, the Commons at once took vigorous measures against the ministers of Charles. They impeached Strafford and Laud; and upon discovering that it was impossible to convict the former of positive illegality condemned him to death by an act of attainder. It was a harsh measure, but Strafford was the one man whose genius might have secured success for the autocratic designs of Charles; and the Commons, rightly or wrongly, were convinced of Strafford's intention to govern England with an Irish army. Charles might have saved his minister by refusing to sign the attainder, but yielded to the pressure of the opposition; it is some excuse for this violation of the express promises which he had given to Strafford that the London mob was clamouring for the head of the queen, on whom, as a Catholic, the blame for Laud's ecclesiastical policy was thrown. Meanwhile parliament proceeded, by legislation of a less disputable character, to make the restoration of absolutism impossible. A Triennial Act provided that the houses should meet every three years, and that a royal summons to the members should not be indispensable. Another measure enacted that the existing parliament should not be dissolved without its own consent. The prerogative courts and councils, of which the Star Chamber, High Commission, and Council of the North were the most important, were all swept away. Ship-money was declared illegal; the king's forest rights were restricted; and parliament reasserted its exclusive right of controlling all customs duties, thus setting aside the judgment in virtue of which James had settled these imposts at his pleasure. The general result of these sweeping measures was a return from the Tudor to the Lancastrian conception of the prerogative. Of this fact the Commons showed full consciousness. Their debates abounded in appeals to the parliamentary precedents of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. They were deliberately reviving a polity which had been discarded after the wars of the Roses. It remained to be seen whether the Commons had made a sufficient advance in practical statesmanship to avoid the error by which the Lancastrian parliament had been irretrievably discredited. Charles could not refuse to sign these acts which undermined his laboriously constructed absolutism; nor could he prevent the Commons from paying off the army which he had raised against the Scot. But he had not lost all hope of a reaction. He resolved to sacrifice his most cherished convictions in order to regain the support of the friends of the Covenant; for he believed with some justice that these, if satisfied on the religious issue, were unlikely to sympathise with the political aspirations of the English opposition. He travelled northward to confirm the Presbyterian settlement in a parliament at Edinburgh, and used the opportunity to sow dissension among the adherents of the Covenant.

(*l*) *The Irish Rebellion and the Militia.* — On Ireland he built still greater hopes. There the materials of a formidable rebellion were fast gathering to a head. The terrible wrongs committed by the Tudors, by James I, and by Strafford, in connection with the policy of plantation, were responsible for much of Irish discontent;

but national and religious feelings came into play as well, and filled the conspirators with a fanatical hatred of the English Protestants, who lorded it in the most flourishing districts of the island. Charles was prepared, in the last resort, to leave Ireland at the mercy of the rebels. He knew that he could count on their undying hatred of a Puritan and English parliament; he shut his eyes to the probable fate of the English colonists. In 1641 a terrible massacre more than decimated the Ulster Protestants and produced in England the suspicion that Charles was already in active alliance with the Irish. Without entirely adopting this view, Parliament resolved that the king could not safely be intrusted with an army for the suppression of the rebels unless he would put himself in the hands of ministers responsible to the representatives of the people. So far all were unanimous. But the majority in the Commons desired to go further, and to take upon themselves the reformation of the English Church.

(*m*) *Outbreak of Civil War, 1642.*— There was little doubt that parliamentary control of the Church would end in the substitution of Presbyteries for the Episcopate. Rather than submit to this innovation the best members of the Church rallied to the king's cause. The introduction of the religious issue gave him a body of English support which seemed to make his Irish and Scottish intrigues no longer necessary. He returned from Scotland and at once put himself forward as the representative of orthodoxy against reckless innovation. From this point events moved rapidly towards an irreparable breach. On hearing a rumour that the queen was threatened with an impeachment, Charles made an ineffectual attempt to seize the five members who had been pointed out to him as her chief enemies (1642). Immediately afterwards he definitely announced that he would never consent to surrender the control of the militia, the only armed force which England could under ordinary circumstances bring into the field. On this issue war was declared. But the real question lay between Puritanism and the Elizabethan Church.

B. The Great Rebellion and the Commonwealth

(*a*) *Character of the Civil War.*—The first civil war lasted from 1642 till 1646. It divided every social class and many households, but there were certain districts in which one or the other of the contending parties enjoyed a lasting predominance. East of a line from Hull to Arundel lay the headquarters of parliamentary influence, the wealthiest and most progressive part of the country. Cornwall, Oxfordshire, and North Wales were consistently royalist. The Midlands continually changed hands; the country between Cornwall and Sussex was first parliamentary, then royalist, then reconquered by parliament. The north was at first held for the king, but was lost to his cause in 1644. The theatres of military operations were various and widely scattered despite the fact that the headquarters of the king were fixed at Oxford, at no great distance from London, where the parliament was sitting. Besides maintaining several armies simultaneously in different parts of England, the king relied upon the diversions effected by his supporters in Ireland and Scotland. The campaigns of Montrose in Scotland (1644–1645) were, from a military point of view, one of the most striking features

in the war. The parliament acted more wisely when it resolved to concentrate the bulk of its available forces on the conquest of England. In 1643 it purchased Scottish aid by accepting Presbyterianism under the Solemn League and Covenant; a Scottish army thereupon crossed the border and proved invaluable in the northern operations.

(*b*) *Events of the War.* — The military movements in England may be briefly summarised. In 1642 the king made Oxford his headquarters and attempted a direct attack upon London, from which, however, he was deterred when he found a parliamentary force drawn up at Brentford to oppose his advance. In 1643 Charles again made London his objective, but resolved to make the attack with three converging armies, of which one, under Newcastle, was to advance from the north; a second, under Hopton, from the southwest; a third, under his own leadership, from Oxford. But the armies of Hopton and Newcastle, though successful in their own districts, showed a tendency to melt as they advanced. The garrisons of Hull and Plymouth did good service to the parliament in giving occupation to their royalist neighbours. Another useful outpost was acquired in Gloucester; in the eastern counties a local association organised and put under the command of Oliver Cromwell (a Huntingdonshire squire, hitherto known only as a member of the parliamentary opposition), the famous force of the "Roundheads," who soon became the terror of royalist commanders. In 1644 York was besieged by the combined forces of parliament and the Scots; and the king's nephew, Rupert of the Palatinate, in attempting to raise the siege experienced a crushing defeat at Marston Moor. To some extent this battle was counterbalanced by the success of Hopton, who forced a parliamentary army to capitulate at Lostwithiel. But in the following year, 1645, the scale turned against the king. The Commons, grown wiser by bitter experience, abandoned the custom of intrusting their armies to incompetent peers. The supreme command was given to Fairfax, with Cromwell as his lieutenant-general; and the two received full powers to reorganise. The "New Model" soon justified the expectations of its makers. In marching northward to effect a junction with the victorious Montrose the king was defeated at Naseby Moor and again at Rowton Heath (1645). About the same time the hopes which he rested on Montrose were shattered by the rout of that general's Highland army at Philiphaugh. These disasters, accompanied by minor reverses in the west and southwest, made it impossible to continue the war. In 1646 Charles threw himself upon the mercy of the Scots, from whom he looked to obtain better terms than parliament would offer. But the Scottish proposals were harsh, — that parliament should have the control of the armed forces for the next twenty years, and that Episcopacy should be abolished in England. Charles hoped to temporise, but the Scots, impatient of his delays and tempted by an offer of compensation for their expenses in the war, surrendered him to parliament.

(*c*) *Captivity and Death of Charles.* — There was still the hope that parliament and the army might be set at variance by Royalist intrigue; for the parliament was pledged to the enforcement of Presbyterianism, while the army was composed of many sects; and Cromwell, now the acknowledged leader of the soldiers, showed his loyalty to the Independent creed by demanding liberty of

belief and worship for all honest men. The king might still win over the army by promises of toleration, or the parliament by accepting Presbyterianism. In 1647 the feud of Presbyterian and Independent ran high, and parliament proposed to disband the army. The soldiers thereupon took the law into their own hands. They seized the king's person, to prevent him from coming to terms with their opponents, and offered to restore him in exchange for toleration and a remodelling of parliament on a more democratic basis. But the flight of the king to Carisbrooke came as a proof that he intended to play off one party against the other. He was in communication with the Scots, who had offered, if he would grant their terms, to invade England. The bargain was struck, and the Scots fulfilled their part of the bargain, thus opening the second civil war (1648). But it was an affair of a few months only. Under Cromwell's influence the soldiers postponed their claims until "Charles Stuart, that man of blood," should have been brought to justice. The Scots were defeated at Preston, the king was recaptured; the army could now afford to settle accounts with him and with parliament. By Pride's Purge the House of Commons was cleared of those who refused toleration; the remaining members, under the influence of the army, appointed an extraordinary court of justice, by which the king was tried and sentenced to death. He was beheaded at Whitehall on January 30, 1649. In the following May the "Rump" resolved to establish a republic, in which there should be neither king nor House of Lords. Thus was inaugurated the Commonwealth, which lasted until 1660.

(*d*) *The Commonwealth and Protectorate.*—Time had effaced from the memories of men most of the objects with which parliament had embarked upon the great rebellion. Moreover, the victory had been already gained, so far as constitutional principles were concerned, before the war began. The feud with Charles had been in part religious, and still more of a personal character. He had been attacked as the champion of Anglicanism, and because he would not submit to the extraordinary restraints which the shiftiness of his character seemed to make imperative. Anglicanism was now a beaten cause. A new religious question had arisen,—whether there should or should not be a state Church and enforced uniformity. In politics, too, there was a new issue,—whether the relations of legislature and executive should remain as settled in 1642, or whether the executive, resting on the support of the army and Independents, should be strengthened at the expense of a parliament which was elated by success and likely to tyrannise. The army was master of the situation; but Cromwell was master of the army; and Cromwell's wish was to secure the toleration and practical reforms which the army desired with the least possible violence to the old system of government. He hoped that the Rump would satisfy the soldiers by providing for a new and truly representative parliament; from this body he expected to obtain a satisfactory settlement. The reluctance of the Rump to abdicate was, however, invincible. Cromwell therefore expelled it by armed force (1653) and, with the help of his officers, framed a list of members for a nominated parliament. This assembly proving both unpopular and incapable of a constructive policy was soon dismissed; and at the end of 1653 Cromwell, at the wish of the army, assumed the title of Protector. A new constitution, the Instrument of Government, was published, defining his position and the unalterable principles which were to be respected by

all future legislation. He was to be assisted in executive duties by a council of state. The chief part in legislation and taxation was assigned to a parliament, in which representatives of Scotland and Ireland were to take their places by the side of the English and Welsh members. Parliament was to meet every three years; but, in the interval between one parliament and another, the Protector was allowed powers considerably greater than those of a Tudor or Stuart king. Such was the unexpected result of a twelve years' battle for liberty.

The first parliament of the Protectorate (1654) felt the irony of the situation, and proposed to reconsider the whole constitution. This Cromwell would not allow. If fundamentals came under consideration, he feared that toleration would be lost, and the executive reduced to an impotent shadow. Hence a deadlock, terminated only by the dismissal of parliament. A second assembly, though elected under the influence of major-generals whom the Protector had appointed as local viceroys, proved equally unaccommodating (1656–1658). England for the whole period of the Protectorate remained under arbitrary rule. It is for this reason that the brilliant success of Cromwell in foreign policy, the restoration of internal order, and the toleration which he established could not make himself popular or his system permanent. He averted a Presbyterian tyranny, but he was endured as the less of two evils.

(*e*) *Cromwell in Ireland and Scotland.* — With his home government posterity can sympathise to some extent, and he may fairly be praised as the first ruler who effectually united all the British Isles beneath one central authority. But his warmest admirers must admit that in Ireland his rule was fundamentally unjust. Here, as in so many other directions, he continued the Tudor tradition; but here his model led him astray in a more than usual degree. He found Ireland involved in the throes of civil war. It was imperative that he should deal sternly with the forces of agrarian and religious discontent which the royalist leader Ormonde had enlisted in his master's service. The massacres of Drogheda and Wexford (1649) were terrible but necessary examples. But when the last embers of the royalist party were extinguished (1652), it would have been generous to forget the massacres and acts of treachery with which the Irish rising had commenced, and to consider the best means of remedying the grievances to which it had been due. Cromwell, however, could not, where Ireland was concerned, rise above the prejudices of the ordinary Englishman. Instead of mitigating the unjust system of plantations, he extended it. His Act of Settlement (1652) proscribed one-half of the Irish nation, and left the majority of Irish landowners liable to eviction at a moment's notice. His plan was to resettle the whole of the Celtic population in the remote west of the island, and although the literal execution of the plan was abandoned as impossible, a large proportion of the soldiers of the New Model army received their arrears of pay in the form of Irish land. In practice tolerant of Catholics, Cromwell refused to give them legal toleration. He perpetuated the divisions which he found existing in Ireland, and his name is to this day a byword with the Irish people.

The provocation which he received from Scotland was almost as great, though different in kind. In 1650 the Scots recalled Charles II and prepared for the invasion of England, proposing to re-establish monarchy and Presbyterianism at one and the same time. Their hopes were crushed by the victories which Cromwell

won over David Leslie's army at Dunbar (1650) and over Charles at Worcester (1651). Scotland lay at England's mercy and was placed under a military government. Monk, the commander of the English garrison, proved a stern and resolute enemy of law-breakers and conspirators, but he gave the country peace and a measure of prosperity. No religious feeling warped the judgment of the Protector in the case of Scotland, for he could sympathise with the most aggressive forms of Protestantism.

(*f*) *Cromwell's Foreign Policy.* — His foreign policy was spirited, though wanting in far-sighted sagacity. With Blake for a subordinate, he was not likely to forget the ambitions of the Elizabethan seamen. His Navigation Act (1651), confining English trade to English vessels, struck a deadly blow at the prosperity of Holland, the chief of England's maritime rivals; it led to a war in which Blake met Tromp, and the honours remained with the Englishman. Such a conflict between the two greatest of Protestant powers was a sufficient proof that a new era had dawned, in which religious sympathies counted for less than commercial rivalries. Yet in other respects the foreign policy of Cromwell was governed by Protestant feeling; he had not learned the lesson conveyed in the Treaty of Westphalia (1648). He regarded Spain as the arch-enemy, and attacked her colonies in the New World with the same mixture of crusading and mercantile enthusiasm which had animated Drake and Hawkins. To France, as the natural enemy of Spain, he attached himself by a treaty with Mazarin (1655), through which England acquired Dunkirk. From this base the Protector hoped to use the New Model for the succour of oppressed Protestants. Yet even in the war with Spain the spirit of the age gradually triumphed over inherited misconceptions. England gained Jamaica by the war; the Mediterranean raids of Blake gave a new security to the Levant trade, and a new direction to the thoughts of English diplomatists.

(*g*) *The Intellectual Movement. Bacon and Milton.* — The Puritan was no mean man of business. But the growth of commerce was only one of the many causes which combined under the protectorate to sap and exhaust the Puritan spirit. In Cromwell's later years all England, with the exception of a few idealists, was preparing to resume and carry further the course of thought and action which the great rebellion had cut short.

Bacon, whose scientific prophecies had been, thirty years before, the voice of one crying in the wilderness, was now to enjoy a posthumous triumph. The spirit of the "Novum Organon" and "New Atlantis" dominates the best thoughts of Restoration England. Bacon had little in common with the Puritan except the love of intellectual liberty; and to this only the best of Puritans were faithful. The strength of the Puritans lay in destruction and in protest; victory corrupted them, and they tended to become tyrants in their turn. Yet no temper less robust than that of Puritanism would have sufficed to break the chains of obsolete tradition and authority, to free England for the process of intellectual development which Bacon had imagined. And in Milton the religious movement made a contribution of the highest worth to England's spiritual heritage. The "Areopagitica" is the final plea for liberty of conscience and discussion; "Samson Agonistes," the most splendid expression in modern literature of the truth that strength is puri-

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FOUR ENGLISH POETS

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FOUR ENGLISH POETS

1. CHAUCER.—Geoffrey Chaucer, born about 1340; a page to Lionel, son of Edward III., in 1357; served in France in 1359; received a pension from the king in 1367; visited Italy as a royal envoy 1372–3 and in 1377; made Comptroller of the Customs in London in 1374; sat in Parliament for Kent in 1386. Received annuities both from Richard II. and Henry IV. Died on October 25, 1400. His chief poems are the "House of Fame," the "Parliament of Foules," "Troylus and Cryseyde," the "Legende of Good Women," the "Canterbury Tales." The story of the last-named is laid about 1388.

2. SHAKESPEARE.—William Shakespeare, born 1564 at Stratford on-Avon; married Anne Hathaway in 1582; went to London in 1586, and did not return to Stratford till 1596. Here he bought a house in 1597 and proceeded to build up an estate; but until 1611 lived chiefly in London. He died April 23, 1616.

3. MILTON.—John Milton, born December 9, 1608; educated at Christ's College, Cambridge, 1626–1632; travelled in France and Italy, 1638–9; in 1643 became a schoolmaster in London; in 1643 married Mary Powell; in 1649 became Latin secretary to the council of state of the Commonwealth, and held this office till the Restoration, though blind from 1650. He married again in 1656; his second wife, immortalised in one of his sonnets, died in the next year. He was not molested at the Restoration, and lived quietly in London till his death (November 6, 1674).

4. TENNYSON.—Alfred Tennyson, first Baron Tennyson, born 1809; studied at Trinity College, Cambridge, from 1828 to 1831; published "Early Poems" in 1832; "Locksley Hall," the "Morte d'Arthur," and other poems in 1842; "In Memoriam" in 1850. Became poet laureate, in succession to Wordsworth, in the same year. Published "Maud" in 1855, "Idylls of the King" in 1859, "Enoch Arden" in 1864. In 1884 accepted a peerage. Died October 6, 1892.

fied through suffering; while "Paradise Lost" expressed with supreme force the conception of a world in which God and the individual are the sole realities, the divine service the sole liberty and the highest good of all created beings.

C. The Restoration

(*a*) *The Return of Charles II.* — On the death of the Protector his office was conferred by parliament upon his son Richard Cromwell, a well-meaning country gentleman who had nothing but his name to recommend him for the first position in the state. The army, however, was determined to assert itself in the settlement. Finding that Richard Cromwell would not allow the military power to claim equality with the civil government, it forced him to abdicate, and invited the Rump to reassemble. Forty-two of those whom Cromwell had ejected in 1653 responded to the summons, but were soon discovered to be no more tolerant of military rule than they had been six years earlier. A council of officers expelled the Rump for the second time, and made a shift to govern by the commissions which they held from the late Protector. The general indignation of civilians warned them that this system could not be maintained, and once more the Rump was brought back to Westminster (December 26, 1659). All was confusion and uncertainty when Monck, the ablest and most moderate of Cromwell's lieutenants, made his appearance on the scene leading the troops with which the Protector had supplied him for the maintenance of order in Scotland. Monck's intentions were a mystery to others, and possibly what passed for supreme duplicity on his part was in fact the result of genuine perplexity. He confined himself to assurances that he would maintain the supremacy of the civil power, and at once took steps to procure a parliament which would command the general support of the nation. He induced the Rump to recall the Presbyterian members who had been expelled by Pride's Purge; he induced the Presbyterians to give their votes for the final dissolution of the Long Parliament. The stage was thus cleared of the body which had so long pretended, without the shadow of justice, to represent the wishes of the people.

A new parliament, composed of two houses, was summoned, and the Commons were chosen once more by popular election. The two houses met on April 25. They contained a strong royalist majority; for the arbitrary acts of Charles I had been obliterated from memory by the still more arbitrary conduct of the Long Parliament, the Protector, and the Major-Generals. Within a few days of assembling, the new parliament (called a convention, because summoned without royal writs) had before it a manifesto from Charles II, who was then living under the protection of the United Netherlands. This document, the famous Declaration of Breda, removed the last fears of those who had resisted the late king. It promised a free pardon to all persons who should not be expressly excepted from the amnesty by parliament. It promised to tender consciences such liberty as should be consistent with the peace of the kingdom, and expressed the king's willingness to accept an Act of Toleration. It referred to parliament all the disputes concerning the lands which had been confiscated in the late troubles. Without delay the two houses voted unanimously for the restoration of the monarchy. In May, 1660, Charles II returned to his own amidst scenes of the wildest exultation.

(*b*) *The Restoration Settlement.* — The promises which he had made were indifferently fulfilled; for, as it turned out, no protection for Puritans or Commonwealth men was to be obtained from parliament; the promises which Charles had made of submitting to the arbitration of Lords and Commons left him free from all but moral and prudential restraints. The Convention parliament, which contained many moderate men, was dissolved after the king's return, on the pretext that it was irregularly constituted, but in reality because it wished to protect the Presbyterian ministers who were in possession of church benefices, and to make an equitable provision for the purchasers of confiscated lands. The Cavalier parliament, which met immediately afterwards, was filled with hot-headed Cavaliers and Episcopalians. It allowed all Royalists who had been punished with confiscation to recover the whole of their estates by ordinary process at law. It declined to hear of any compromise in religious matters, and proceeded to pass a number of disabling acts which were levelled against the Puritan clergy and laity. This so-called Clarendon Code (which took its name from the king's chief adviser) excluded all dissenters from municipal office, imposed a more rigid test of uniformity upon ministers of religion, disqualified for preferment all who had not received episcopal ordination, prohibited dissenting conventicles of every description, and forbade nonconforming ministers to come within five miles of a city or chartered borough. With cynical disregard for the expectations which the Declaration of Breda had excited, the king gave his assent to all these measures. His conduct was the more odious because he was himself out of sympathy with the victorious Anglicans. At heart a Catholic, he secretly intended to secure toleration for his co-religionists at the first opportunity. He made some attempt to benefit them, and incidentally the dissenters, by issuing a declaration of indulgence to suspend the operation of the penal laws. But when parliament protested against this stretch of the prerogative, he at once withdrew the obnoxious manifesto. He feared, as he said, to be sent again upon his travels; the prospect of committing or conniving at injustice had no fears for him.

(*c*) *The Policy of Charles II.* — Despite the exuberant loyalty of parliament, there were many respects in which the power of Charles II was more limited than that of his father. The legislation of 1641 remained for the most part unrepealed. It was out of the question to think of reviving the Star Chamber and the other prerogative courts. Parliament voted the king a liberal income, but for additional supplies he was entirely dependent on the Commons; nor were they inclined to vote subsidies without demanding a strict account. The experience of the civil war made the name of a standing army odious, and it was with difficulty that Charles contrived to maintain a few regiments of Monck's army. In the debates of both houses the king's policy and his ministers were sharply criticised. It is from this reign that we date the formation of a parliamentary opposition well organised and skilfully led; for the opposition in the Long Parliament had soon passed beyond the limits of party war and had become a revolutionary caucus. The king had therefore to walk warily. The objects which he cherished — independence for himself, toleration for Roman Catholics — were repugnant to the majority in parliament and the nation. He therefore looked abroad for help, and like Cromwell, but with very different motives, made a French alliance the pivot of his foreign policy. The old commercial feud between England and the Netherlands

supplied him with a partial justification. The Navigation Act was renewed in 1660 with the express object of damaging Dutch trade. This facilitated friendly relations with Louis XIV, who had long cherished the idea of absorbing in his dominions the heretical and republican Dutch. In 1662 Charles married Catherine of Braganza, a Portuguese princess. The marriage (otherwise notable, because it gave England, as a part of Catherine's dower, Bombay and a firmer foothold in India) formed a new link with France which had long affected to support the cause of Portuguese independence. Immediately afterwards the king sold Dunkirk to Louis for a round sum of money. The new understanding encouraged Charles to declare war against Holland (1665), and English commercial jealousy was gratified at the same time that Louis received a proof of the value of an English alliance. Louis at first played a double game. England stood in the way of his schemes for the extension of French trade and the establishment of French supremacy at sea. For a time he assisted Holland against England; but in 1667 he was won over to a secret treaty with Charles, under which the latter agreed, in return for French neutrality, to further the designs of Louis upon the Spanish Netherlands. The Dutch war, in which the rival fleets had fought desperate battles with alternating fortunes, was then wound up. It had served its purpose, and Charles made no attempt to revenge the disgrace which he experienced from a Dutch raid upon the shipping in the Thames and Medway. On the contrary, he consented to the formation of a triple alliance (1668) with Sweden and Holland, by which he pledged himself to resist the French designs upon the Spanish Netherlands. But the secret object was still to raise his value in the eyes of France, and an alliance with Louis was effected in 1670 by the secret treaty of Dover. Louis, swallowing his resentment at the trick which had been played upon him, promised Charles a considerable pension on condition that he should have the help of English troops against the Netherlands. Charles undertook to avow himself a Catholic at a convenient opportunity, and was promised in that case the support of a French army. Only one or two of the king's most trusted advisers were admitted to a full knowledge of these provisions, and Charles never fulfilled the undertaking to declare himself a Catholic. But for the remainder of his reign he was the pensionary of Louis, and in European politics England usually figured as the satellite of France. In 1672 the English navy supported a French invasion of the Netherlands, and in 1673 bore the brunt of a severe battle in the Texel. The land operations of Louis were foiled by the constancy of William of Orange; the French alliance was thoroughly unpopular; and Charles bowed to the wishes of his subjects so far as to conclude peace with Holland and to bestow on William the hand of his niece Mary of York (1674). But the secret understanding with Louis remained unbroken. Three years later Charles refused to support the Dutch against a new French invasion; and if at times he appeared to humour the popular desire for a war with France, his object was merely to obtain more subsidies.

(*d*) *Shaftesbury and the Opposition.*—On the other hand, he refrained from entangling himself too deeply in the plans of Louis, and his main efforts were devoted to a conflict with the opposition led by Shaftesbury. This able party manager had been at first a Cavalier, then a supporter of Cromwell, then an ardent advocate of the Restoration and a member of the Cabal ministry which

was formed in 1670 after the fall of Clarendon. Suspicion of Charles' designs and disappointed ambition soon drove Shaftesbury to resign his office. From 1673 to 1681 he led every attack of the Commons upon the Crown, and spared no artifice to discredit the ministries through which the king worked tortuously towards an absolutism. In 1678 the revelations of Titus Oates served Shaftesbury as a pretext to spread the alarm of a Popish plot formed to destroy Anglicanism by introducing French troops into England. It made little difference to the unscrupulous party leader that a number of innocent Roman Catholics were in consequence condemned to death. He followed up the attack upon the king's religion by impeaching Danby, the chief minister, and Danby was only saved by the dissolution of parliament. In 1679 the opposition secured a more honourable triumph in forcing upon the king the Habeas Corpus Act, by which the traditional remedies against arbitrary arrest and detention were made more effectual. Finally an Exclusion Bill was introduced to prevent the king's brother, James of York, from succeeding to the throne. James, unlike Charles, was a conscientious Catholic. There was a probability that he would do his utmost to procure not merely toleration but ascendancy for the oppressed Catholics; and the dangers of a Catholic reaction seemed grave enough to give Shaftesbury the support of many moderate politicians. But there can be little doubt that private aims determined his conduct. He knew that from James he had nothing to hope and much to fear. His complicity in the outcry against papists would never be forgiven by the heir apparent. On the other hand, there was every prospect that if parliament should follow Shaftesbury's wishes and confer the succession upon Monmouth, an illegitimate but favourite son of the king, and the chief hope of the Anglican party, the Protestant demagogue might reasonably aspire to the post of chief minister. The question of the succession was the all-absorbing topic in the next three parliaments. Shaftesbury's influence procured innumerable signatures to petitions calling on the king to disinherit his brother; and the Protestant faction were nicknamed "Petitioners," in contradistinction to the "Abhorrers," who supported the king. But the king defended his brother's right with tenacity. The old instincts of loyalty reasserted themselves in the country, and after the abortive parliament of Oxford (1681) Shaftesbury fled into exile, a beaten man. He had laid the foundations of the great Whig party, but his rash precipitation discredited his followers, and in the last two years of the reign they were exposed, without popular disapproval, to a merciless persecution. London and other Whig cities were adjudged to lose their charters, and all municipal offices were filled with royal nominees. Russell and Sidney were executed on a charge of conspiracy (1683). Never had the establishment of absolutism seemed more probable than in the latter years of Charles. Reaction is the dominant note in the domestic history of England between 1660 and 1684, and parliament in its own way was not less reactionary than the Crown.

(*e*) *Science and Industry in the Restoration Period.* — In more than one sense, however, the Restoration marks the commencement of modern England. The intellectual attitude of the nation was altering. Some great Puritans lived and wrote under the last two Stuart kings; but Milton and Bunyan, Penn and Baxter, are the glorious survivors of a vanquished cause. The satirist and the comedian are now the characteristic figures of the literary movement. Dryden and the dramatists

THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH

CLIVE

WELLINGTON

EXPLANATION OF THE PORTRAITS OVERLEAF

THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.—John Churchill, first Duke of Marlborough, born in 1650; began his military service in 1672; in 1678 became a colonel of the Life Guards, and married Sarah Jennings. In 1685 played the chief part in crushing Monmouth's rebellion. At the Revolution deserted James II. to join William of Orange. Commanded an English brigade in France, 1689; and in the south of Ireland, 1690. Was disgraced, for corresponding with the Stuarts, between 1692 and 1695. But in 1701 was appointed Commander-in-chief in Holland for the war of the Spanish Succession; after the death of William III. managed both the war and foreign relations. His great victories were Blenheim (1704), Ramillies (1706), Oudenarde (1708), Malplaquet (1709). Deprived of his offices in 1710, owing to the fall of the Whigs and the quarrel of his wife with Queen Anne. In 1716 was struck with paralysis and died in 1722. His wife outlived him and died in 1744.

CLIVE.—Robert, Lord Clive, born in 1725; went to India in 1744 in the service of the East India Company Exchanged into the military service, and distinguished himself by the defence of Arcot (1751) against Chunda Sahib, the ally of the French. In 1755 became governor of Fort St. David; in 1756 recovered Calcutta from Surajah Dowlah; and in 1757 won the battle of Plassey. Returned to England in 1760 and was created a peer. In 1765 went out as Governor of Bengal. Returned in broken health, 1767; died by his own hand in 1774.

WELLINGTON.—Arthur Wellesley, first Duke of Wellington, son of the first Earl of Mornington, was born in 1769; entered the army in 1787, served his first campaign in Holland (1794); colonel in 1796. Served in India in the Mysore War (1799) and became a major-general in 1803. In the Mahratta War of that year gained the victories of Assaye and Argaum. Returning home, he went in 1808 to Portugal in command of an English force; until the abdication of Napoleon (1813) was engaged in the Peninsular War. In 1815 represented Great Britain at the Congress of Vienna, and defeated Napoleon at Waterloo, June 18, 1815. Was Prime Minister in the years 1828–30; again in the Cabinet 1834–5 and 1841–6. Died September 14, 1852.

of the Restoration bear witness to the triumph of French influence over older modes of thought and style. Their work was more than the mere effect of reaction, — it was inspired by the ambition to recover touch with the artistic and intellectual society of the Continent, from which England had been estranged by twenty years of fanaticism and warfare. The growth of scientific interests, attested by the foundation of the Royal Society (1660), was in part a continuation of the native movement which Bacon had initiated, and was largely due to the interest excited by his writings. But the work of Isaac Newton (1643–1727) is closely related to the mathematical researches of Descartes and Pascal on the one hand, to the astronomical discoveries of Galileo on the other. Newton and his contemporary Robert Boyle, the father of English chemistry, were in the highest degree original; but their enthusiasm for natural science and their conception of method were affected by the example of foreign *savans*. Meanwhile the mercantile classes were developing new fields of enterprise and laying the foundations of a commercial supremacy. The one title of Charles II to the reputation of a national statesman is to be found in his care for trade, and for the colonies, upon which the hopes of trade depended. He gave up Nova Scotia to the French colony of Canada (1668) and suffered the island of St. Kitts to be conquered by the navy of Louis XIV (1666). But England gained a predominant position in the West Indies; the American colonies of the Dutch were annexed and retained at the conclusion of the peace of Breda (1667). Charters were granted to a private company for the exploitation of Hudson's Bay and to Penn, the Quaker, for the settlement of Pennsylvania (1680); while the name of the Carolinas records the fact that they were first colonised in this reign. From the Bay of Fundy to Charlestown the whole east coast of North America was now in English hands. At the same time the decline of the Dutch maritime power, shattered by continual wars and undermined by the Navigation Acts, prepared for the growth of an English empire in India, which had hitherto been the battle-ground of Dutch and French and Portuguese. The East India Company profited by the exhaustion of competitors and threw out new tentacles. As early as 1639 it had acquired Fort St. George (Madras); and in 1668 it took over from the king the equally important station of Bombay. Shortly after the death of Charles, Calcutta in the Ganges delta was acquired by a treaty with the Great Mogul (1686). Sensualist and dilettante though he was, Charles watched the growth of trade and colonies with an enlightened interest; he formed within the Privy Council a special committee to handle all questions connected with these interests.

D. The Revolution

(*a*) *The Religious Policy of James II.* — The death of Charles II (1685) was followed by the peaceful accession of his brother James of York. The new king had every intention of continuing his brother's autocratic system. But the revenue which parliament had granted to Charles was not, for the most part, hereditary, and it was therefore essential that the new king should meet parliament at the first opportunity. The new House of Commons showed an unexpected degree of loyalty. Fear of civil war had brought all moderate men into the Tory party; the king's demands were satisfied without murmuring or hesitation.

This success was immediately followed by others of a less peaceful kind. The rising of Argyle in Scotland and that of Monmouth in the south of England were both crushed with ease; and James believed that the Protestant party, in whose interests these rebellions had been raised, was now at his mercy. Not content with a savage persecution of Monmouth's partisans, who were condemned and executed by scores in the course of Judge Jeffrey's Bloody Assize, the king took steps to give the Catholics a legal equality with Protestants, in the expectation that it would then be possible to place the administration entirely in the hands of his co-religionists. The Test Act of the last reign had provided that every public servant should make a declaration against transubstantiation and receive the Sacrament according to the Anglican rite. In defiance of the act James gave military commissions to Catholics and met the remonstrances of parliament by a prorogation. The judges decided a test case in favour of the king's power to dispense from the operation of the penal laws; whereupon James issued a declaration of indulgence in favour of both Catholics and Protestant dissenters. This arbitrary suspension of the laws provoked a storm of indignation. Even the dissenters sided with the opposition; for Louis XIV by his recent Revocation of the Edict of Nantes had aroused suspicions of a general Catholic conspiracy against Protestants. Petitions against the declaration poured in upon the king. He endeavoured to repress the agitation by means of the law courts. The Archbishop Sancroft and six of his suffragans, who had joined with him in signing such a petition, were put on their trial for a seditious libel. But they were acquitted by the jury, and received a popular ovation when they left the court. There were fears that James would now resort to force; for he had brought over Catholic troops from Ireland and had quartered them at Hounslow in the neighbourhood of London. But the majority were prepared to wait in patience for the accession of Mary of Orange, a Protestant princess and the wife of the man who had so successfully upheld the cause of the Dutch Protestants against Louis XIV.

(*b*) *The Invasion of the Prince of Orange.*—These hopes received a rude shock when it was announced that the queen, Mary of Modena, had given birth to a son. The Princess of Orange and her husband professed to regard the child as supposititious, a belief for which no plausible foundation could be discovered. But admitting his legitimacy, it was still certain that he would be educated as a Catholic, and the nation was thus confronted with the prospect of a dynasty hostile to the Anglican Church. The Church had restored Charles II; it now expelled his brother. The survivors of the Whig party found themselves at the head of so numerous a following that they had no hesitation in summoning William of Orange to come and seize the throne by force. The Stadtholder was willing enough to seize the opportunity of bringing England into the European league which he had built up against the aggressive designs of France. But Holland was already at war with France, and it was difficult to leave the theatre of military operations. Only the mistakes of James and Louis made it possible for the prince to cross the Channel. James in his blind infatuation refused the troops which were offered by his ally; Louis, instead of directing his march against the Netherlands, allowed his attention to be diverted to the Rhine. The Prince of Orange was therefore able to leave Holland unprotected; he landed at Torbay without molestation, and began his march on London. Everywhere he was

greeted with enthusiasm. James was deserted by soldiers, officers, ministers, and private friends. He attempted to leave the kingdom by stealth, but was apprehended by a mob of hostile Kentishmen and brought back a prisoner to London. It was only with the connivance and at the suggestion of William, to whom such a captive would have been a source of great embarrassment, that the king ultimately made good his escape.

(*c*) *The Revolution Settlement.* — A convention parliament assembled after the flight of James to discuss the future settlement. For the moment the Stuart cause had few supporters. Both houses resolved that the throne was vacant and that a Catholic succession was incompatible with the national safety. There were some who wished to restore James on conditions; and others who would have preferred to leave him the kingly title, appointing William of Orange as regent with the full powers of a king. But these proposals, the work of Tories, were speedily dismissed. The Whigs desired to name Mary as queen and leave her husband in the position of a prince consort, but the objections of William proved an obstacle. The final decision was to recognise the prince and princess as joint sovereigns. But they were only elected on condition that they accepted the Declaration of Right in which the principal abuses of the prerogative for which the last two Stuarts had been responsible were enumerated and condemned (1689). The Declaration (afterwards confirmed, with modifications, as the Bill of Rights) settled the crown on William and Mary, with remainder to the survivor; then on the heirs of Mary, then on Mary's sister Anne and her heirs, and in the last resort upon the heirs of William. These arrangements emphasised the elective character of the royal dignity and the supremacy of parliament. It is, however, remarkable that no steps were taken to provide new means of asserting parliamentary control. The Revolution was but the first step in the process of constitutional reform which continues for more than a century after 1688.

(*d*) *The Early Wars of William III.* — From 1689 until the death of William III (1702) the strife between the king and parliament was bitter and almost continuous. The Dutch prince was, in his own fashion, not less arbitrary than the Stuarts, and his pretensions might have produced his expulsion if England could have spared him; for even the Whigs, to whom he owed the throne, complained that he would not be entirely guided by their advice. He was determined to be the slave of no one party in the state, and in foreign policy to act as his own minister. Whatever the motives of this independence, the results were good. He saved the Tory party from proscription; he would not allow the dissenters to be cheated of the toleration which they had loyally refused to accept from James II; and although his persistent hostility to France was censured, the event proved that he had gauged the ambitions of Louis XIV more correctly than English politicians.

His path, however, was smoothed by the existence of perils which he alone could face. There was a rebellion in Scotland which promised, but for the death of the leader Dundee, to spread through all the Highlands. Dundee fell in the hour of victory at Killiecrankie (1689), but the Highlands were not pacified for another two years. The resentment caused by the massacre of Glencoe (1692), and

by the commercial jealousy of England towards the rising merchant class of Scotland, made the northern kingdom a source of constant anxiety. In Ireland there was a more prolonged war. The Catholics rallied to James II; Londonderry, the chief stronghold of the Ulster Protestants, had to endure a three months' siege; the signal victory which William achieved over French and Irish forces at the Boyne (1690) drove James II from the island, but left his supporters in the field. It was only late in 1691 that the Irish Catholics laid down their arms and the French auxiliaries of Sarsfield departed, under the Treaty of Limerick. At sea, the fleet which Colbert's genius had produced challenged the English naval supremacy. Admiral Torrington was disgracefully beaten off Beachy Head (1690), and the south coast experienced a foretaste of the terrors of invasion. But this danger, too, was met. The great victory of Russell at La Hogue (1691) not only averted invasion, — it inflicted damage on the French fleet, which Louis could not or would not afford to repair. Henceforth the ambitions of the Grand Monarque were concentrated upon the land war. In this, too, England's interests were nearly concerned, since the dynastic revolution had linked her fortunes with those of the Low Countries, and she was now a party to the League of Augsburg (Vol. VII, p. 490). This danger lasted longer than the rest. The final settlement was delayed till 1697. But in that year, by the terms of Ryswick, France recognised the Revolution settlement of the succession.

(*e*) *William III and Parliament.* — Meanwhile the position of William in England grew more precarious. A number of the prominent Whig lords had long corresponded with the exiled king in his refuge at St. Germains. Parliament persistently opposed the maintenance of a standing army, and would only pass an annual Mutiny Bill, voting the necessary supplies from year to year. In spite of the financial reforms of Godolphin and Montague, the credit of the government was bad. The foundation of the Bank of England (1694), one of the most notable measures of the reign, was a device of Montague for raising a loan which otherwise could only have been obtained with difficulty; and the growth of the national debt, though an inevitable consequence of the French war, provided the opponents of the new régime with an effective argument. The Toleration Act (1689) was but a mutilated measure; William was foiled by the houses in his scheme for abolishing the tests, so far as they affected Protestants. The Triennial Act of 1694, providing that a new parliament should be summoned at least every three years, was a limitation of the prerogative which the king accepted with great reluctance. After the death of his wife (1694), whose personal popularity had stood him in good stead, he was compelled to put himself in the hands of the Whigs. More than once he was driven in these years to protect himself by the use of the veto, and by threatening that he would retire to Holland if further pressed. After the Treaty of Ryswick he reluctantly acquiesced in a considerable reduction of the army and dismissed his favourite Dutch Guards; but, in spite of these concessions, the opposition insulted him by examining and partially cancelling the grants of confiscated lands which he had bestowed upon his partisans in England and Ireland. His cold manner, his foreign extraction, his preference for Dutch friends, and his indifference to English party questions, were contributory causes to his unpopularity. But with the Tories the chief motive of attack was their repentance for the desertion of James; while the Whigs felt

that parliament had not attained that paramount position to which it was rightfully entitled. The Act of Settlement (1701), which was primarily intended to bring the Hanoverians into the succession after Anne and her heirs, expressed in a series of new limitations the mistrust which the Whigs felt for the prerogative. These precautionary measures were somewhat modified in the next reign (1706), but the act in its final shape demanded that the sovereign should adhere to the Church of England; that no war should be opened for the defence of foreign territory without the consent of parliament; that no alien should sit in parliament or the privy council; that the judges should hold office during good behaviour.

(*f*) *The War of the Spanish Succession.* — In the last months of William's life a closer union between himself and his subjects was created by the commencement of a new French war. It was ostensibly undertaken to prevent the European balance from being overthrown by the union of the French and Spanish Crowns in the Bourbon family. This was a danger which William had long foreseen and feared. The schemes of partition by which he had attempted to avert it have been elsewhere described (Vol. VII, p. 497). The smaller powers of the Continent concurred from the first in the general principle that the balance of power should be maintained by a division of the Spanish heritage. English politicians were not agreed as to the necessity of enforcing such an arrangement by an armed demonstration; Somers and Montague, the chief of the king's advisers, narrowly escaped an impeachment for their share in the treaties of partition. But the merchants were clearer-sighted than the politicians. It was soon perceived that a Bourbon dynasty in Spain would strain every nerve to exclude English trade from the Spanish ports in the New World. There was considerable excitement when Louis accepted the Spanish inheritance for Philip of Anjou (November, 1700). But it was an accident that induced the whole nation to take up the quarrel of the mercantile interest. James II died in September, 1701. On his deathbed he received a visit from the king of France, and the latter in a moment of chivalrous impulse announced his intention of recognizing the exile's son as the lawful king of England. This was an open insult to England and a violation of the peace of Ryswick. In parliament and in the nation it produced an outburst of passionate indignation which the excuses offered, upon maturer deliberation, by the king of France were powerless to calm. William at once proceeded to utilise the favourable opportunity. His life was cut short by an accidental fall from his horse in the spring of 1702; but the Grand Alliance was already formed, and his position as the general of the allies devolved upon a successor who was thoroughly fitted to continue his work both in diplomacy and on the field of battle. It may even be questioned whether William could have achieved the great successes which fell to the lot of Marlborough.

E. The Reign of Anne (1702–1714)

(*a*) *Marlborough and the War with France.* — The new queen had been a cipher at the courts of her father, her sister, and her brother-in-law, and a cipher she remained, except for the fact that upon her favour the ascendancy of Marlborough depended. Marlborough's wife was for many years the chief confidant of Anne.

The husband and wife had sacrificed all other considerations to identify themselves with the fortunes of the future queen, and they now reaped their reward. Marlborough became captain-general of the military forces; his friend Godolphin received the white staff of the treasurer and the supreme control of home affairs. Tories by conviction, they sacrificed their party feeling to the exigencies of the war. Their ministry contained from the first a number of the Whigs, with whom the war was especially popular because declared by William; and after 1708 the two chief ministers decided to rely altogether on that party.

The military events of the struggle with France have been related in another volume (VII, p. 504 ff). It lasted with little interruption until 1711. The Low Countries, the valley of the Danube, the Spanish peninsula, and the Lombard plain were the chief theatres of the war; but the decisive operations were confined to the first two of these, and are closely associated with the name of Marlborough. His great victories were masterpieces in strategy and tactics, but the armies which he commanded were recruited in an ever-decreasing degree from his native country. England contributed far more in money than in men to the struggle. Nor is this the only ground for denying him the title of a national leader. The balance of power, which meant little to England, gave Marlborough more concern than her commercial interests, which meant much. He showed a greater anxiety to damage the French than to benefit his own countrymen, and he continued the war long after Louis had signified his willingness to concede everything that England had a right to expect. Malplaquet (1709), the last and least decisive of Marlborough's victories, was a needless sacrifice of men; and instead of demoralising France by the persistency of his attacks he aroused a spirit of patriotism which the earlier victories of the Grand Monarque had been powerless to evoke. It was not without justice that the Tories, whom he had thrown overboard, accused him of sacrificing England to his personal ambitions and to the interest of the Whigs. That Marlborough made war in order to make money was a vulgar slander. The sums which he received from contractors and foreign powers were perquisites of a kind which all generals of the age felt themselves at liberty to take. But the duke undoubtedly reflected that his position would be precarious when peace was once concluded, and it is probable that he would have been more pacific if his doubts on this head could have been set at rest.

(*b*) *The Rise of the Tories.* — It was a court revolution which led at length to England's withdrawal from the war. When the Tories had parted company with Marlborough they gradually coalesced to form a compact opposition, of which Harley was the manager and Henry St. John the controlling mind. Both had been members of the Marlborough and Godolphin ministry; both were evicted in 1708 to make room for Whigs. Thirsting for vengeance, they turned to Anne, in whom they saw the key of the situation. An ardent Anglican, the queen had quarrelled with the Whigs because they offered opposition to the Occasional Conformity Bill (1702–1706), a measure designed to prevent dissenters from evading the sacramental tests. Repeated quarrels with the Duchess of Marlborough had strained the queen's friendship to breaking point. A new favourite and kinswoman of Harley was therefore able to undermine the position of the war party, which was in the meantime discredited with the electorate by the furious attacks of Swift and other Tory pamphleteers. The Whigs, to crown all, made the mistake of prosecuting a

popular Tory preacher, one Dr. Sacheverell, who had used his sermons as a vehicle for criticisms of the Revolution and the defence of the doctrine of Non-resistance. The majority of the electorate were High Churchmen, and in theory devoted to the principles of the divine right of kings. The Triennial Act made it impossible to prevent parliament from changing in composition with all the changes of popular opinion. The elections of 1710 produced a Tory House of Commons; and although, in the undeveloped state of political theory, the queen would have been justified in standing by Marlborough and the Whigs, the elections gave her the opportunity of asserting her personal and religious prejudices. Harley (now Earl of Oxford) and St. John (now Viscount Bolingbroke) came into office. Marlborough was recalled, deprived of all his offices, and threatened with charges of embezzlement (1711).

(*c*) *The Treaty of Utrecht.* — The change of government entailed a change of foreign policy. The Tories had for some time past denounced the war as needless, unwarrantable, and ruinously expensive. They could not continue it without employing Marlborough, and they were eager to appropriate the fruits of his victories. Accordingly they opened negotiations behind the backs of the other parties to the Grand Alliance. In their eagerness for a settlement they overreached themselves. The king of France took advantage of their haste to demand terms more favourable than those which he had offered two years previously, and the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) conceded nearly all that he demanded. Philip of Anjou kept the throne of Spain, although the emperor Charles VI obtained Milan and Naples, and Sicily was abandoned to the Duke of Savoy. The Spanish colonies remained in the possession of the Spanish Crown, and therefore under Bourbon influence. The territories ceded to England were inconsiderable: in the Old World, Minorca and Gibraltar (both of which had been taken in the course of the war); in North America, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Hudson's Bay. The trade privileges conceded by the treaty were equally insignificant, — the Asiento Contract for the monopoly of supplying the Spanish colonies with slaves, and the right of sending one merchant ship a year to Portobello. It was natural that such terms should produce intense dissatisfaction with the government which accepted them. Bolingbroke hoped to appease the mercantile classes by arranging a supplementary treaty of commerce with France; he actually obtained the assent of Louis to a reciprocal reduction of tariffs. But the threatened interests made their protests heard in parliament, and the commercial treaty was rejected.

(*d*) *The Tories and the Succession.* — It was suspected that the ministers forced on the peace negotiations in order to leave their hands free for Jacobite intrigues. This was not altogether true. The Tories knew indeed that the electors of Hanover, who would succeed Anne under the act of parliament, regarded them with implacable suspicion. But it would have been madness to think of forcing the Pretender upon the country. His religion alone put him out of the question as a possible successor. Bolingbroke accepted the Hanoverians as an unpalatable necessity; he used the time of grace to strengthen the Tory hold upon central and local administration. He hoped, by a skilful use of patronage, to fortify his position so strongly that the Elector would be forced to accept a Tory ministry. The death of the queen occurred before Bolingbroke had time to complete the

execution of his designs. Up to the last he had been hampered by the vacillation of Oxford, who would have preferred to make terms with the Whigs. Oxford was at length dismissed, but only a few days before the queen's death. The accession of George I was accordingly followed by a proscription of the Tory party. They were accused of corresponding with the Pretender. Bolingbroke fled the country, Oxford was impeached and imprisoned. All offices were put in the hands of the Whigs, and the monopoly thus acquired by one party in the state was retained until 1761. The consequences of this long eclipse of the second great party in the state were momentous for our constitutional development, but they will be more conveniently discussed in a later place.

F. The Union with Scotland and the Risings of 1715 and 1745.

(*a*) *The Act of Union.*—The union with Scotland, though an episode but slightly connected with the general course of events, is, from our modern point of view, the most momentous result of Anne's reign. It enabled Scotland to become one of the wealthiest, after being for centuries one of the poorest, of European countries. It freed England from a number of pressing apprehensions. It gave the English parliament a new character by making it a federal assembly.

The union of the parliaments had been projected by James I and, for a moment, realised by Cromwell. Cromwell's experiment had been accompanied by the establishment of free trade between the two countries, a measure which went far towards making the Scots content with the loss of national autonomy. But Cromwell's policy was reversed at the Restoration. Lauderdale and the other members of the clique which managed Scotland for the last two Stuarts were opposed to any measure of union, because it would diminish their power and emoluments; nor was it difficult to create a prejudice against union in the mind of the Scottish parliament. But the commercial classes suffered by their exclusion from English and colonial trade; the failure of the Darien scheme (1695), a project for establishing a Scottish colony on the isthmus of Panama, proved that the Scots could not hope to obtain a share in the trade of the New World except under the shelter of the English flag. Many causes combined to prevent them from accepting the union as a commercial necessity. The Glencoe massacre (1693), a romantic loyalty to the house of Stuart, resentment against the jealous spirit which England had shown in all commercial dealings, the fear of increased taxation, the certainty of diminished national dignity, were obstacles which it took years to overcome. In 1703 the English Act of Succession, which disposed of the crown of Scotland without reference to the wishes of the Scottish people, provoked a storm. Scotland retaliated by an Act of Security (1704), which provided that on the death of Anne the Scottish succession should be settled by the national legislature, and that the successor to the English crown should be ineligible unless Scotland were in the meantime admitted to full rights of trade and navigation. The English parliament was thus taught the necessity of securing union by the grant of free trade. The great difficulty was to induce the Scottish parliament to vote for its own annihilation. Fortunately there had been no general election since the Revolution; the Anglophile element was larger in the legislature than in the nation. A judicious use of such inducements as peerages strengthened the party of the union. The fears of Presbyterians were removed by emphatic assurances that their church should under no circumstances

be disestablished. The Highland chiefs were pacified by the guarantee of their hereditary jurisdictions. In the matter of taxation Scotland was liberally treated; and she received a sum of £400,000 with which to pay off her debt and to compensate the sufferers of the Darien scheme. Last and most important, a complete equality in trade and navigation was granted to Scotland. On these terms the Act of Union was passed in 1707. It provided for the representation of Scotland in the united parliament by forty-five commoners and sixteen elected peers, for the fusion of the executives, for the lasting union of the crowns.

The union outraged the sensitive patriotism of Scotland, and its unpopularity was increased by the fact that the bad effects of the change were the first to make themselves perceived. Edinburgh declined in importance. The Scottish woollen trade was killed by English competition. Only about 1730 did the country begin to realise the advantages of the southern connection. Then indeed Glasgow began to develop a thriving trade with the American colonies, and the linen industry rapidly attained to a prosperity greater than the woollen trade had ever possessed. The English long remained unpopular in Scotland; but the union was gradually accepted as inevitable and indispensable.

(*b*) *The Old Pretender.*—In 1715, however, the Scottish situation was ominous. The Scottish members of the House of Commons had counted on the Tories to secure a Stuart succession, and were bitterly disappointed by the failure of Bolingbroke, whose true designs were unknown to them. In Scotland itself the cause of the Pretender was espoused by the Highland chiefs and many of the small lairds in the Lowlands, who had nothing to lose and much to gain by any revolution. Under the Earl of Mar an armed rebellion was set on foot which assumed dangerous dimensions. Fortunately the greater part of the Lowlands, and the industrial classes in general, remained loyal to Protestantism and the Hanoverians; a rebel army raised on the border failed lamentably in the invasion of England; the army of the north was incompetently led, and defeated with ease at Sheriffmuir near Stirling. The rebellion melted away as rapidly as it had arisen.

(*c*) *The Young Pretender.* — Once more in 1745 the Hanoverians had to face a Highland rebellion, the more formidable because Charles Edward Stuart, in every way a more romantic figure than his father, took the lead in person, and attracted the sympathy of many who disliked the religious and political principles of his family. But for the second time the passive resistance of the commercial and industrial classes saved the established dynasty. Charles Edward gained possession of Edinburgh, obtained some slight military successes over English troops, and succeeded in leading his victorious troops across the border and as far south as Derby. But he failed to obtain from Englishmen any degree of support which would compensate for the coldness of Scotland. His adventure terminated with an ignominious retreat and the disastrous battle of Culloden (1746). He escaped to the Continent, but never found an opportunity of renewing his adventure. The cause of the Stuarts was lost beyond all hope. The English government indeed aroused considerable indignation even among loyalists by the severity of the treatment which it meted out to the rebels. But the Highlands, where alone a new rebellion might be apprehended, were disarmed; and the power of the chiefs was undermined by an act abolishing their jurisdictions. The clansmen murmured

against the new rule of peace and law, but the only possible escape lay in emigration to the New World, or enlistment under the colours of the British army. Both courses were extensively adopted, and if on the one hand emigrants contributed to the bitterness of the feud between England and the colonies, on the other hand the Highland regiments raised by the elder Pitt became a most valuable element in the British army. From 1746 the history of Scotland was one of increasing prosperity and of brilliant intellectual development. The historian and philosopher Hume; Adam Smith, the founder of economic science; James Thomson, the poet of nature; Macpherson, the editor and forger of the Ossianic poems,—these are perhaps the best known figures of this northern renaissance; but they were supported by other writers and thinkers of more than respectable merits, and the day was not far distant when Burns and Scott were to express in their different manners the quintessence of the national character.

VI. THE HOUSE OF HANOVER

A. The Whig Ascendancy, 1714–1761

(*a*) *George I, George II, and Walpole.*—The first two Georges were men of narrow understanding, unpopular in their adopted country, and more interested in the fortunes of Hanover than in those of the kingdom to which they were indebted for wealth and consideration. Owing to ignorance of the English language they dropped the custom of personal attendance at the meetings of the Cabinet, which thus acquired a new independence and consideration. Their power was chiefly shown in the choice of ministers; although the practical impossibility of ruling without a parliamentary majority was now admitted, the king had still a considerable freedom in choosing between the rival leaders of the predominant party. At an early date the Whigs broke up into groups, which were held together by family influence or personal considerations. By a skilful use of the jealousies which separated these groups, the king could often assert his personal ideas.

George I did not care. He disliked the English; he asked nothing better than to be left to his mistresses and his potations. He would have nothing to do with the Tories; but he was content with any Whig ministers who could secure himself in the enjoyment of an ample civil list, and his family in the succession to the Crown. Such a ministry, however, he did not obtain at the first attempt. That formed in 1714, under the leadership of Townsend and Stanhope, contained but one man of marked ability; and Robert Walpole was at first only the paymaster of the forces. He rose, however, in 1715 to be chancellor of the exchequer, and the real brain of the administration. The Cabinet weathered the Jacobite insurrection of 1715, and provided against any sudden reaction of popular feeling in England and Scotland by the Septennial Act (1716), which extended the maximum duration of parliament from three years to seven. The act was so worded as to cover the parliament by which it was passed, and a general election was thus postponed to quieter times. But a personal quarrel between Walpole and Stanhope, aggravated by the latter's inclination to make Hanover the pivot of foreign policy, led to Walpole's secession; he became the leader of the parliamentary opposition. In 1720 the government was fatally compromised by the failure of the South Sea Bubble, a scheme for vesting the English rights of trade with the

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NOTABLE ENGLISH BUILDINGS

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NOTABLE ENGLISH BUILDINGS

1. GREENWICH HOSPITAL, now the Royal Naval College. The west wing (designed by Inigo Jones) dates from the time of Charles II., who pulled down the old royal palace known as Greenwich House to make way for a larger edifice. William and Mary handed over the unfinished building to be a state hospital for seamen. It was completed from the designs of Christopher Wren in the reigns of William and Mary and Anne. The west wing was restored in 1811.

2. THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT were erected from the designs of Charles Barry, in place of the old buildings which were destroyed by fire in 1834. The first stone was laid in 1840, and the work was completed in 1852. Barry was largely assisted in his work by the celebrated Pugin. The style of the building is modern Gothic; but Barry had been trained in the classical school, and its influence had a considerable effect on the character of his designs.

Spanish colonies in a single chartered company. The South Sea Bubble was the outcome of one of those manias for speculation to which commercial communities are particularly liable in the first stages of their development; and France suffered in this same year from a financial crisis produced by the collapse of Law's Mississippi Company (Vol. VII, p. 110). But the English government, or certain members of it, had connived at the tricks by which the price of the South Sea stock was inflated to excess; their conduct incurred the greater odium because the company had been founded under the protection and guarantee of the state. They fell ignominiously, and Walpole, admittedly the first financier of the age, was called into power that he might minimise the consequences of the crisis. The skill with which he wound up the company assured his popularity. He earned further gratitude from the commercial classes by a policy of peace and retrenchment and by reforming to some extent the customs tariff. The country had inherited from the past a number of import duties of which the majority impeded trade without increasing the revenue. By abolishing these Walpole took the first step towards free trade. His power was in danger at the death of the old king (1727); for although the Prince of Wales and Walpole had acted together when Walpole was in opposition, their friendship had been destroyed by Walpole's rise to power. But there was no other Whig who fulfilled the necessary conditions for the first place in the Cabinet. Walpole was continued in office, not through choice, but of necessity, until he succeeded in capturing the ear of Caroline, the queen of George II. The king's marital infidelities were gross and numerous; but the influence of the queen was supreme in political affairs; and her alliance with Walpole, continued without a break until her death (1737), secured the minister against court intrigues.

(*b*) *The Policy of Walpole.* — Walpole is the first prime minister in the modern sense of the word. In practice he discarded the theory that all ministers of the Crown were on an equality, and entitled to differ as they pleased upon political questions. In his Cabinet Walpole would have none but subordinates. One by one his ablest colleagues were forced to leave the ministry because they would not bow to his wishes, and in time the novel spectacle was to be seen of a Whig government suffering from the attacks of a Whig opposition. Carteret and Pulteney, the chief of these disappointed rivals, were abler speakers and more brilliant politicians than the minister. But Walpole rested secure in the confidence of the commercial classes and in the possession of a parliamentary majority. He has been reproached with inventing a system of parliamentary corruption. The charge is unfair, for the House of Commons had been corrupt before the Revolution, and still more so in the reign of William III. Walpole's bribery was more remarkable for success than for originality, and the sums which he spent on this purpose have been grossly exaggerated.

Even in the early eighteenth century the opinions of the House of Commons were largely influenced by the state of public feeling. The votes for which Walpole paid in cash and places were only his while he remained popular out of doors. In the end he lost his majority through the opposition of the merchant class, whose minister he had been in a peculiar sense. For this class peace and retrenchment might do much, but a part of what they desired could only be secured by war. Spain resented the commercial clauses in the Treaty of Utrecht, the more so because English traders in American waters contrived to extract from the treaty

larger advantages than the framers of the treaty had ever contemplated. Stanhope and Sunderland had guarded against Spanish designs by a Triple Alliance with France and Holland (1716). Walpole endeavoured to continue this policy, and believed that he might count implicitly upon the pacific intentions of the French minister, Cardinal Fleury. But Fleury's influence was not always supreme in the councils of Louis XV; and in 1733 a family compact was secretly concluded between the Bourbons of Spain and France, with the direct object of curtailing the maritime supremacy of England. The result of the compact was soon apparent in more vigorous attempts on the part of Spain to repress the trade which English smugglers had developed with the Spanish colonies. The Spanish government began to assert the right of searching English ships on the high seas, and treated suspected crews with unjustifiable severity. The story of a certain Captain Jenkins, who had lost an ear in an affray with Spanish coast-guards, raised a tempest of indignation in the country. Walpole, though convinced that there was no serious danger of concerted action between France and Spain, bowed to the will of the country and undertook the management of the war. But he was vigorously denounced in the press by Bolingbroke, whom with rare forbearance he had permitted to return to England, and in parliament by the Whig rivals, whom he had evicted from office. He showed no ability as a war minister, and obstinately closed his eyes to the imminence of war with France. For these reasons his party dissolved; he resigned in 1741, and the management of the war devolved on his successor, Carteret (1742–1744).

B. The Wars for Colonial Power (1743–1783)

(*a*) *Character of the Period.* — The retirement of Walpole inaugurates a new phase in our foreign policy; we may call it the colonial phase. Colonies, sea power, and sea trade had been among the objects for which England fought in the Stuart and revolutionary epochs; but the usual tendency had been to regard these objects as subordinate to the time-honoured aim of preserving the European balance. In the period now to be surveyed the balance is still a consideration; with Carteret and George II it was the decisive consideration. But it rapidly fell into the background, and the attention of the middle classes and of the ablest ministers was soon concentrated upon North America and India. In English history the period of colonial wars includes a struggle between the component parts of the constitution. There is an attempt to reverse the Revolution settlement and to restore the old predominance of the king over parliament. This struggle is in part responsible for the reverses which England experienced in the colonial period; and the loss of America caused it to be terminated in favour of parliament. There is therefore a close connection between foreign policy and domestic history, but it is a connection which becomes intimate only when the struggle with France is far advanced. At the beginning of the period English history is merely the history of a war.

(*b*) *War of the Austrian Succession.* — Carteret, the successor of Walpole, was unique among the politicians of the day in his mastery of the German situation. This gained him the ear of George II; and the two combined to involve the country in the war of the Austrian Succession (Vol. VII, p. 524). Public feeling was with them because they took the side opposed to that of France. But their object was to shield Hanover against France and Prussia, to preserve the integrity

of the Austrian dominions, and to maintain the balance in Germany; the nation, on the other hand, regarded the war chiefly in its colonial bearings. Hence the subsidies which the minister lavished upon German princes soon occasioned biting criticisms, and William Pitt won his spurs by attacking Carteret in the House of Commons. "This great, this powerful, this formidable kingdom," said the future confederate of Frederic II, "is now considered only as a province to a despicable electorate." The victory of Dettingen (1743), more creditable to the personal gallantry of George II than to his skill as a general, did not pacify the opposition. Carteret, though a brilliant debater, failed to convince the country that his plans were sound, and failed also to redeem their defects by discovering successful generals. He was forced to retire in 1744, and the management of affairs passed to his former colleagues, the Pelhams. The Pelhams were poor diplomats, and as war ministers beneath contempt. But their enormous influence and their skill in party management enabled them to keep a working majority.

(*c*) *Peace Policy of the Pelhams.* — Henry Pelham, the prime minister, took into government all the Tories who might have been dangerous. The opposition which he had to encounter came chiefly from his fellow ministers, and mattered little, since his brother, the Duke of Newcastle, kept the Commons well in hand. The chief care of the brothers was to extricate themselves from the war. They helped Austria with subsidies alone, and concluded a separate peace with Prussia (1745) which compelled Maria Theresa to acquiesce in the loss of Silesia. But the war with France continued and went badly. An English army was defeated at Fontenoy (1745), and the Duke of Cumberland shared with the allies the humiliation of Lauffeld (1747); nor were the successes of the navy conspicuous. The remarkable voyage in which Captain Anson (1740–1744) circumnavigated the globe, like another Drake, plundering the Spanish colonies and merchant fleets, was a feat of more brilliance than profit to the country. Under the Pelhams nothing was effected at sea except the capture of Cape Breton (1745) and the destruction of two French squadrons. The commerce of France suffered by the war, but her losses were of a temporary character. Both army and navy had deteriorated under the peace administration of Walpole, and the government was further hampered by the Scottish rebellion. Hence little was gained by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) (Vol. I, p. 449). England and France resigned their conquests, the Pretender was expelled from France, and the French recognised the Hanoverian succession. It was a truce rather than a peace. But the Pelhams made the mistake of counting upon a lengthy peace, and began to reduce the strength of the army and navy.

But the peace separated England from Austria, the one ally to whom she had been bound by all the ties of interest; for Maria Theresa bitterly resented the pressure which the Pelhams had put upon her to secure her concurrence in the European settlement. And France presumed upon English isolation. Both in North America and in India the pioneers of French colonisation waged unremitting war upon the interests of England. In the New World attempts were made to form a cordon of French forts extending from Canada to Louisiana, in order that the English might be confined to the eastern littoral; and the colonists of Acadie (Nova Scotia) had cause to complain of French aggressions. Meanwhile Dupleix, the French representative in India, used the feuds and dynastic wars of

native states to extend his country's influence throughout the province of Madras. In 1751 there was open war between the English and French for the ascendancy in the Carnatic. The crisis brought Robert Clive to the front, and his victory at Arcot secured English interests in the south of India (Vol. II, p. 461).

(*d*) *Pitt and the Seven Years' War.* — This success, however, momentous as it proved in the future, did not allay the anxiety of the English parliament. The interests of commerce formed at this time the all-engrossing topic of debate. There was a general feeling of insecurity. Ministers did not command the confidence of the country, nor even of the members who voted for their measures. Many critics asserted that the Whig system of government by corruption had sapped the national morale and energy. Nothing, it was thought, but a great war conducted by a man of genius could save the country from the fatal lethargy which had overtaken it. War broke out in America in 1754 and found ministers unprepared. The death of Henry Pelham left Newcastle confused and irresolute. He could barely manage the selfish groups into which the Whig party was dissolving. The war he was incapable of managing. His nominee, General Braddock, was defeated and killed on the way to Fort Duquesne (1755); the Ohio and Mississippi seemed to be lost for ever. Outside parliament there was the greatest readiness to help the ministry by private effort. A loan of £1,000,000 was subscribed three times over as soon as floated; large bounties were paid for recruits out of voluntary subscriptions. Newcastle hit by accident upon the popular means of satisfying popular demands. In 1756, by concluding with Prussia an agreement which was really though not avowedly directed against France, he prepared an adequate resistance to the coalition of France and Austria which was forming under the auspices of Kaunitz. But the failure of Byng at Minorca, the capture of Oswego Fort by Montcalm, the fall of Calcutta before Surajah Dowlah (1756), were events which seemed to stamp his administration as hopelessly inefficient, and to seal the doom of the colonial policy.

At this juncture he discovered in William Pitt the necessary war minister. Pitt had been paymaster of the forces for a time, but his voice had been chiefly heard in opposition. He was without private influence or official experience; he was known chiefly as a brilliant debater and rhetorician. But he commanded the confidence of the people, and soon showed that their confidence was justified. Ruling the House of Commons by the influence which he borrowed from Newcastle, he was nevertheless a democratic leader who boasted openly that he had received his mandate from the country, and would render his account to the people rather than to the Crown. His successes were doubly welcome, because they were felt to be won in the face of a corrupt party system and an unsympathetic sovereign. Pitt had two great and obvious defects as a statesman, — he was impatient of detail, and he spent money with unnecessary profusion. He had an invincible love of the theatrical and grandiose, which appeared not merely in his private behaviour but also in his public policy. On the other hand, he grasped the European situation at a glance; and the help, both in money and in men, which he lavished upon Frederic the Great proved the soundest of investments. Pitt boasted, and with good reason, that he would conquer America on the banks of the Elbe; for France found herself involved in a desperate continental war, which left her powerless to watch the interests of Canada. The Indian victories of Clive and

Eyre Coote (1757–1761) owed little to Pitt's direct assistance, but it was the European war which enabled Clive to crush Surajah Dowlah, and Coote to destroy the settlement of Pondicherry (1761) (Vol. II, p. 464).

The events of Pitt's war ministry can only be mentioned in the briefest way. His great merit lay in the choice of admirals and generals, whom he was able to leave with a free hand in details. Hawke and Rodney and Boscawen reasserted the maritime supremacy of England by the victories of Quiberon and Lagos, the destruction of Cherbourg, and the bombardment of Havre. In 1762 the French West Indies were one by one annexed, and the accession of Spain to the side of France was avenged by the capture of Havana and the Philippines. On land Wolfe and Amherst were no less successful in their attacks upon Canada. The former perished, in the moment of victory, at Quebec (1759), but the reduction of the colony was completed by his colleague in the following year (Vol. I, 451 ff.). It seemed as though England would become not only the greatest but the sole colonial power.

(*e*) *George III and the Treaty of Paris.* — But Pitt's successes were brought prematurely to an end by a change of sovereigns. The old king died in 1760; and the successor, his grandson George III, mounted the throne with a fixed resolve to free the prerogative from the trammels of the Whig ascendancy. The principles of Toryism, discredited in the country and banished from parliament, had found an asylum in the royal family. The new king had been trained in the theories of Bolingbroke, who from his retirement had consistently preached the specious doctrine that a king should be above all parties, and should choose his ministers without reference to their connections. The odium which corruption had brought upon the party system emboldened George III to apply these lessons without loss of time. He sowed dissension in the cabinet of Pitt and Newcastle, persuaded the majority to vote against the opening of war with Spain, and drove Pitt to seek refuge for his mortification in retirement (1761). Newcastle also was soon ousted (1762), and the king's tutor, Lord Bute, was called to the head of the administration. Bute's first act was to renounce the Prussian alliance and to conclude the Treaty of Paris (1763). The treaty could not fail to be advantageous, but less was gained than the successes of Pitt had entitled the country to expect. Havana and the Philippines were restored to Spain, as having been taken after the conclusion of peace; Guadaloupe, the wealthiest of the West Indies, and Pondicherry, the chief of France's Indian settlements, were abandoned without any valid reason. France surrendered Canada, Cape Breton, Grenada, the Leeward Islands, and Minorca; but she retained St. Pierre and the Miquelons, with valuable fishing rights on the Newfoundland coast, and on the mainland she kept her foothold in Louisiana. The peace was sharply criticised in England. Bute and the queen mother, upon whose favour he mainly depended, became the most unpopular persons in the country. The king was forced to depart from his first plan, and to consider the possibility of ruling through one or more of the existing parliamentary groups.

(*f*) *The Quarrel with the American Colonies.* — With the overthrow of Pitt the king had won the first battle for ascendancy. But it was easier to break and disunite the dominant party than to find another which should be at once submissive to the royal views and respected in the House of Commons. Several experiments of an unsuccessful and sometimes humiliating character had to be made before George III discovered a prime minister after his own heart. The

great parties of the past, those which had opposed and supported the programme of the Revolution, no longer existed. In their place stood groups of politicians, united by attachment to a great name or fortune, returned to parliament for the most part by the patrons whom they followed, and more concerned to secure a place or a pension than to study the situation and needs of the nation. Between ephemeral ministries and a legislature partly corrupt partly apathetic, England drifted towards a crisis compared with which the last two wars were trivial. Lately the arbiter of Europe, she was now exposed to humiliation at the hands of her own colonies.

The causes of friction between the mother country and the American colonies can be traced back to the beginning of the eighteenth century. The different settlements which extended from Massachusetts in the north to Georgia in the south had been founded at different times, and by very various types of men. Some had emigrated to escape from religious persecution; some had left England burdened with debt or the sense of failure in the profession which they had originally chosen; others, again, were the younger sons of landed families; others felt the desire for a life comparatively untrammelled by convention. Not a few were natives of Ireland or Scotland, whom the real or fancied wrongs of their native land had driven into exile. But all the colonists, whether patriotic or the reverse, whether they had prospered or failed, whether they had been well or ill treated in their mother country, were moderately well contented to remain dependent on the English Crown so long as they were allowed to manage their own affairs through elected legislatures. In all the colonies, whether proprietary or formed by independent enterprise, there was a passionate love of freedom; all had imitated to some extent the forms of English government, had preserved the English common law, and had cherished the traditional English mistrust of the executive. In each colony the head of the executive was a governor appointed by the Crown or the proprietor; and the acts of this official were watched with the more jealousy because he represented an authority extraneous to the colonies themselves. Hardly less acute was the jealousy which each colony entertained for its neighbours. It was wellnigh impossible to secure concerted action between the colonial parliaments. Their members could hardly conceive of co-operation except as entailing loss of independence.

This was the more unfortunate because in the French power they had a common enemy. The attempt to connect Louisiana with the Great Lakes (Vol. I, p. 447) had been an equal menace to all. Nor could the danger have been averted but for English help. The colonies contributed less than was expected to the work of conquering Canada. Now that Canada had become a British dependency they were inclined to think of the danger as finally removed; they resented the policy of the home government in maintaining a permanent military force for their protection, and they were disinclined to find money for this object. They considered that England derived from the Navigation Laws sufficient advantages to reimburse her for whatever expense she had incurred on their behalf; and they resented even that degree of control to which they had been subjected from their first foundation. "England," said Vergennes after the conquest of Canada, "will soon repent of having removed the only check which kept her colonies in awe. She will call on them to contribute towards supporting the burden they have helped to bring upon her, and they will answer by shaking off all dependence."

The prophecy was soon fulfilled. Grenville, one of the ministers whom George III endeavoured to train in his own views, resolved that the colonists ought to bear a part of the burden represented by the national debt. Finding that a more rigorous collection of the customs at colonial ports would not yield the sum which he thought proper, and having utterly failed to obtain the promise of adequate votes from the colonial legislatures, he persuaded the English parliament to impose a stamp tax in the colonies (1765). There could be no doubt that parliament possessed the legal right to do this. But the colonists treated the tax as the opponents of Charles I had treated ship money. They denied the legality of the Stamp Act, and roused in the mother country a feeling of irritation which threatened to overcome all prudential motives. The successors of Grenville's ministry, the Rockingham Whigs, saved the situation by repealing the obnoxious act before the quarrel had become irreparable. But this concession was accompanied by a Declaratory Act (1766) asserting the abstract right of parliament to levy taxes on the colonies. It was a concession on the part of the ministry to offended national pride. No practical consequences were intended to follow from the declaration of right. But the next cabinet had the temerity to impose a duty upon tea and other goods imported into America (1767). It is one of the ironies of history that Chatham, the most rigorous defender of colonial independence, was the nominal chief of this administration. But he was incapacitated by illness, and remained unconscious of the hare-brained scheme until the mischief had been done. It is true that the right of England to impose customs as distinct from excise duties had been admitted in the past, and that the new taxes were a flea-bite as compared with the restrictions of the Navigation Laws which the colonists endured with patience. But American suspicions had been aroused by the Declaratory Act, and the colonists were flushed with their recent victory. New protests poured in; there were squabbles with governors and affrays with British troops (Vol I, p. 459 f.). It became necessary for the government of George III to choose between submission and the use of force.

(*g*) *The War of Independence.* — The government had now fallen completely into the king's hands. During a series of weak administrations he had kept control of patronage, and by systematic corruption had organised in the House of Commons a party of "King's Friends," upon whom he could rely for unwavering support. It made little difference to him that parliament had ceased to represent the nation, and that Middlesex, the most important of the free constituencies, had twice returned to parliament a notorious profligate, John Wilkes, for no better reason than to attest their satisfaction at the virulent attacks which his newspaper delivered on the government. Still less was the king moved by the satire and argument of the constitutionalists. The letters of Junius, an anonymous writer of no common order, exposed every member and measure of the ministry to ridicule. Edmund Burke published one of his most famous pamphlets, the "Thoughts on the Present Discontents," to prove that the new system of personal government was fatal to liberty and political morality. To such attacks the king responded by bringing into power Lord North, a man whose genuine abilities, good humour, and political experience were marred by a blind deference to the wishes of his master. The king and North might have assuaged the popular

indignation against the colonies. They chose rather to inflame the mutual ill-will of the disputants. At first they preserved the appearance of conciliation by repealing all the new duties except that on tea. It made no practical difference whether they excepted one tax or left the whole number still in force. The colonies were now in arms for the principle that without representation there should be no taxation. In 1773 a Boston mob destroyed the cargoes of English tea which were lying in their harbour. An attempt to make the whole community of Boston responsible led to the summoning of an intercolonial Congress; the cause of Boston became that of all the colonies (1774). North now began to think of retreat, but it was too late. In 1775 a new Congress assembled to prepare for armed resistance; it was immediately followed by an attack on British troops at Lexington, by the siege of Boston, and by the repulse of the besieging colonial army from their position on Bunker's Hill. From these small beginnings blazed up the War of Independence (1775–1781), of which the events have been related in a previous volume (Vol. I, pp. 463 ff.). It was a struggle in every way discouraging to England and damaging to the national prestige. The English armies, separated by enormous tracts of sea from supplies and reinforcements, had a hopeless task before them; for although the colonies only decided to secede by the barest of majorities, the loyalists had little power to help the royal forces, and there was no one centre of the rebellion at which a blow could be delivered with fatal effect. But, allowing for these disadvantages, the generals of George III made a poor use of their resources; and the war revealed a portentous decline in the efficiency of the navy. It may indeed be said that the war was lost at sea. For, when France joined the cause of the colonies in 1778, her fleet patrolled the coast of North America with such success that no adequate communications could be maintained with England, and the West Indies were reconquered one by one. Moderate statesmen urged that measures of conciliation should be tried; Burke arguing that no taxes could ever compare with the profits of the colonial trade, and that expediency must be considered before questions of abstract right and justice; Chatham taking the line that America had been treated like a slave, and must be compensated with complete acknowledgment of her freedom from control. Had Chatham been recalled to power this generous attitude and the glamour of his reputation might have prevented the final separation. But he died in 1778, after delivering in the House of Lords a last impassioned protest against the royal policy; and North remained in power till the end of the war.

(*h*) *The Peace of Versailles, 1783.* — The struggle, so far as America was concerned, closed with the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown (1781). The national pride was slightly soothed by the subsequent successes which Rodney gained at sea over the French, and by Eliot's heroic defence of Gibraltar against the Spaniards (1782). But it was obvious that the prize for which England had fought must be abandoned; the more obvious because Ireland, after wellnigh a century of Protestant ascendancy and subjection to the English parliament, was visibly verging upon armed rebellion. The Rockingham Whigs, who had done their best to prevent the war, were called into power that they might bring it to an end. The negotiations which they opened were terminated by the death of their leader, the most honourable and consistent party leader of the eighteenth century; but in 1783 the Treaty of Versailles, with France and with the colonies, was at length

concluded. The colonies, under the title of the United States, were recognised as independent. France and England made a mutual restoration of conquests, except that France retained Tobago and Senegal. Spain was pacified with Minorca and Florida; but Gibraltar, of which the vast strategic importance was now fully recognised, remained in English hands.

C. The Industrial Revolution

(*a*) *The Indian Dependencies.* — The Treaty of Paris left England with an empire which was sadly mutilated, but still considerable. It included in the western hemisphere not only Canada, but also Jamaica and some of the richer islands of the West Indies. In the East the governorships of Clive and Warren Hastings (Vol. II, pp. 462–470) had led to an expansion of the territories governed by the East India Company. The Calcutta settlement now formed the capital of an immense province which took in the whole valley of the Ganges as far as Benares; further to the south the coast district of the Circars had been annexed, and in the extreme south of the peninsula, where the territory actually under British rule was small, the British name was respected far and wide. The Regulating Act of 1773 had brought the company under the control of the state, and the appointment of the governor-general now rested with parliament; the territories of the company might therefore be considered as national dependencies. The growing importance of India was revealed by the conflict which arose between George III and the Whigs in 1783 on the subject of the Indian government. An India Bill, to place, for the time being, the patronage of political appointments in the hands of a parliamentary committee, gave rise to a feud between the king and the coalition ministry of Fox and North which ended in the defeat and retirement of the ministers. But Clive and Hastings were not yet recognised as the founders of an empire. Both had cause to complain of national ingratitude. Clive died by his own hand, in consequence of an implicit censure passed by the House of Commons on his Indian administration. Warren Hastings, who retired from office in 1785, was impeached for malversation on the evidence of private enemies, and the trial dragged on for years before it ended in his acquittal. Only by recent research have the characters of these great men been vindicated from the aspersions which their contemporaries were too ready, in the heat of party conflict, to accept as proved.

(*b*) *English Manufactures.* — In 1783 all our colonial possessions seemed unimportant by comparison with those which we had lost. Adam Smith, whose great work on the "Wealth of Nations" appeared during the American war, was of the opinion that the national prosperity had been gravely compromised by the mistake of developing trade with America to the neglect of all other markets. The monopoly secured by the Navigation Acts and similar restrictive measures had indeed produced an unhealthy inflation of particular industries. Yet English commerce survived the shock of the American secession and continued to prosper. The country had in fact already developed its manufactures to such a point that it was industrially in advance of all its continental rivals.

This development was of a comparatively recent date. The era of the great

mechanical inventors only commenced in the reign of George II. Kay, the inventor of the flying shuttle, which effected a revolution in the weaving industry (1738), was the pioneer of the new movement. He made it possible to extend the trade in manufactured woollens, and to open that in cotton stuffs. Soon after 1760 there came in close succession a number of further improvements. Hargreaves, a native of the Lancashire town of Blackburn, was led by the need for a more regular and abundant supply of yarn to devise means of spinning by machinery. In 1767 he produced the jenny, which enabled one weaver to drive and superintend a number of spindles simultaneously. The neighbours of Hargreaves, seeing their profits threatened, broke the machine in pieces, and the hapless inventor was all but killed in the riot. His machine was, however, patented in 1770. In 1769 Arkwright, also a native of Lancashire, produced a roller machine for spinning by water power. He too had to contend against local persecution, and his factory was burnt to the ground; but he rebuilt it, and lived to double the prosperity of his native place. In 1779 Samuel Crompton, a poor weaver, invented the spinning-mule, so called because it combined the principles of Hargreaves' jenny and Arkwright's water-plane. Finally in 1785 Cartwright, a clergyman, extended the use of machinery to the process of weaving, and produced a power-loom. But hitherto the only source of mechanical power had been the water-wheel, except that steam was used for mining-pumps. James Watt now discovered the means of setting a wheel in motion by a steam-driven piston (1769); and a form of steam power was thus produced which could easily be applied to every sort of machine. The introduction of machinery meant a vast extension of the textile trades and the growth of urban manufacturing centres. The invention of the steam-engine decided that the north of England, where coal was chiefly to be found, should become the headquarters of the new industrialism; and the north thus began to assume that pre-eminent position which hitherto belonged to the southeastern counties and the weaving districts of the southwest. New towns sprang up, and the demand for a readjustment of parliamentary representation naturally increased. But this was not the only change. The introduction of machinery bore hardly upon the less intelligent of the hand labourers. It ruined many old centres of industry. It elevated the skilful and quick-witted, but it made the struggle for existence harder and swelled the ranks of the proletariate. It also complicated the task of government, both in the spheres of foreign and domestic policy. The necessity of protecting industrial interests became more obvious than ever; the danger of social agitation and revolution was increased by the growth of town populations imperfectly educated and civilized, living under institutions which had been framed for the government of small communities and were inadequate to control disorderly multitudes.

The tale of industrial development is told by the statistics of English exports. In 1793 their value was £20,000,000; in 1800 it had almost doubled; in 1815 it exceeded £50,000,000. This expansion took place in the midst of great wars, when England was fighting hard for the mastery of the seas; and for a part of the period under consideration the normal development of trade was impeded by the Continental System of Napoleon.

(*e*) *Agricultural Improvements.* — The growth of national prosperity was not entirely dependent upon new manufactures. In agriculture also there were great

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FOUR ENGLISH STATESMEN

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FOUR ENGLISH STATESMEN

1 OLIVER CROMWELL.—Born April 25, 1599, at Huntingdon. Entered Parliament as member for Cambridge in 1640; in 1643 was placed in command of the army of the Eastern Association; commanded left wing of Parliamentary army at Marston Moor (1644), and the right wing at Naseby (1645). Became leader of the Independents, and supported the army against the Long Parliament. Defeated the Scots at Preston in 1648; went to Ireland and reduced it for the Commonwealth in 1649–1650; defeated the Scots under Leslie at Dunbar in 1650, and again, under Charles II., at Worcester in 1652. Expelled the Rump in 1653, and was declared Lord Protector by the officers of the army. Annexed Jamaica in 1655; in alliance with France captured Dunkirk in 1658. Died September 3, 1658.

2. CHATHAM.—William Pitt, first Earl of Chatham, born November 15, 1708; entered Parliament as member for Old Sarum in 1735; became Paymaster of the Forces in 1746; Secretary of State in 1754; from 1756 to 1763 was nominally under Newcastle, but virtually Prime Minister. In 1766 formed a new Ministry and was created Earl of Chatham; resigned office in 1768. Made his last speech in Parliament April 7, 1778; died May 11 of the same year.

3. PITT.—William Pitt, son of Lord Chatham, born May 28, 1759; entered Parliament in 1780; became Prime Minister in December, 1783, and held office till 1801. Returned to power in 1804; died January 23, 1806.

4. FOX.—Charles James Fox, born 1749; entered Parliament in 1768; became Junior Lord of the Admiralty in February 1770, resigned February 1772; became Junior Lord of the Treasury in December 1772, but was dismissed by royal command in 1774; in 1782 joined the Rockingham Ministry as Secretary of State. In 1783 formed, with North, the Coalition Ministry, which was turned out by George III. in the same year. From 1783 to 1806 was the leader of the Whig opposition; unlike Burke, his former friend and colleague, favoured the French Revolution. In 1806 became Foreign Secretary in Grenville's Ministry, but died in the same year.

improvements. The enclosures which had been made in the sixteenth century for the sake of sheep-farming had done much to destroy the old open-field system of cultivation. The introduction of "convertible husbandry" furnished another incentive for the creation of compact holdings in place of those composed of scattered strips in the common fields. But the open-field system still dominated more than half of England. It was the growth of population consequent upon industrial changes which now accelerated the change from the mediæval to the modern methods of agriculture. The native farmer was protected against foreign competition by an import duty on corn. He was encouraged to produce for exportation by a bounty system. And these artificial inducements, although taxing the community for the benefit of a class, did much to promote a more scientific agriculture. About 1730 the experiments of Lord Townsend led to the use of an improved and more elaborate rotation of crops. The breeding of stock was raised to a fine art by the Leicestershire grazier, Bakewell († 1794). An enormous number of private acts of parliament were passed to sanction the enclosure of particular localities. The process was not completed before the middle of the nineteenth century, but upwards of a thousand acts of this description were passed between 1777 and 1800. The increased profits of farming under the new methods went chiefly to those who had the necessary capital for effecting extensive improvements; and one consequence of the agricultural revolution was the disappearance of the yeoman farmer. Undoubtedly the growth of great estates made for increased production of wealth; but with the yeoman vanished one of the sturdiest and most valuable elements of the population, which was ill replaced by the class of tenant farmers.

D. Literature, 1701–1783

It is not surprising that this period of great wars, political tension, and economic development should produce a literature which was polemical and often political in character, or that with the old religious ideas and the old social system the characteristic qualities of seventeenth-century poetry and prose should evaporate away. Poetry, in fact, almost ceased to exist; for Alexander Pope (1688–1744), though choosing verse for the medium of his utterances, was by nature a critic, satirist, and translator, a poet at moments only and as it were by accident. He is the most characteristic figure of the so-called Augustan age of English literature. All his best work is satirical. The Rape of the Lock (1714) is a personal satire on feminine foibles, the Dunciad (1728–1743) a savage attack upon the professional writers of Grub Street, from whose malice Pope had received pin-pricks which he was incapable of forgiving. The Essay on Man (1734), though professedly a philosophical poem, is redeemed from oblivion chiefly by the passages in which Pope analyses the failings of his contemporaries. Avowedly the pupil of Dryden, he shows the influence of his master both in matter and style. But he is less political than Dryden, and far surpasses his model in the management of their favourite metre, the heroic couplet. A metre less fitted for poetry than this, of which the whole effect depends upon antithesis, neatness of phrase, and compression of meaning, can hardly be imagined. But for the expression of a sarcastic common-sense, for the scornful analysis of character,

it is unrivalled. Pope's use of the heroic couplet entitles him to rank among the great masters of literary form. There is much in common between Pope and Swift. But the latter chose to express himself in prose; and his satire was at once more indiscriminate and more reserved than that of Pope. Swift at his best is characterised by a grave irony, and his thought is more antithetic than his style. A Tory pamphleteer of no mean order, Swift is best known for two satires of a perfectly general character,—the Tale of a Tub (1726), which ridicules, under cover of an allegory, the Reformation and the quarrels of the churches; and the Travels of Lemuel Gulliver (1726). In the latter work Swift attacks humanity at large, and passes gradually, under the influence of a melancholy bordering on mania, from playful banter to savage denunciation, which inspires, and is inspired by loathing. Swift died insane, and there is a morbid element in his best work even from his early years. The cynicism of his age mastered, soured, and finally destroyed a powerful nature. It could not sour Addison and Steele, the two great essayists of the Augustan age, whose contributions immortalised the Tatler and Spectator, two otherwise ephemeral journals. Like Pope and Swift, they are critics of human life, but their criticism is tempered with humour and a genial sympathy. Samuel Johnson (1709–1784) is a critic in a different vein; for many years the literary dictator of London society, he sat in judgment on books and theories and writers. He is typical of the second phase in the literature of this period, a phase in which literature becomes more impersonal and more detached from actual life. But the writers of this phase still keep the attitude of critics. In poetry they aim above all things at the observance of rule and proportion. In prose they devote themselves to the delineation of character, and are most successful in the new field of the novel. Goldsmith, Sterne, Smollett, Fielding, and Richardson, much as they differ in other respects, are alike in their realism; their characters, however whimsical, belong to contemporary society.

The eighteenth century was characterised by a shallow rationalism. But every age has its exceptions, and this produced three philosophers of a profound and penetrating genius. Berkeley (1685–1753), an Irish dean and bishop, laid the foundations of modern idealism in his works on the Theory of Vision (1709) and on the Principles of Human Knowledge (1710). The crude scepticism which he demolished was replaced by the more subtle speculations of David Hume (1711–1776), whose Treatise of Human Nature (1739–1740), Essays Moral and Political (1741–1742), and Principles of Morals (1751) represent the last word of agnosticism in metaphysics, and are memorable for having provoked Kant to elaborate a system not less critical, but more serious and more stimulating, than that of Hume. In political philosophy the period produced Burke's expositions of the organic conception of society. A Whig politician, member of parliament, and minister of state, Burke (1729–1793) was originally drawn to study abstract principles by his dislike for the Toryism of Bolingbroke and George III. The Thoughts on the Present Discontents (1770) were the first of a series of writings in which Burke unfolded not only his conception of the English constitution, but also the ideas and principles which underlie all political societies whatever. Unsurpassed as an orator and in the marshalling of complicated facts, he is greatest when he deals in generalisation. His speeches on American Taxation and on Conciliation with America are of lasting worth, apart altogether from the occasion

to which they refer; and the writings in which he attacked the French Revolution (1790–1796) are the most complete defence of the old order upon which the Girondists and the Jacobins made war.

E. The Younger Pitt and the Revolution

(*a*) *The Rise of the younger Pitt.* — Seldom has a *coup d'etat* proved more successful than that by which George III destroyed the power of the Whigs in 1783. His old servant North had joined with Charles James Fox, the most advanced of parliamentarians, to form a coalition ministry, and the allies seemed to have the Crown at their mercy, since they controlled an assured majority in the House of Commons. But by their ill-advised attempt to obtain control of the Indian patronage (*supra*, p. 609) they drew upon themselves the suspicion of meditating an unparalleled system of jobbery. The king was able to turn them out of office on the pretext of a defeat which they had sustained in the Upper House through his influence with the Lords; and the younger Pitt, a stripling of twenty-five, whom he called into power because it was impossible to obtain a more experienced lieutenant, was able by skilful management to carry the country with him at the next general election. The nation was weary of the Whigs, and of ministers who were mere figure-heads. It recognised in Pitt something of the great qualities which had distinguished his father. He became, accordingly, a popular dictator; and, justifying his great position by the success of his financial and foreign policy, he remained in office until 1801. It was the longest and most powerful ministry since Walpole's time. The relations of the king with the prime minister were friendly. Even if George III had been disposed to rebel against the ascendancy of his chosen adviser, he could not have dispensed with Pitt except at the price of submission to the Whigs. But he was never forced to consider this alternative. He found in Pitt an adviser of conservative temperament, who was guiltless of any design to curtail the prerogative; and after 1788, when his mind began to be clouded by intermittent insanity, the king left everything to his adviser.

(*b*) *Peace Policy of Pitt.* — Pitt had entered politics as a reformer. The early measures of his administration went far towards gratifying the expectation which he had excited by his speeches as a private member. From the first he showed himself a master of finance. He undertook with energy the thankless task of liquidating the liabilities incurred in the American war. He brought forward, though he was not able to carry, a measure for the redistribution of parliamentary seats, proposing to increase the representation of London and the largest counties by disfranchising a number of pocket boroughs. He was also prepared, upon certain conditions, to give French commerce a more favourable treatment in the present with the offer of complete equality in the future; but on this plan also he was outvoted. The theory of party government was still immature. A prime minister could not in Pitt's time count upon the support of his party for every legislative proposal; nor did he conceive himself obliged to treat the defeat of his bills as a command to retire. So long as his administrative policy was approved by parliament he could remain in power. Pitt might have threatened to resign if his reforms were not carried; but he preferred to relinquish them and remain in

power. This has been made a charge against him. But the principles on which he acted were those of all prime ministers before him and for some time afterwards. He hoped, no doubt, that time would convert his minority into a majority. As a matter of fact, the course of time brought new problems much more pressing than those of internal reform; and after 1793 every other consideration was perforce subordinated to that of national defence.

(c) *England and the French Revolution.*—The initial stages of the French Revolution were generally viewed in England with indifference or approbation. Fox and his friends, the remnant of the Whig party, applauded the fall of the Bastille as an event which heralded the dawn of a new and brighter epoch in the history of mankind. Pitt considered that the Revolution was a crisis of purely national significance which need not interest other countries. He welcomed it, but solely because it offered the prospect of a lasting peace. For some time, he thought, the aggressive policy which the French monarchy had so long pursued towards the rest of Europe would be out of the question. His attention was concentrated upon financial reforms which could only be effected in a prolonged period of peace. The sinking fund by which he hoped to extinguish the national debt was not expected to produce its effects in less than fifteen years. At first it seemed as though the Revolution would fulfil his anticipations. France did not come to the help of Spain in the affair of Nootka Sound (1790), and Dumouriez the first foreign minister of talent whom the Revolution produced, was anxious to obtain an English alliance. But Dumouriez was at the same time meditating war on Austria; and all other party leaders in France were united in desiring, for one reason or another, that the Revolution should throw down the gauntlet to Europe. The royalists thought that war would be the ruin of the republican cause; the republicans looked upon war as the best means of identifying their interests with those of the nation. The opening of the Scheldt in defiance of all treaties, and the propagandist decree of the Convention (November, 1792) promising assistance to any nations which would revolt against their governments, were a direct challenge to Europe, and early in 1793 they were followed by a declaration of war upon England. The pretext was found in Pitt's protests against the measures of 1792; the real motive was the desire to find employment for the armies of Dumouriez, which were as dangerous to France as to foreign powers.

The English nation was far from sharing Pitt's aversion to a war. The execution of Louis XIV had produced a thrill of horror; the king and Pitt were followed through the streets by crowds clamouring for vengeance. Edmund Burke fanned the flame. He had attacked the Revolution in his "Reflections" as long ago as 1790. He represented it as a madness which, unless roughly repressed, would spread and sap the foundations of European society. There was indeed some reason to fear that Jacobin doctrines would take hold upon the industrial population of the English manufacturing towns. England was passing through a period of bad harvests and commercial depression. Wages were low; in some localities there was actual famine; and it was known that clubs professing sympathy with the Revolution had been formed in more than one centre. The war was therefore regarded as a war of self-defence, and in that spirit was undertaken by Pitt.

(*d*) *The Revolutionary War* (*1793–1801*). — England was at war with France from 1793 to the Treaty of Amiens (1801), at first as the member of a coalition which included more than half the powers of Europe. But the coalition was from the beginning composed of powers with divided aims. To Prussia and Austria the question of Poland seemed more important than that of France; and the Jacobin administration, guided by the skilful hand of Carnot, was able not only to clear France of invaders, but even to undertake conquests. The Austrian Netherlands, Holland, and the west bank of the Rhine fell a prey to the Republic in 1794. Holland was converted into a republic under French protection; Prussia retired from the war and was followed by a number of the lesser German states (1795); Spain became the active ally of France. There remained in the coalition only Austria, Sardinia, and England; and Bonaparte's invasion of Italy in 1796 had the immediate effect of detaching Sardinia. The French victories of Lodi, Arcola, Rivoli, and La Favorita enabled Bonaparte to impose terms of peace upon Austria (1797). From that time to 1799 England stood alone. But the formation of the Second Coalition (with Austria and Russia) at length enabled her to conclude a peace upon favourable terms. In the early part of the war Pitt pursued a policy which was expensive and unsuccessful. He maintained in the Netherlands an army of ten thousand men, which was incompetently commanded by the Duke of York, the king's second son; he showered subsidies upon the continental allies, spending for this purpose upwards of nine millions. The desirability of waging a maritime war only appears to have forced itself upon Pitt's mind by slow degrees. But the English navy had never been in a better condition. The reorganisation effected by Hawke had borne lasting fruits; Rodney and Howe proved themselves worthy pupils of this great master. An army, on the other hand, had still to be created; and it was in the preliminary work of raising, equipping, and training troops that Abercromby, Moore, and Wellesley, who afterwards distinguished themselves in the field against the best French leaders, were for a long time to be absorbed. But even the naval war was not really commenced before 1797, when the victory of Jervis off Cape St. Vincent annihilated the Spanish fleet; and it was only the mutinies of Spithead and the Nore, in the same year, which forced the government to abandon an ill-advised system of economy under which the crews had been insufficiently paid and fed. After the mutinies indeed there followed a period of wonderful successes. Duncan defeated the Dutch at Camperdown (October, 1797); Nelson, by the battle of the Nile, ruined Bonaparte's schemes for the conquest of Egypt and the Levant (1798). In the War of the Second Coalition (1799–1801) Pitt pursued a sounder course than formerly. He left the reconquest of Italy, Switzerland, and the Rhine to the land powers, and made it the business of England to maintain her supremacy at sea. This was brilliantly vindicated by the battle of Copenhagen; the surrender of the Danish fleet put an end to the armed neutrality of the northern powers, by which Bonaparte had anticipated that he would bring England to her knees. When peace was signed at Amiens, England reaped the fruits of sea power; while surrendering the bulk of her colonial conquests she retained Trinidad and Ceylon. These renunciations, made at the expense of Spain and Holland, cost little to France, although the acquisition of Ceylon was a blow to the chimerical project, long entertained by Bonaparte, of disputing the English supremacy in India. But Trinidad and Ceylon were acquisitions of the first importance to England, and may even be regarded as an equivalent for the vast

sums lavished on the European war. The war was one into which Pitt had been driven against his will, and which he would gladly have terminated at an earlier date if reasonable conditions of peace had been forthcoming. His successor, Addington, may therefore be excused for insisting upon an indemnity; nor was it reprehensible that the indemnity should be taken from Holland and Spain, powers which in the latter stages of the war had been arrayed on the side of France.

F. The Union with Ireland

(*a*) *Causes of Disorder in Ireland.*—The great event of internal history in this period of war is the union with Ireland. The Act of Union was Pitt's solution for grievances and dangers which had been accumulating since the Revolution, and a brief retrospect is necessary to understand the circumstances under which he felt justified in bribing the Irish parliament to commit suicide.

The Irish were, in the eighteenth century, a disunited people. There was the old feud of Catholic and Protestant, at bottom as much a feud of races as of religions. There was also the feud between the nationalists and the representatives of English rule, which went far, at the end of the century, towards obliterating religious and racial differences. Last, and more deeply rooted than either of these, there was the feud between the landlord and tenant, which could be traced back to the days of the plantation policy, and was kept alive by the absenteeism of the ordinary Irish landowner.

Of all the grievances which Ireland cherished against England, that connected with religion was the most reasonable. The Treaty of Limerick (1691), which concluded the Revolution so far as Ireland was concerned, had given an express promise of relief to Roman Catholics. So far was this promise from being observed that the Test Act, never before applied to Ireland, was immediately afterwards accepted and enforced by the Whig majority of the Irish parliament. Immediately afterwards began a period of penal legislation (1795–1815), which is happily unparalleled in the history of Great Britain. Under the penal acts no Catholic parent might send his children to be educated abroad, and no Catholic teacher might set up a school. The lands of a Catholic, instead of passing to the eldest son, were equally divided among the children, unless one of them happened to be a Protestant, in which case he was entitled to the whole. No Catholic might acquire land from a Protestant, or own a horse of a value greater than £5, or keep weapons in his house for the purpose of self-defence. It was a penal offence for any Catholic ecclesiastic to enter the country from abroad. Any attempt to convert a Protestant was punished as a crime. For these and other measures the blame must be laid, in the first instance, on the Irish Protestants, whose fanaticism was sharpened by the wildest fears and suspicions. But the English government, which could easily have withheld the royal assent from such legislation, cannot be acquitted of responsibility. The persecution was the more inexcusable, because neither in 1715 nor in 1745 did the Irish Catholics show any inclination to throw in their lot with the House of Stuart. It must be admitted that many of the penal acts were so atrocious as to defeat their own purpose. The law officers did their best to avoid prosecutions; juries could only with the greatest difficulty be induced to convict. But the acts

were galling. They held a sword of Damocles over the heads of the Catholics, who, being without representatives in Parliament and disqualified for the franchise, felt that at any moment an outburst of persecuting zeal might make their condition intolerable. The Protestant tyranny was the more odious because it excluded a large proportion of the Irish Protestants from all public employments. This was the result of the Test Act, which the Irish Anglicans refused to relax in favour of other Protestant sects. In fact, it was not until 1719 that liberty of public worship was accorded to the Presbyterians.

The political grievances of Ireland were in part connected with Poyning's Laws (1492) and the Declaratory Act of 1721. By Poyning's Laws the assent of the English privy council was necessary before any bill could be introduced in the Irish parliament. By the Declaratory Act the English parliament claimed the right of legislating for Ireland. Even more galling, however, was the position of the viceroy. In Ireland he took the place of the sovereign and was not responsible to parliament; but at the same time he was a member of the English ministry, and compelled to regard interests other than Irish in his administration. Some viceroys, such as Lord Chesterfield (1745), were disinterested and solicitous for Irish interests; but the best of them could not resist the pressure of their English colleagues, who treated the Irish patronage and pension fund as a part of their resources for purchasing English supporters.

(*b*) *Grattan's Parliament.* — Signs of a national opposition to England showed themselves about the middle of the century. In parliament it is true that the opposition was no less unprincipled than the Castle party. A number of the great Irish families combined to prove the market value of their services by obstructing government measures. The only result was a further increase of parliamentary corruption. The Castle at first tried the plan of periodically buying the opposition, and finally adopted the safer plan of building up a rival combination by means of wholesale bribery. More effective was the opposition in the country. About 1760 the secret societies, formed by peasants to resist tithes, enclosures, and demands for the arrears of rent, became a serious difficulty. They were not at first political, but through them the agricultural classes received an apprenticeship in concerted resistance to authority. More formidable was the Catholic committee formed in 1759, which pressed for the repeal of the disabling laws. The government, fearing a stoppage of the supply of Irish recruits for the army, made some slight concessions in 1771 and again in 1778. But the Catholics were still unsatisfied, and they now combined with the party of nationalists which Flood and Grattan were forming in the Irish parliament. The difficulties of the American war enabled this coalition to press its demands with irresistible force. The fear of a French invasion compelled the government to sanction the enrolment of volunteer corps. These were composed of Protestants, but soon fell under the influence of the nationalists in politics. Numbering fifty thousand, they had the government at their mercy, since no regular troops could be spared for Ireland. There was no rioting and no use of overt threats. But the volunteers in every part of the country held monster meetings, and everywhere formulated the same demands. One of these was for free trade with England, and for the removal of the legislation by which the cloth manufacture and other Irish industries had been depressed in the interests of England. Free

trade was conceded by Lord North (1779), but the clamour for home rule only became more urgent, since North's action was rightly interpreted as a proof of weakness. The volunteers rapidly increased in numbers; new measures of Catholic relief and the passing of the Habeas Corpus Act for Ireland (1782) failed to satisfy them. Fox and North, on coming into power, resolved that the independence of the Irish parliament must be recognised. This was accordingly done, the English legislature repealing the Declaratory Act and passing an Act of Renunciation (1783).

Unfortunately for Ireland and for England, the settlement which the coalition ministry had thus effected was hasty and unworkmanlike. The future relations of the two parliaments were left ambiguous. It was clear that Ireland was to be subordinate to England in all questions of foreign relations. But no provision had been made for an Irish contribution to military and naval expenses. And if the Irish parliament chose to frame a protective tariff, it was legally entitled to present such a measure for the royal assent. Pitt's generous proposals for a commercial settlement were foiled by the factious opposition of the English Whigs and the impracticable temper of the Irish parliament. Equally unsatisfactory were the relations of the latter body with the disfranchised majority of the Irish nation. The Protestant oligarchy consented to give Catholics the franchise, but it would not admit them to parliament; under these circumstances the Catholic franchise was a mere mockery, and the Catholic gentry felt little sympathy with the cause of national independence.

(*e*) *The United Irishmen and the Union.* — It was, however, the French Revolution which gave the first shock to the settlement of 1783. The Irish received the doctrines of Rousseau and Paine with the same enthusiasm which they had shown for the preaching of the Counter-Reformation. The United Irishmen, a society controlled by Wolfe Tone, Napper Tandy, Emmett, and Fitzgerald, which had originally contented itself with demanding parliamentary reform and a full measure of Catholic emancipation, turned for help to the French government. The leaders were Protestants or rationalists, but they were joined by a large proportion of discontented Catholics; and in 1798, having received promises of a French invasion, they raised the standard of revolt in Ulster and Leinster. The Protestants, however, rallied to the cause of the government. The largest force collected by the rebels was routed at Vinegar Hill, near Enniscorthy; the French force arrived too late, and though it landed in Connaught and gained one victory, was soon forced to surrender for lack of support.

The rebellion proved that the Protestant ascendancy had failed to conciliate the Catholics. Pitt believed, rightly or wrongly, that Catholic emancipation would never be completed by an unreformed Irish parliament, and resolved to prepare the way for removing all religious disabilities by fusing the Irish legislature with that of Great Britain. No doubt the impracticable behaviour of the Irish leaders in their dealings with England made him more inclined to accept this solution. The nightmare of an independent Ireland declaring war upon England had haunted the minds of Englishmen for the last eighteen years. To an unbiassed critic it may seem that the same methods of persuasion which sufficed to procure the act of union might equally well have procured measures for Irish parliamentary reform and Catholic emancipation. Inevitable or not, the act of union was

COPY OF THE LETTER OVERLEAF

Two days before the battle of Trafalgar, Lord Nelson, Duke of Bronte, began a letter to Emma, Lady Hamilton. The next day he was only able to add a postscript. The letter was found thus incomplete after the battle which brought victory and death to Nelson, and was sent to Lady Hamilton by Captain Hardy.

[Victory, Octr. 19th, 1805.
Noon, Cadiz, E. S. E. 16 Leagues.

My dearest beloved Emma, the dear friend of my bosom, the signal has been made that the Enemys combined fleet are coming out of Port. We have very little wind, so that I have hopes of seeing them before tomorrow. May the God of Battles crown my endeavours with success. At all events I will take care that my name shall be ever most dear to you an Horatia, both of whom I love as much as my own life; and as my last writing before the battle will be to you, so I hope in God that I shall live to finish my letter after the] Battle. May Heaven bless you, prays your

NELSON AND BRONTE.

Octr. 20th: in the morning we were close to the mouth of the streights, but the wind had not come far enough to the westward to allow the combined fleets to weather the shoals off Trafalgar; but they were counted as far as forty sail of ships of war, which I suppose to be 34 of the line and six frigates. A group of them was seen off the Lighthouse of Cadiz this morning, but it blows so very fresh and thick weather that I rather believe they will go into the Harbour before night. May God Almighty give us success over these fellows and enable us to get a Peace.

This letter was found open on His Desk and brought to Lady Hamilton by

Captain Hardy

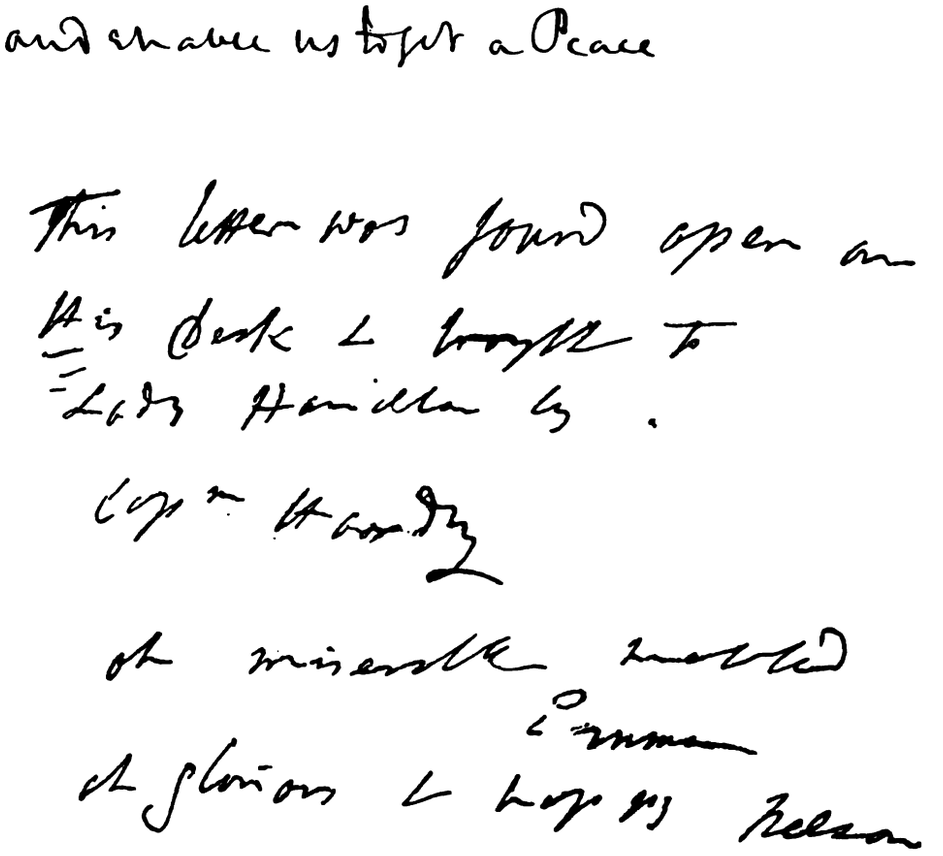
Oh miserable wretched Emma.
Oh glorious and happy Nelson.

(From the first series of "Facsimiles of Royal, Historical, Literary, and other Autographs in the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum," edited by Edward J. L. Scott)

Battle, may Heaven bless you prays
Your Nelson & Bronte. Octr. 20th. in the
morning we were close to the mouth of the
Straights but the Wind had not come far
enough to the Westward to allow the Combined
fleets to weather the Shoals off Traflagar but
they were counted as far as forty Sail of Ships
of War which I suppose to be 34 of the Line
and Six frigates, a Group of them was
seen off the Lighthouse of Cadiz this Morn^g.
but it blows so very fresh I think Weather
that I rather believe they will go into
the Harbour before night, Mary God
almighty give us success over these fellows

NELSON'S LAST LETTER TO EMMA, LADY HAMILTON, ON OCTOB

(Original in the British Museum, Eg



OBER 19 AND 20, 1805, BEFORE THE BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR

, Egerton MSS. 1614, f. 125)

framed, and it passed the Irish parliament in 1800, amidst eloquent protests from every independent member in both houses. It gave Ireland a hundred seats in the United House of Commons and thirty-two in the House of Lords; established absolute free trade between the two countries, and fixed the Irish contribution to the revenue of the United Kingdom at two-fifteenths. It left the Irish judicature and executive untouched, but united the Irish Church and army to those of England.

The promise of Catholic emancipation remained a dead letter till 1829. George III refused to hear of any measure of relief, and Pitt accordingly retired from office. He did not return until 1804, when the country was again at war with France. He then gave up the Catholic cause on the ground that a revival of the question would be fatal to the old king's unsettled reason. The circumstances were peculiar, and historians have hesitated to accuse Pitt of bad faith. The fact remains that he missed a golden opportunity of reconciling the Irish Catholics to the union.

G. The Struggle with Napoleon (1803–1815)

(*a*) *The Last Years of Pitt.* — The peace of Amiens was a mere armistice, which Bonaparte had no intention of observing. He declined to withdraw his armies from Holland and Italy; he occupied Switzerland on the pretext of mediating in a civil war; he refused to offer England any satisfaction or compensation for these breaches of faith. England on her part refused to surrender Malta, as she had promised at Amiens, until the First Consul fulfilled his part of the treaty. Malta was of vital importance in case of war with France. The Cape was in French hands; the only safe route to India lay therefore through the Mediterranean. The struggle with France was assuming the same character as the wars of 1740–1763; in the future little was to be heard of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, but much of sea-power, colonies, and commerce.

War was declared by England in May, 1803. The challenge was answered by an embargo on English shipping, and preparations for a descent upon England. A flotilla was prepared with this object at Boulogne; the combined French and Spanish fleets were instructed to draw the British admirals off to the West Indies, and then, giving them the slip, to return and cover the invasion. Nelson fell into the trap, but Calder met the returning fleet of Villeneuve at Finisterre and won a victory, which gave Nelson time to return from his chase and refit his ships. In October, 1805, Nelson met Villeneuve off Cape Trafalgar and won a crowning victory. More than half the French fleet were put out of action, and Villeneuve was taken prisoner. The victory cost Nelson's life, but it removed the fear of invasion; the prodigious successes of Napoleon on land brought him no nearer to his ultimate ambition of reducing England and appropriating her empire.

(*b*) *The New Tory Party.* — Pitt died in 1806, prematurely worn out by his exertions and heart-broken at the apparent failure of his policy. His loss was inestimable, for he had been the soul of each successive coalition against France, and had maintained an unshaken hold upon the confidence of the nation. The Ministry of All the Talents (1806–1807) which succeeded him failed to secure a peace, and resigned because the king refused to hear of Catholic emancipation.

George III was driven to fall back on the support of the Tories, and it was this party which finally brought the war to a successful conclusion. They remained in power for twenty-three years. They saved England from Napoleon, and afterwards came near to involving her in a civil war. They provided her with a Wellington and a Canning; but they also saddled her with a Liverpool, a Castlereagh, and an Eldon. It was the greatest of England's misfortunes in the war that the prestige of victory fell to the share of reactionaries who were disposed to make their services a plea for checking all reforms.

In their conduct of the war the Tories showed little insight or originality. Subsidies and small expeditions were their favourite devices, while Napoleon was doing his best to strangle British trade by the Decrees of Berlin (1806) and Milan (1807), declaring a blockade of the English islands, and condemning all British goods as contraband of war. But the Spanish insurrection of 1808 supplied an opportunity of adequate retaliation which Arthur Wellesley immediately realised, although the government by which he had been despatched was slow to adopt his view of the situation. During the years 1808–13 the Spanish insurrection, supported by the armies of England, weakened Napoleon by compelling him to send the best of his troops and of his marshals to support the throne of his brother Joseph. By the Convention of Cintra Wellesley secured possession of Portugal (1808), and remained, usually on the defensive, behind the lines of Torres Vedras, a perpetual menace to the Bonapartist dynasty. In 1813, while Napoleon, fresh from the disastrous campaign of Russia, was engaged in a desperate struggle with the German powers and their allies, the English were driving his lieutenants step by step from Spain. As Napoleon fell back upon Paris, Wellington advanced through the passes of the Pyrenees, never able to gain a decisive advantage over Soult, but pushing him steadily northward to Toulouse. England played a secondary but still an honourable part in this great conflict of the nations. If the peace of Paris followed from the successes of her allies she could still boast that she had set them the example of resistance; that she had been the first of the great powers to accept the idea of nationality as the justification of the war; and that she had produced in Moore, the hero of Corunna, and in Wellesley the first generals who proved that the French were not invincible on land.

(*c*) *The Hundred Days, 1815.* — The master-spirit on the side of England had been Sir Arthur Wellesley (from 1809 Lord Wellington), who had carried the Peninsular design to a successful conclusion in the face of many misgivings in the Tory cabinet. His position during the Hundred Days is even more commanding. Only the English and Prussian armies were in the field, and Napoleon's position would have been a strong one if he could have routed them. A long time would elapse before the armies of the eastern powers could be concentrated in force upon the French frontier; and in this interval, with the advantage of initial success, the emperor would probably have regained his personal ascendancy over France. In strategy the emperor was more than a match for both Wellington and Blücher. He succeeded in separating the allied armies, and hoped, not without reason, to dispose completely of the English on the field of Waterloo (January 18, 1815). Had he done so the Prussians could not have escaped. But Wellington, in a hand to hand fight against numbers equal to his own, and in great part of superior quality, held his ground successfully, until he was relieved by Blücher's

advance. The honours of the victory must be equally divided between the English and the Prussians. The former took the brunt of the fighting, but their position would have been most hazardous if Blücher had not made his audacious march on Wavre. As Wellington staked everything on the timely arrival of Blücher, so Blücher showed his confidence in Wellington by taking a resolve which the failure of the English would have made ruinous.

(*d*) *England at the Close of the War.* — England emerged from the Napoleonic wars oppressed by a debt of eight hundred millions, and with a credit which had been strained to the utmost. It was necessary for the Bank of England to suspend cash payments as early as 1797; its bank-notes could not be made convertible again until 1819. Taxation had been intolerably severe, and pauperism had assumed appalling dimensions. But from the economic point of view there had been compensations. English trade developed in spite of the Continental System; it is a well-known fact that the armies of Napoleon were largely fed and clothed with English exports. The Berlin and Milan decrees could only be defeated by a costly process of smuggling, but the expenses of the trade were defrayed by the continental consumer; and the wars resulted in no inconsiderable additions to the empire. At the final settlement of 1815 England retained Malta as an advanced post in the Mediterranean and a half-way station to the Isthmus of Suez. She also kept Ceylon; and she acquired a legal title to the Cape of Good Hope and to Mauritius, two colonies which she had seized in 1806 and 1810. In the western hemisphere she kept Trinidad, Dutch (henceforth British) Guiana, Tobago, and St. Lucia. The Indian acquisitions of the period, although they did not come under the notice of the congresses of Paris and Vienna, may be regarded as in a sense the fruits of the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. The Mysore war of 1799, which established the British supremacy over the southern extremity of the peninsula, and the Mahratta war (1803–1804), which led to a great augmentation of territory and influence in the centre and northwest, were both the outcome of French intrigues. In 1815 there could be no doubt that it was the destiny of England to predominate in India (Vol. II, pp. 472–6).

Such, then, were the gains of the Napoleonic period. But years were to elapse before their value was adequately realised. The peace of 1815 was followed by a period of commercial depression and bad harvests; by agitation against the restraints which the Tory government had thought fit to impose, with parliamentary sanction, upon individual liberty; and by the perplexities arising from political and social evils which were deeply routed in the past, but which had assumed a more serious aspect during twenty years of strain and stress.

H. Reaction and Reform (1815–1846)

(*a*) *The Period of Tory Reaction (1815–1828).* — The English representatives, greatly to the national credit, declined to join the Holy Alliance of the great powers which was formed at Vienna in 1815 for the repression of liberal principles, and the foreign policy of the Tories was marked by a strong sympathy for the principles of liberty and nationality. But this was due to the influence of the moderates, Peel, Canning, Huskisson, and Palmerston, who joined the Cabinet in 1822. The

extreme Tories sympathised with the aims of the Holy Alliance, and had resolved under no circumstances to impede its efforts. The refusal of England to assist in bolstering up the Spanish dynasty; her consent to recognise the independence of the Spanish colonies and Brazil (Vol. I, p. 511); her defence of Portugal against the forces of Dom Miguel, the absolutist pretender, and Ferdinand VII of Spain; her intervention to save Greece from the Sultan and Mehemet Ali, — all these generous actions were the work of Canning, and would never have been sanctioned by Castlereagh, his predecessor at the Foreign Office. In domestic policy the spirit of reaction reigned supreme. During the years 1815 to 1822 class interests and the morbid fear of revolution were responsible for a series of repressive enactments which were so unreasonably severe that they increased the popular sympathy for the principles against which they were directed. After 1822 came the period in which the extreme Tories gave way tardily and with the worst of graces.

The peace was inaugurated with a new corn law, framed in the interests of the landowning classes, from which both houses of parliament were chiefly recruited. This prohibited the importation of foreign corn until the price of 80*s.* a quarter should be reached; that is, until the poorer classes should be reduced to a state of famine. The statutory price before this date had been merely 48*s.* The change was naturally followed in many places by bread riots and incendiarism. The government replied by calling out the soldiery and framing coercive measures. In 1819 a mass meeting which had assembled in St. Peter's Field at Manchester was broken up with considerable bloodshed; parliament, which had already suspended the Habeas Corpus, proceeded to pass the Six Acts giving the executive exceptional powers to break up seditious meetings and to punish the authors of seditious libels. The powers thus obtained were stretched to their utmost limits, on the pretext that such hare-brained schemes as the Cato Street Conspiracy (1820) constituted a serious menace to public order. It was not until 1823 that the Cabinet consented to attack the root of social disorders by making some reductions in the tariff. It began by concessions to the mercantile classes, whose prospects were seriously affected by the heavy duties upon raw materials, and to the consumers of various manufactured commodities (such as linen, silk, and cotton stuffs) upon which prohibitive duties had been imposed in the interests of British industry. But in the all-important question of the corn laws, affecting the poor rather than the middle classes, the Tories would only concede a compromise, the sliding-scale duty of 1829. The demand of the chief commercial centres for the repeal of the Navigation Laws was met by an act providing that the ships of any foreign power should be allowed free access to British ports if that power would grant a reciprocity; the Combination Acts, framed to make trades unions illegal, were repealed; considerable amendments were introduced into the criminal law. But to several reforms of paramount necessity the ministers showed themselves obstinately averse. They would not repeal the disabling laws which still remained in force against the Catholics, although three-fourths of the Irish nation were calling for this act of justice. They would do nothing to reform the House of Commons. They would not deprive the landowning classes of the profits which the corn duties afforded.

(*b*) *Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform.* — It was now that the nation discovered the use which could be made of two rights which it had long

possessed. Freedom of speech on political matters was guaranteed by Fox's Libel (1792) Act, which left to the jury the full power of deciding what constituted legitimate criticism of the administration. Freedom of association and public meeting existed, independently of special enactments, under the protection of the common law. These weapons were used with extraordinary skill by O'Connell, the leader of the Irish Catholics. The Catholic Association, formed in 1823, learned from him the art of intimidating without illegality by means of monster meetings. Proclaimed as an illegal body in 1825, the association contrived to continue its existence in the guise of a philanthropic society. At the Clare election in 1828 O'Connell, although a Catholic, and therefore disqualified, was returned by an overwhelming majority. Peel persuaded his colleagues that the time had come when emancipation must be granted. Bills for that purpose were accordingly passed and submitted for the royal assent. This afforded George IV, who had succeeded his father in 1820, an opportunity of asserting himself for once in a matter of national concern. A prodigal and a voluptuary, who had systematically sacrificed honour and decency to his pleasures and had broken his father's heart by his want of shame and filial piety, he now declared that nothing could induce him to accept a measure which that father had rejected. After long expostulations he broke this vow, as he had broken every other, and Catholic emancipation was finally recorded on the statute-book.

George IV died in 1830. He was succeeded by his brother, the Duke of Kent, under the title of William IV; a more respectable character than "the first gentleman in Europe," but a politician of poor abilities, great tactlessness, and greater obstinacy. In their resistance to the next popular agitation the Tories found him a valuable ally. The triumph of the Irish Catholics was followed by a revival, in England, of the cry for parliamentary reform, and to this purpose the tactics of O'Connell were steadily applied by the Liberals of the great manufacturing centres.

The energy with which the Whigs pushed their attack is explained by their conviction that the defects of the representative system constituted the main obstacles to social, political, and fiscal reforms of the utmost weight and urgency. The House of Commons no longer expressed the opinions of the country. The most enlightened, industrious, and prosperous portion of the community were either unrepresented or ludicrously under-represented. Since the time of Charles II no new constituencies had been created, and of the boroughs which had received representation under the Tudors and the Stuarts, the greater part owed their privilege to the Crown's expectation that their elections could always be controlled. Many boroughs which formerly deserved to be represented had fallen, through the decay of their fortunes or through an excessive limitation of the franchise, under the control of the great territorial families. Close boroughs were so completely an article of commerce that the younger Pitt, when he proposed a measure of parliamentary reform, felt himself bound to offer the patrons a pecuniary compensation. It was by means of "pocket" boroughs that the Whigs had held the first two Hanoverians in bondage, and that George III had maintained his personal ascendancy for twenty years. In 1793 it was computed that three hundred and seven members of parliament were returned by private patrons. Matters had improved in the last forty years; but still on the eve of the reform legislation two hundred and seventy-six seats were private property. Three-fourths of these

belonged to members of the Tory aristocracy. The state of the county representation was somewhat better. But the smallest shires returned as many members as the largest, with the solitary exception that Yorkshire, since 1821, returned four members in place of the usual two. The county franchise was limited, by a law of 1430, to freeholders, and the owners of large estates had established their right to plural or "faggot" votes.

The reforms which this state of things demanded were, first, a redistribution of seats, and, secondly, the establishment of a uniform franchise of a more liberal character than any which had hitherto been created by statute or custom. The king and the Duke of Wellington refused at first to believe that any change was either desirable or necessary. But they were compelled in 1830 to admit that it was necessary; and Lord Grey was permitted to construct a reform cabinet of Whigs and moderate Tories. Their bills passed the House of Commons without difficulty, receiving the votes of many members whose seats were known to be doomed by its provisions. The House of Lords, encouraged by the king, endeavoured to obstruct the measure, which they dared not openly oppose. But a new agitation, threatening the very existence of the Upper House, at once arose. The duke, with greater wisdom than his royal master, realised that further resistance was out of the question, and induced the Lords to give way (June, 1832).

The Reform Bill of 1832 fell far short of the democratic ideal which the English admirers of the French Revolution had kept in view. Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832), the greatest of those writers and thinkers who prepared the minds of men for practical reform, was of opinion that the doctrine of natural equality ought to be the first principle of every constitution; but the followers of Lord Grey contented themselves with giving political power to the middle classes. This work has since been supplemented by the legislation of 1867, 1884, and 1885; yet even at the present day the doctrine of manhood suffrage is unknown in English law. Still less were the first reformers inclined to map out the country in new electoral districts of equal size. They enlarged the representation of some counties. They suppressed or partially disfranchised eighty-six decayed boroughs. They gave representatives to forty-two of the new boroughs. But they kept intact the old distinction between county and borough, and sedulously avoided the subdivision or amalgamation of constituencies which possessed organic unity and historical traditions. In this and other respects the later reform bills have been more drastic. That of 1867 abandoned the principle, which had been steadily maintained in 1832, that the franchise should be limited to those who paid direct taxes in one form or another. That of 1885 endeavoured to equalise constituencies in respect of population; in order to attain this end, counties and boroughs were broken up into divisions, without respect for past traditions. Such legislation is necessarily of a temporary character, since no measure of redistribution can be expected to satisfy the principle of equality for more than a few years. And this is not the least important consequence of the legislative change which the nineteenth century effected in the constitution of parliament. The Lower House in becoming democratic has ceased to represent a fixed number of communities with fixed interests and characteristics.

(*c*) *The Era of Legislative Reform.* — The reformed parliament was not long in justifying the hopes which had been formed of it. Those indeed who had ex-

pected that the members returned under the new system would all be Whigs or democrats soon found reason to revise their judgment. This is not the only occasion in English history on which it has been proved that aversion to ill-considered change is a fundamental trait in the national character. The Tories, although for a moment under a cloud, soon recovered their spirits and a certain measure of influence in the country. Under the leadership of Peel they adopted the new name of Conservatives, and shook off the instinct of dogged and unreasoning obstruction. Peel was unable to procure a majority in the House of Commons when first invited by the king to form a ministry, and accordingly left to Melbourne and the Whigs (1835) to carry on the government. But political opinion was swinging round to his side; he obtained a majority in 1841. So far the unforeseen had happened. On the other hand, the work of remedial legislation proceeded with vigor whether the Whigs were in or out of office. In fact both parties had become possessed by the idea that their main business was to devise and carry sweeping measures. Legislation was regarded as the worthiest function of a sovereign assembly; it seemed as though there could never be too much of legislation. Experience has brought with it a decline of faith in the panacea. But it must be admitted that for at least twenty years the new parliament had necessary work to perform in the way of legislation, and performed it with admirable skill. A few of the more important measures may be mentioned.

(*d*) *The Abolition of Slavery.*—The Emancipation Act of 1833 completed a work of philanthropy which had been commenced in 1807. The Ministry of All the Talents had abolished the slave trade. The new act emancipated all the slaves who were still to be found in British colonies, and awarded the owners the sum of twenty millions as a compensation. Costly as the measure was for the mother country, it was still more costly for the colonies. The sugar industry of the West Indies had been built up with the help of slave labour. The planters lost heavily through being compelled to emancipate the slave for a sum which was much less than his market value, and the black population showed a strong disinclination to become labourers for hire. This was particularly the case in the larger islands, where land was abundant and a squatter could obtain a sustenance with little or no labour. The prosperity of Jamaica was destroyed, and the West Indies as a whole have never been prosperous since 1834. Free trade completed their ruin, since they had only maintained the sugar trade with the help of the preferential treatment which they received from England. The basis of their former wealth was wholly artificial; and it is unlikely that slavery and protection will ever be restored for their benefit; but it may be regretted that the necessary and salutary reforms of which they have been the victims could not have been more gradually applied in their case.

(*e*) *Poor-law Reform.* — For the new Poor Law of 1834 there can be nothing but praise. It ended a system which for more than a generation had been a national curse, demoralising the labourer, encouraging improvidence and immorality, taxing all classes for the benefit of the small farmer and employer whom the misplaced philanthropy of the legislature had enabled to cut down wages below the margin of subsistence. Up to the year 1795 the English Poor Law had been, save for one serious defect, sound in principle. The defect was the Law

of Settlement, first laid down by an act of 1662, which enabled the local authorities to prevent the migration of labour from one parish to another, unless security could be given that the immigrant would not become a charge upon the poor rate. The result of this law had been to stereotype local inequalities in the rate of wages and to take from the labourer the chief means of bettering his position. It was mitigated in 1795 to the extent that the labourer could be no longer sent back until he actually became a charge upon the rates. But about the same time the justices of the peace began the practice of giving poor-relief in aid of wages, and of making relief proportionate to the size of the applicant's family. This practice was confirmed by the Speenhamland Act of 1796. The legislature acted thus in part from motives of philanthropy, in part under the belief that the increase of population was in every way to be encouraged. The act was at once followed by a drop in the rate of agricultural wages and a portentous increase of poor-rates. In 1783 poor-relief cost the country about two millions; by 1817 this sum had been quadrupled. The evils of the new system were augmented by the absence of any central authority possessing power to enforce uniform principles and methods of relief. The proposal to introduce such an authority, and in other respects to revive the leading ideas of the Elizabethan Poor Law, was made by a royal commission after the most careful investigations. The new Poor Law (1834) embodied the principal suggestions of the commissioners. It provided that the workhouse test should be once more rigidly applied to all able-bodied paupers; that parishes should be grouped in Poor-law unions; that each parish should contribute to the expenditure of the union in proportion to the numbers of its paupers; and that a central board should be appointed to control the system. The new Poor Law is still in force, so far as its main principles of administration are concerned. But there have been changes in the constitution of the central authority (by Acts of 1847, 1871, and 1894). The Poor-law Board has been merged in the Local Government Board; and the Boards of Guardians, which control the local distribution of relief, are now democratic bodies, whereas under the original act the justices of the peace were ex-officio members.

The Poor-law Act was followed by others for the reform of municipal government (1835), of the Irish tithe system (1838), and for the introduction of the penny post (1839). The new Poor Law and the new municipal system were also applied to Ireland by special legislation. But larger questions slumbered until the formation of great political societies forced them upon the unwilling attention of ministers and the two houses.

(*f*) *Chartism.* — The period 1840–1850 was peculiarly favourable to the democratic agitator. The Reform Whigs had maintained themselves in power till the death of William IV. But their majority was small, and their chief leader, Melbourne, an indolent opportunist. He kept his place in the early years of Queen Victoria chiefly through the favour of the young queen. The Conservatives, impatient for a return to power, were disposed to bid against the Whigs for popular favour. Neither party desired extreme reform. Lord John Russell expressed the general sentiment when he stated his conviction that the Reform Bill had been the final step in the direction of democracy. But neither party was strong enough to resist external pressure. The rise of the Chartist organisation (1838)

seemed likely, therefore, to produce sweeping changes. It was recruited from the labouring classes and animated by hostility to capital. It proposed the establishment of radical democracy as a panacea for the wrongs of workmen. The five points of the people's charter were manhood suffrage, voting by ballot, annual parliaments, payment of members, and the abolition of the property qualification for membership. These demands were supported in the House of Commons by the philosophic radicals, among whom Grote the historian was the most conspicuous, while in Feargus O'Connor the Chartists possessed a popular orator of no mean order. The House of Commons refused to consider the first petition of the Chartists (1839). The refusal was, however, followed by riots in various localities; and a second attempt was made to move parliament in 1842, when the Conservatives under Peel had wrested power from the Whigs. But the new ministers were no more pliable than the old; and a series of prosecutions against prominent Chartists forced the movement to assume a subterranean character. Its influence was felt not only in England but in Wales, where it contributed to produce the Rebecca Riots (1843). But the next occasion on which Chartism invaded the capital was in 1848, the year of revolutions. It was announced that half a million of Chartists would assemble at a given place on April 10 and march in procession to lay their demands before the House of Commons. The danger seemed great; extensive military preparations were made under the old Duke of Wellington, and the authorities announced on the appointed day that they would use force, if necessary, to check the march of the procession. The Chartist leaders were cowed, and contented themselves with submitting their petition for the third time. A large number of the signatures, which had been estimated at five millions, turned out to be fictitious; and amidst the ridicule excited by this discovery the Charter and Chartists slipped into oblivion.

(*g*) *The Repeal of the Corn Laws.* — In fact the only democracy which England would as yet accept was a democracy of the middle classes, and no movement which failed to promote the interests of the middle classes had any prospect of success. The rule of the middle classes was by no means oppressive. They allowed the formation of trades unions; and consented, albeit tardily and with misgiving, to Factory Acts (1844–1847), limiting the hours of labour for women, children, and young persons. But parliament and the electorate attached an excessive importance to the interests of capital. Free trade, the greatest benefit which the nineteenth century conferred upon the working classes, carried the day, because it reduced the wages bill of the capitalist.

The Anti-Corn-Law League, first formed in 1838, owed its existence to a serious depression of the manufacturing industries. Cobden, Bright, and others of the leading organisers were philanthropists who saw the iniquity of artificially maintaining the price of food when wages were low and employment uncertain. They recruited their supporters to a great extent among the starving operatives of the North and Midlands. But the funds for the free-trade campaign were largely supplied by manufacturers. There was no thought of giving to the masses the franchise as a means of self-protection. Accordingly the extreme Chartists hated the free traders, and openly opposed their propaganda, on the ground that the charter would secure to the people all, and more than all, that was hoped from the repeal of the Corn Laws. The class character of the free-trade agita-

tion was therefore in the beginning a source of weakness. But the movement, as being identified with the middle classes, received a more favourable consideration from the Conservatives than would have been the case if it had been connected with the political opinions of the Chartists. Peel withstood the league as long as possible, and Peel's followers would doubtless have welcomed any pretext for repressing it as an illegal association. But when it became evident that the league was content with converting the electorate, and would sweep the country at the next general election, then both political parties made haste to renounce the cause of the landed interest. The Whigs led the way. But Peel remained in power, and the credit of repealing the Corn Laws fell to his lot.

(*h*) *The Gladstonian Budgets.* — The Act of 1846 conceded the principle of free trade. But many restrictions remained to be abolished, and each step towards the completion of Peel's work was vigorously resisted. A great point was gained when the Navigation Laws were repealed four years later. But it was left for Gladstone to put the entire fiscal system of the country on a free-trade basis. The main principles of the great budgets of 1853 and 1860, in which he embodied his reforms, consisted in diminishing the number of customs duties, freeing necessaries from taxation, retaining no duty except for purposes of revenue, and keeping all duties down to such a point that they might not operate to produce a material decrease of demand for the dutiable commodity. At the present time the greater part of the customs revenue is derived from four commodities, — tea, tobacco, wines, and spirits. Enormous as is the sum yielded by these four, it is wholly inadequate for the expenses of the modern English government; and free trade is only possible because of the increase which Peel and Gladstone effected in direct taxation. Peel introduced the income tax in 1843 as a corollary to certain measures in the direction of free trade. He spoke of the tax as a temporary expedient, but every simplification of the tariff made it more difficult to give the propertied classes the promised relief. Gladstone in 1853, while deprecating the perpetuation of the tax, made it an essential feature of his budget, and in later years treated it as a source of revenue which might be sparingly used in quiet times, but should always be used to some extent.

I. The Party System and Party Conflicts (1846–1905)

(*a*) *Modern Parties.* — The stages of English history are no longer measured by reigns but by ministries; and since the failure of George III to revive the system of personal government, it has been the general rule for English politicians to group themselves in two great parties, which alternately assume the rôles of government and opposition. The names of these parties, and the points of issue between them, have varied from time to time. Before the Reform Bill they were called the Whig and Tory parties; later the Tories signified their readiness for moderate reform by adopting the name of Conservatives. The name of Whig acquired at the same time a limited significance, denoting those who, like Lord John Russell, believed that the first reform bill was the utmost concession which could be made to the democratic principle. The advocates of further reform adopted the name of Liberal; and this name gradually came into use as a

general title for the second of the great parties, the Whigs and Radicals forming groups within the party. Since then particular questions of special moment have produced new names and numerous transferences of allegiance. In the eighties Gladstone's conversion to home rule produced a Unionist party, which was joined by many Liberals; and from 1886 to 1895 the Irish question was the touchstone. The South African disturbances of 1895–1902 produced another test; the two houses and the nation divided into Imperialists and Little Englanders. The proposals of Mr. Chamberlain for a colonial zollverein have now made fiscal policy the paramount question of the hour; and the battle of the immediate future will be between Free Traders and Protectionists.

Through all these changes, however, the names of Liberal, Radical, Tory, and Conservative have survived. In their original sense they are no longer applicable. The Liberal of to-day is the true Conservative; the innovators are the political heirs of Peel and Beaconsfield. Yet from a less superficial point of view each of the two great parties has a continuous existence and a distinctive character. The Whigs, Liberals, Radicals, Home Rulers, Little Englanders, Free Traders represent a school of thought which attaches more importance to internal reforms than to internal or colonial policy, which believes that England is best governed when she is least involved in foreign alliances and distant responsibilities. The other party, under whatever name it may appear, is in favour of promoting domestic prosperity by colonial expansion and a vigorous foreign policy. But the antithesis between the parties is softened by the national habit of compromise and the necessity, in a democratic country, of conciliating the electorate. The party of domestic reform has realised since 1885 that it cannot safely neglect foreign policy or ignore the colonies. The advocates of expansion have been responsible for some important social legislation.

(*b*) *The Principles of the Great Parties.* — The domestic reforms of the last sixty years are therefore not the peculiar property of Liberalism. But it would be a mistake to suppose that the reforms of Liberalism and Conservatism are conceived in entirely the same spirit. The one party has worked on the lines laid down by Bentham, Grote, and Mill. The other has been frankly opportunist; it has conceded what the electorate required as the price of a free hand in the sphere of external relations. Disraeli's Reform Bill of 1867 is a good example of Conservative legislation; Gladstone's Franchise Bill of 1884 may be instanced as a typical Liberal measure. Again, Liberalism has always been distinguished by the possession of a large following among the mercantile and middle classes; while Conservatism has appealed to a lower stratum. Free trade was the crowning triumph of Liberal principles; free education (1891) and workmen's compensation (1897) are characteristic Conservative achievements. Finally one marked tendency of Liberalism has been to fight for the principle of equality as between citizen and citizen; hence Liberals have attacked the House of Lords, the principle of church endowments, plural voting, and so forth. The Conservatives are more busy in protecting old institutions, and in creating new organs for the expression of the will of the community. They have therefore identified themselves with the House of Lords and the Anglican Church; they have created county and district councils, the Board of Education, the Committee of Imperial Defence.

(c) *Party Leaders, Gladstone and Disraeli.* — It is plain, however, that the exact difference between the parties cannot be stated in a simple formula. At every general election the country has to choose between two complicated and overlapping programmes. Sometimes the problem is simplified by the emphasis which circumstances give to a particular proposal on one side or the other. But since the enfranchisement of the labouring classes there is an increasing tendency to make a general election a personal conflict between two well-known leaders. Some questions, that of the colonies, for instance, or that of fiscal policy, are still debated in the abstract. But even when such questions are on foot the personality of the competitors is a factor of no small moment. Peel is perhaps the last great example of a party leader who looked to the House of Commons as his main support. Palmerston, Disraeli, Gladstone, to name no later instances, habitually faced the legislature in the attitude of leaders of the people.

In the politics of the last fifty years the most commending figures have been those of Gladstone and Disraeli. The former was originally a Tory, afterwards a Peelite, and finally leader of the Liberal party. Disraeli, at first a follower of Peel, broke with his chief on the question of the Corn Laws, and henceforth acted as a thorough-going Conservative. The reputation of Gladstone, which depended mainly upon his mastery of finance and his enthusiasm for social reform, was established earlier than that of his great rival. Gladstone leaped into prominence with his budget of 1853, the first of a brilliant series of financial programmes by which he reorganised the national system of taxation. Disraeli, before 1867, was only known as an able debater and parliamentary tactician who had never displayed constructive ability. His Reform Bill of that year, however, proved that he possessed some of the qualities necessary to a popular leader; and during Lord Derby's administration (1866–1868), in which he was the leading spirit he made a bid for the favour of the masses by appealing to the imperialist sentiment. Thenceforth the two leaders, Gladstone and Disraeli, stood in the popular mind for reform and imperialism respectively. Gladstone had the opportunities afforded by two long administrations (1868–1874 and 1880–1885) for developing his schemes. Disraeli only once reached the coveted position of prime minister; but he then held office for over six years, and found ample opportunities for putting into practice his views respecting Egypt, the Eastern question, and India. The results of his foreign policy will be seen in the next section. For the inner history of England the most important of Gladstone's ministries is without doubt that of 1868–1874, during which the Liberals disestablished the Irish Church, took the first steps towards settling the Irish land question, reorganised the army on the lines suggested by Mr. Cardwell, abolished the purchase system, introduced the ballot, and regulated the retail trade in alcohol. In his second administration Gladstone was hampered by the growth of a new Irish problem, that of Home Rule, and by difficulties in Egypt and South Africa. Discredited by the disastrous results of his foreign policy, he threw all his remaining energies into the Irish question. In his third and fourth administrations (1886 and 1892–1894) he endeavoured to secure a majority for proposals of home rule. But he merely succeeded in dividing the Liberal party; and since 1886 the Liberals have only been in power for one short period (1892–1895).[1] The death of Gladstone (1898) left Lord Salisbury before the public as the only statesman whose record

[1] Written in 1905.

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FOUR ENGLISH STATESMEN

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FOUR ENGLISH STATESMEN

1. BURKE, EDMUND.—Born at Dublin in 1729; the son of a Protestant attorney. Studied at Trinity College, Dublin (1743–8); in 1765 became private secretary to Lord Rockingham, First Lord of the Treasury; in 1770 published his "Thoughts on the Present Discontents"; in 1774 began his series of speeches on the differences with the American colonies; in 1782 joined the second Rockingham Ministry as Paymaster of the Forces, and introduced his scheme of economical reform. He resigned on Rockingham's death (1782), but returned to office for a short time in 1783; when he prepared the draft of Fox's East India Bill. In 1785 commenced his attacks on the Indian administration of Warren Hastings. In 1789 published his "Reflections on the Revolution in France"; in 1796 his "Letters on a Regicide Peace." Died July 9, 1797.

2. PALMERSTON.—Henry John Temple, Viscount Palmerston, born in 1784; entered the House of Commons in 1807; Secretary for War from 1809 to 1828; Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs from 1830 to 1834, from 1835 to 1841, and from 1848 to 1851. In 1852 joined Aberdeen's coalition government as Home Secretary; was largely responsible for the invasion of the Crimea in 1854. In February 1855, was called upon to form a Cabinet; remained in office until 1859; returned to power in June 1859; died in office October 18, 1865.

3. GLADSTONE.—William Ewart Gladstone, born in 1809, educated at Eton and Oxford; entered Parliament in 1832; became a Junior Lord of the Treasury under Peel in 1834; Under-Secretary for War and the Colonies in 1835, but went out with his colleagues in the same year. Became Vice-President of the Board of Trade in 1841; President in 1843; was Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1845–6; Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1853 to 1855, and from 1859 to 1866. First invited to form a Cabinet in 1868, and held office till 1874. Again Prime Minister 1880–5, 1886, and 1892–4. Died May 19, 1897.

4. DISRAELI.—Benjamin Disraeli, first Earl of Beaconsfield, born 1804, entered the House of Commons in 1837; became leader of the Tories in the House of Commons, 1848; Chancellor of the Exchequer for a short time in 1852, and again in 1858–9. Joined the Derby Ministry, 1866; became Prime Minister in succession to Lord Derby 1867, but only for a few months. Again Prime Minister 1874–1880. Died April 19, 1881.

and character commanded general confidence. The leader of the Conservative party since 1881 (the year of Disraeli's death), Lord Salisbury followed, in a more cautious spirit, the lines indicated by his old chief and master, and the general success of his foreign policy entitles him to rank among the representative statesmen of the century. But until the South African war brought Mr. Chamberlain into the foreground, the Conservative-Unionist coalition remained without any leader who could fire the popular imagination. For good or evil, Mr. Chamberlain stepped into a position not much less influential than that which twenty or thirty years ago was alternately occupied by Disraeli and Gladstone.

(*d*) *Queen Victoria.* — A word, however, must be said of one political personality whose influence lay outside the sphere of party politics. Queen Victoria, who during her husband's lifetime was never so popular as she deserved to be, held in the latter years of her reign an unprecedented position as the symbol of imperial unity. The Jubilees of 1887 and 1897 were celebrated with imposing spectacles, which exhibited in a concrete form the interest taken by the colonies in the mother country. These tokens of loyalty and affection were, in part at least, a homage to her personality. The time has not yet come when we can decide how far the queen's opinions influenced the colonial policy of her ministers, but that respect for her had an appreciable effect on the policy of the colonies themselves is hardly open to dispute. The last quarter of the nineteenth century was an age of conservatism, and in such an age it is more necessary than usual to take account of the emotional element in politics.

K. Foreign Policy (1830–1882)

(*a*) *The Palmerstonian Period.* — For fifty years after the close of the Napoleonic wars England stood out in Europe as the chief advocate of liberal ideas. The prestige which she had acquired by her efforts in the struggle with Napoleon gave her a leading place in the councils of Europe; but her influence was unsupported by adequate armaments. For years the main object of both parties was to reduce the intolerable burden of expenditure which the wars had left behind, and it was not until the Crimean War that a reaction set in and the nation insisted upon at least maintaining the command of the seas. Before 1853 there was the strongest disinclination not merely for war, but even for warlike preparations. It is remarkable how great, under these circumstances, was the influence of Canning and of his disciple Palmerston. They committed some mistakes, and they sustained some rebuffs. Foreign statesmen, unable to understand their genuine hesitation between the ideas of liberalism and nationality, sometimes accused them of duplicity and cold-blooded trimming. But on the whole their policy justified the reputation which England had earned as the friend of liberty, and under their management the voice of England carried far greater weight than her armaments would in themselves have justified.

The leading ideas of Palmerston were simple. He paid little attention to the colonies or India. He thought that the question of the European balance was all important. The great danger to the peace and welfare of Europe lay, as he conceived, in the Holy Alliance of the eastern powers. Amongst these he

considered Russia to be the most dangerous and aggressive; and while he aimed at uniting the western powers in defence of liberal institutions, he thought it necessary to support the despotism of the Sultan as a curb upon Russian ambition.

To maintain this system was not altogether easy. The Quadruple Alliance of 1834, between England, France, Spain, and Portugal, saved the Iberian kingdoms from falling a prey to usurpers of reactionary principles. But of the four allies, only the first two carried weight in European complications, and the ambition of Louis Philippe threatened to produce a breach between French and English liberalism. Louis Philippe coveted the Spanish crown for his descendants, and Egypt as a base for the extension of French influence in the East. In 1840 Palmerston was supporting the Sultan against Mehemet Ali, the protégé of France. The fall of the Orleanist dynasty (1848) cleared the atmosphere, so far as relations with France were concerned; and the revolutions pending or actually in progress gave Palmerston some grounds for anticipating a complete triumph of liberalism in the West. He hoped to smooth the course of events by offers of advice or mediation to the governments which represented principles of reaction. Nor was he altogether unsuccessful. He saved the Swiss federation from the schism with which it was threatened by the rise of the Sonderbund. He earned the gratitude of Sardinia and Tuscany. In his relations with the German powers he proved himself disinterestedly anxious for the reconstitution of the empire on the basis of liberal institutions. He experienced, it is true, a sharp rebuff from the Spanish minister, Marshal Narvaez. His offers of mediation in the kingdom of Sicily and Naples could not prevent a war which was disastrous for the Sicilian liberals; and the Austrian victory of Novara (1849) postponed indefinitely the emancipation of northern Italy from foreign rule. Still, under Palmerston's management England played a consistent and creditable part in these years of revolution. She supported liberty without countenancing anarchy or interfering unduly in the domestic troubles of her neighbours.

From 1850 onwards the wisdom of Palmerston's proceedings was more open to question. Though it is perfectly in accordance with English sympathies and his own principles that he should take the side of Denmark over the question of Schleswig-Holstein (1850), his attitude gave umbrage to the German liberals, who had hoped to promote national unity by an act of national brigandage. On the other hand, Palmerston's fear of Russian influence led him to take an unwarrantable tone towards the Greek government in some disputes respecting the rights of British subjects, which ought to have been left to the Greek law courts for decision. His anxiety to maintain the French alliance was responsible, in 1851, for a precipitate and undignified approval of the despotism established by Louis Napoleon. He acted in this matter without consulting the queen or Lord John Russell, and his negligence led to a remarkable assertion of the royal prerogative. Although the most popular minister in the Cabinet, he was summarily dismissed from office. Public opinion was with the queen and the prime minister; and the incident is perhaps the first symptom to show that the prestige of the monarchy, after a long period of eclipse, was at length beginning to revive.

(*b*) *The Crimean War.* — The French alliance was, however, one which commended itself to all political parties; and in 1852 the Derby ministry followed

Palmerston's example in recognising the Second Empire. But it was the return of Palmerston to office at the end of that year which enabled Napoleon III to entangle England in the Crimean expedition. It was difficult to see how the interests of England were involved; for although the annexation of the Punjab (1849) had extended English power to the edge of the Himalayas, only a minority of politicians regarded the Asiatic policy of Russia with misgivings; and there was little to be said for an exhausting war in the present to guard against a hypothetical war in the remote future. England had the opportunity of settling the Turkish question amicably with Russia. Nicholas I was prepared to permit a British occupation of Candia and Egypt; he disclaimed, apparently with sincerity, the design of annexing Constantinople. But Napoleon III desired war in order to consolidate his power; and, conscious of his inability to cope with Russia on equal terms, he played upon Lord Palmerston's deep-rooted prejudice against Russia. The Crimean War can only be regarded as, from the English standpoint, a blunder and a misfortune. Palmerston rushed into war without troubling to ascertain whether the organisation and the forces requisite for such a war existed. The fall of Sebastopol was purchased by enormous expenditure and loss of life; and although England, owing to the enormous development of her trade, brought the war to a conclusion without drawing heavily upon her credit, she gained little by the terms of peace (1856). These declared the neutrality of the Black Sea, and excluded from it the ships of war both of Russia and of all other nations, — two concessions damaging to Russia and advantageous to the Porte, but only benefiting England in so far as they tied the hands of her late antagonist.

(*c*) *The Period of Isolation.* — Since the Crimean War, England's attention has been turned away from the Continent to the colonies and Asia. It is significant of the change in English aims and interests that the year 1856 produced wars both with Persia and with China, and that the Indian mutiny of 1857–1858 (Vol. II, p. 489 ff.) was followed by a reorganisation of the Indian government, in consequence of which the powers formerly vested in the East India Company were transferred to a secretary of state and a Council for India. England watched with sympathy the Italian campaign undertaken by Napoleon III in conjunction with the house of Savoy, and her attitude was one of the causes which induced Austria to acquiesce in the formation of a North Italian kingdom. But English sympathy for the cause of Italian freedom was platonic, and with the death of Palmerston (1865) disappeared the last English statesman who was inclined to continental intervention. After the establishment of the North German Confederation the French demand for the neutralisation of Luxemburg was supported by the Derby ministry, and assured by a diplomatic conference held in London (1867). But in the Franco-Prussian War Mr. Gladstone observed a strict neutrality; and in 1871 he extended the olive branch to Russia by giving up those clauses in the treaty of 1856 which restricted the Russians in their use of the Black Sea.

(*d*) *Egypt and India.* — Since 1870 the Egyptian question has arisen to interest England, from a new point of view, in the affairs of the eastern Mediterranean. The Suez Canal, projected by the Frenchman De Lesseps, and originally financed by French capital, has been of incalculable advantage to England as an Asiatic

power. But the Suez Canal was a source of weakness rather than of strength until it passed under English control. The first step towards this end was taken by Disraeli, who, in 1874, purchased from the Khedive a considerable block of shares in the canal. The Russo-Turkish War (1877) seemed for a moment likely to make this bargain of little service. There was a possibility that Russia might advance through Asia Minor and lay claim to the Turkish rights of suzerainty in Egypt. Hence the theatrical, but effectual, demonstrations of Disraeli, — the mobilisation of the Mediterranean squadron, the ostentatious equipment of an armed force, the summoning of Indian troops to Malta. The result was that England appeared at the congress of Berlin as the recognised advocate of Turkish interests, and received permission to occupy Cyprus as the price of her agreement to the Treaty of San Stefano. Even this foothold in the eastern Mediterranean was, however, insufficient. There remained the possibility that Egypt might fall into the hands of an unfriendly power. The danger became imminent when the revolt of Arabi Pasha exposed the weakness of the Khedive's rule (1881). England was forced to intervene, although Mr. Gladstone, the premier of the day, was on principle opposed to the assumption of new responsibilities. His government would gladly have acted in concert with the European powers; when compelled to take isolated action, it disclaimed the intention of assuming a permanent protectorate. The policy of avoiding responsibility was, however, condemned by the course of events. On the appearance of a Mahdi in the Soudan the Liberal Cabinet attempted to withdraw all garrisons from Khartoum and the surrounding country, lest Egypt should become involved in a costly war and require to be extricated from danger by English assistance. General Gordon, however, who had been sent to supervise the evacuation of the Soudan, was blockaded in Khartoum. The Liberals were forced against their will to send out a relieving force; and when Khartoum fell (1885) the disaster proved fatal to their government. The action which the electorate took on this occasion was an intimation to all future governments that full responsibility should be assumed for the protection of Egypt; and politicians are now unanimous in recognising the wisdom of the popular opinion. Egypt has been assisted with British troops and capital in the reconquest of the Soudan (1896–1898). The attempt of the French explorer, Marchand, to annex the upper waters of the Nile was resented as an injury to English interests, and steps have been taken to complete, as rapidly as possible, the railway communication between the Cape and Cairo. The new line will make Egypt more important than ever as a strategic thoroughfare, and it is now certain that, whatever may be in future the legal relations of the English and Egyptian governments, the country will not be allowed to pass under the control of any other power.

India and the interests of British trade in the Far East have been the cause of many anxieties outside the Mediterranean. The influence of rival powers in Persia and the Persian Gulf, in the Indian Ocean, and in Chinese waters is watched with keen attention. England has assumed the government of Burmah, has claimed to control the foreign relations of Afghanistan and Tibet, and has been ill-pleased by the growth of French and German interests in the Pacific and in eastern Asia. But the anxieties which have been entailed by her trade interests and dependencies are perhaps of less urgency than those connected with the self-governing colonies.

L. Colonial Policy (1830–1905)

(*a*) *Causes of Trouble.* — A certain number of the most flourishing among the English colonies were conquered from other powers in the period 1715–1815. Hence England rules to-day more than one population which belongs by extraction to another European race. The two crucial events in colonial history since 1815 have been rebellions of these foreign elements contained within the empire. It was the discontent of the French Canadians which led England to concede the first free constitution to a colony. The struggle with the Boer republics in South Africa threatened a collapse of English power in that continent; it also gave the self-governing colonies an opportunity, of which they availed themselves most generously, to prove the value of their friendship.

(*b*) *The Dominion of Canada.* — The Canadian difficulties are traceable to the settlement effected by the younger Pitt in 1793. He committed the mistake of separating French (or Lower) Canada from the English (or Upper) province. In both the Canadas he established the same constitution. The Governor, the Executive, and the upper house in the legislature were nominated by the Crown; the lower house alone was composed of popularly elected members. This form of government was indeed a fair compromise between autonomy and independence; but in the lower province the nominating powers of the Crown were consistently employed to prevent the French party from gaining control of the government; and the governors sent out from England resorted alternately to intrigue and illegal measures as means of checkmating an obstructive opposition. Under this system the prosperity of the Lower Province languished, and only the fear of falling under the United States restrained the French Canadians from rising. Rebellion at length broke out in 1837, under the leadership of Papineau. It was easily suppressed; but Lord Durham was sent from England in the following year to report on the causes of discontent, and on his advice the two Canadas were again united under a single government. The object of the change was to get rid of the representative assembly of the Lower Province, which was entirely French in spirit; and the electoral arrangements for the new assembly were manipulated in such a way as to secure a majority of English members. To compensate for this arbitrary arrangement the concession of responsible government was made. The change has been attended with complete success, although the French Canadians still form a compact and numerous body. They are not recruited, like the English-speaking party, by immigration; and, having recognised the impossibility of becoming a dominant aristocracy, they have begun to co-operate loyally with their English compatriots in the work of administration and economic development. Already in 1856 the outlook was sufficiently peaceful for the home government to permit the election of the upper as well as the lower house in the new legislature. A British character was definitely stamped upon the Canadas when they were incorporated, by the British North America Act (1867), into a single dominion with Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Since that time the colonies of British Columbia and Prince Edward Island have been added to the dominion, and any immediate prospect of a French reaction has disappeared.

(*c*) *The Boer Republic.* — The Dutch of South Africa have been a more difficult problem. Of all the white races which have competed in the colonisation of "the Dark Continent" they have shown the greatest vitality and the greatest aptitude for lasting settlement. But from the time when the Cape was definitely annexed by the English government (1814) the Boers have shown a marked repugnance to the restrictions which it was deemed necessary to place upon their independence. Their first rebellion arose in 1816 as a consequence of punishments inflicted upon various Boer farmers who were charged by missionaries with ill-treatment of the Hottentots. The abolition of slavery (1834) created a new grievance; for the compensation which the home government allowed to the South African slave-owners was considerably less than half the market value of the slaves. The Kaffir question was an even more serious difficulty. The Cape had suffered severely from the encroachments of Kaffir tribes, and the farmers of the frontier had too often reason for complaints that they were neither protected by the government nor allowed to protect themselves. From these causes ensued the great movement or *trek* of Dutch farmers to the northward. The settlements of Natal (1840), the Orange Free State (1853), and the Transvaal (1861) arose in consequence of this movement. The existence of the new communities at once confronted the home government with a serious difficulty. The colonists established themselves on the lands of native tribes, and were constantly involved in native wars, which constituted a menace to the safety of the Cape. The annexation of Natal was proclaimed in 1843 as the only means of averting a southward movement of the Zulus. Twenty years later the same course was adopted with the Transvaal, again in consequence of the Zulu peril. In each case the annexation was approved by the majority of the settlers; for neither of the two colonies had any prospect of maintaining a successful resistance to the Zulus for any length of time. But the service which Great Britain had rendered was soon forgotten or misrepresented. In 1880 a rebellion was caused by the dislike of the Transvaal Boers to regular government and taxation; and after the defeat of a small English force at Majuba, Mr. Gladstone's government restored the independence of the republic by the Convention of Pretoria (1881), though still asserting the suzerainty of England. In 1884 the terms of this convention were remodelled, and the English ministers made the mistake of dropping all explicit references to the suzerainty. They were certainly not prepared to renounce it in so many words, and they reserved to themselves a veto on the treaties concluded by the Transvaal. But it is difficult to acquit them of a wish to gloss over a difficult situation by allowing the Boers to believe that the suzerainty was practically at an end.

(*d*) *The Boer War.* — It is difficult to say what a bare suzerainty implies. But the English government, when disputes arose with the republic in the years 1895–1899, took the view that the suzerain had power to impose certain restrictions upon the Transvaal government in matters of domestic concern. The discovery of gold in Johannesburg had produced an enormous immigration of British subjects. The Boers, by the unfair manipulation of a franchise law which was in itself sufficiently unfair, tried to exclude these "Uitlanders" from any share of political power. The government sometimes did its best to impede industrial development, and habitually levied, by direct and indirect means, an enormous

London: Wm Heinemann.

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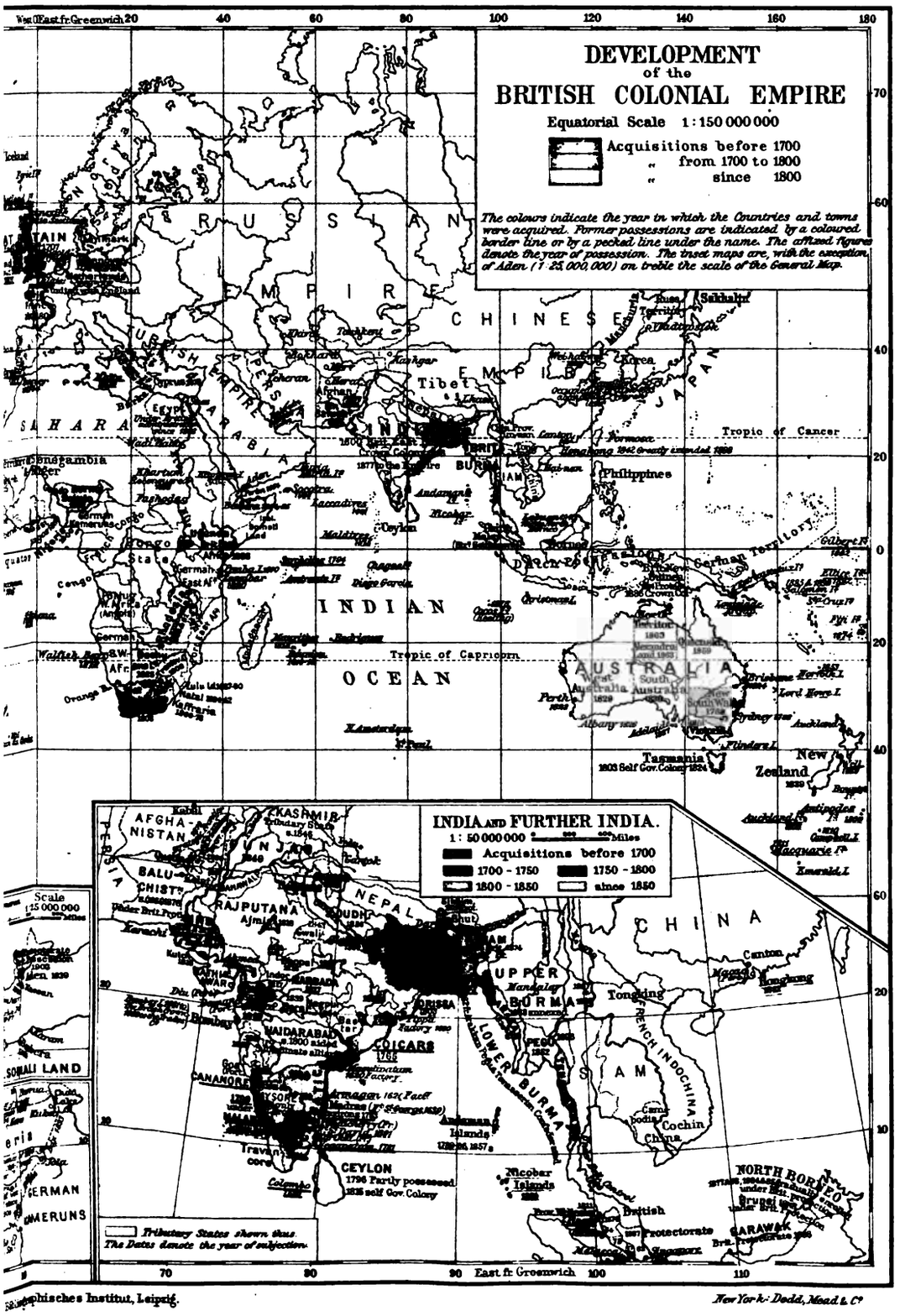

DEVELOPMENT
of the
BRITISH COLONIAL EMPIRE
Equatorial Scale 1:150 000 000
Acquisitions before 1700
" from 1700 to 1800
" since 1800
The colours indicate the year in which the Countries and towns were acquired. Former possessions are indicated by a coloured border line or by a pecked line under the name. The affixed figures denote the year of possession. The inset maps are, with the exception of Aden (1:25,000,000) on treble the scale of the General Map.
INDIA AND FURTHER INDIA.
1: 50 000 000
Miles
Acquisitions before 1700
1700 - 1750
1750 - 1800
1800 - 1850
since 1850
Tributary States shown thus
The Dates denote the year of subjection.
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
CHINESE EMPIRE
INDIAN OCEAN
AUSTRALIA
CHINA
JAPAN
Tropic of Cancer
Tropic of Capricorn
East fr Greenwich
Geographisches Institut, Leipzig.
New York: Dodd, Mead & Co

toll on the profits of the unenfranchised majority. Revolutionary movements, culminating in the Jameson raid of 1895, were the not unnatural consequence. The home government resolved that an end must be put to an agitation which not only affected important commercial interests, but also opened the prospect of a coalition between the Transvaal and a foreign power. The German settlements in Damaraland and East Africa undoubtedly contributed to stimulate the alarm of England, and must be taken into account in any criticism of the demands which she made upon the Transvaal. These included the franchise for the Uitlanders and an explicit recognition of English suzerainty. They led directly to the outbreak of war and an alliance of the Transvaal with the Orange Free State, which, although still autonomous, was alarmed at the prospect of becoming an enclave in British territory.

The war of 1899–1902 has been described in another volume (III, p. 514 ff.). But enough has been said to show the real issues which were at stake. Rightly or wrongly, England believed that her position at the Cape and in Natal would become untenable if the Transvaal should be left in a position to join hands with the German colonies; and that her stake in the industries of the Transvaal was too large for her to tolerate the rule of a corrupt and irresponsible minority. The Boers, on their side, fought for the independence which their fathers had sought by migrating from the Cape. They maintained that the Uitlanders, having no permanent interest in the welfare of the country, were unfitted for the franchise. They refused to admit the shortcomings of their own administration, because those shortcomings were pressed upon their notice by what they, not unnaturally, regarded as an alien and unfriendly government.

(*e*) *The Present Colonial Problem.* — At the present day the difficulties connected with the colonists of other nationalities have been laid to rest, although it remains to be seen whether the South African will be as permanent as the Canadian settlement. But since 1880 England has been face to face with another colonial problem of the greatest delicacy and complexity. At the close of the American war she abandoned the idea of taxing the colonies for imperial defence. Since 1851 she has steadily pursued the policy of granting self-government to every colony which seems capable of arranging its own affairs; and in consequence she has lost the advantages formerly derived from free trade with the colonies, since they have invariably used their freedom to build up protective tariffs against her manufactures no less than against those of foreign powers. They are valuable to her merely as outlets for surplus capital and surplus population, but not more valuable from this point of view than if they were politically independent. Sentiment apart, the mother country has no other reason for maintaining her position of a protectress except the fear that the colonies might otherwise become dependent on a foreign power which would insist upon commercial preferences in their markets. Even under a protective régime the colonies are an important and an expanding market for the British manufacturer; it may be that in the future they will be even more important to him than the markets of Europe and of foreign powers outside Europe. But the price to be paid for the preservation of the colonial markets is a heavy one. The regular contributions of the colonies to imperial defence are insufficient; in an age of expanding armaments the burden of maintaining a navy adequate to the protection of colonies

and dependencies in every part of both hemispheres has become almost insupportable. Matters would be bad enough if the colonies were only endangered by the disputes of the mother country with other powers; but each of the great colonies is brought, in one way or another, into contact with important states. To mention only two instances, — the attempted annexation of New Guinea by Queensland in 1884 threatened international difficulties, and Canada was lately forced to seek England's assistance in a tariff dispute with the German Empire.

(*f*) *Imperialism.* — The problem of imperial defence has given rise to the various schemes which are popularly connected under the title of imperialism. The title is misleading; for imperialism means different things in the mouths of different parties, or even with different groups of the same party. It has been taken to mean unlimited annexation; or an aggressive attitude towards competitors in the field of colonisation; or a belief that England's mission is to spread English institutions by all and every means; or a wish for the establishment of a colonial zollverein based upon preferential tariffs. Generally speaking, imperialism means any policy which aims at strengthening the ties between the colonies and the mother country, or at effecting a fair division of the expenditure required for imperial defence. Many who call themselves imperialists are content to profess these aims without specifying the methods by which they might be realised; but since 1880 most imperialists have expressed an abstract sympathy with the idea of federation. Federation would mean on the one hand a system of regular subsidies voted by the colonies for imperial purposes, and on the other some representation of the colonies in the imperial executive or legislature. Colonial representatives might be admitted to the imperial parliament, or to an executive committee of defence; but hitherto no responsible statesman has committed himself to a specific proposal. The difficulties to be overcome are very great. There is the difficulty of assessing contributions; there is the greater difficulty of ensuring their punctual payment; but greatest of all is the difficulty of inducing the parliament and electorate of the United Kingdom to accept the colonies as partners in the sovereign power on any terms which the colonies would consider equitable. The difficulty of negotiation has been to some extent diminished by the federation of the North American colonies in the Dominion of Canada, and of the Australian colonies in the Commonwealth (1900); and the colonies in general are disposed to negotiate. The conference of the Australian premiers at London in 1897 furnished one proof of this; Canada's action in spontaneously giving a preferential treatment to imports from the mother country is another of a more practical kind. But at the present moment the endeavours of one political party to identify the new movement of imperialism with the old one of fiscal protection have obscured the issues, and diminished the hopes of the older school of federationists.

M. Industrial Development (1815–1905)

(*a*) *The Mercantile Interest.* — At the close of the Napoleonic wars England was still in great measure an agricultural country, dominated by a landowning interest which had grown wealthy through the inflated price of corn. For the next thirty years this interest did battle with the commercial classes. The question of

Reform came first, the repeal of the Corn Laws closed the struggle. The struggle had been waged in a manner which was creditable to both parties and characteristically English. The party of change had been scrupulous in observing the restrictions placed by law upon their agitation. The Conservatives had given way when it was clear that the weight of public opinion was on the other side, and their moderation was rewarded by the forbearance of the victorious opposition. The old ruling classes lost their political monopoly and their fiscal privileges, but they retained their social prestige.

But while the mercantile interest marched, in the sphere of politics, from victory to victory, the growth of material prosperity was intermittent and chequered by intervals of profound depression. The foreign trade of the country had been artificially stimulated by the war. Not only did England, in spite of the Berlin and Milan decrees, supply the greater part of Europe with her staple articles of manufacture; the Orders in Council by which she retaliated against Napoleon's continental system left her without a rival in the carrying trade. She also developed a thriving business, in the absence of European competition, with the colonies of the New World. The American War of 1812–1814 produced but a temporary suspension of her dealings with the United States, and Brazil, after it became the seat of Portuguese government (1808), furnished an enormous and expanding market. The peace of 1815 was, however, followed by a change for the worse. The continental powers began to protect their native industries by tariffs which were more effectual than the prohibitory measures of Napoleon; and English merchants, who had speculated on the continuance of high prices in the European market, were caught unawares.

(*b*) *The Factory System.*—The English industrial system was built upon unstable foundations and ill fitted to withstand the strain of competition. Wages were at starvation point, and low wages meant a low standard of energy and skill among the operatives. The manufacturers of Lancashire and Yorkshire had committed the mistake of supposing that it was economical to employ women and children, who demanded a lower rate of remuneration than the male adult. The result was for the labourer excessively long hours at low wages, for the manufacturer low profits, which he could not increase by introducing new inventions. The intelligence of employees was so undeveloped that complex machinery could not be used. A few manufacturers realised the true cause of their difficulties, and by offering higher wages attracted to their mills a better class of workmen; but the majority suffered severely. In 1819 there were no fewer than 3,552 bankruptcies; in 1821 the Bank of England suspended cash payments for a second time, and three or four years elapsed before the tide began at last to turn.

Meanwhile the condition of the operatives was the despair of the social reformer. Parliament at length undertook to ameliorate the lot of the more defenceless classes by means of legislation. An Act of 1833 forbade the employment of children under nine years of age, and fixed the working day of older children at a maximum of nine hours. In 1844 this maximum was reduced to six hours and a half, while at the same time a limit of twelve hours was introduced for women. In 1847 the working day of boys and girls between thirteen and eighteen years of age was reduced, in certain factories, to ten hours. These restrictions, beneficial in themselves, did not take effect without considerable

losses both to labour and capital. Merely to limit the hours of work was to limit the output of the manufacturer and to diminish the rate of wages which he could afford to offer. In many cases the employer found it the best policy to dismiss women and children. The wages of adult males then rose, but many families earned less under the new system than the old, and were reduced to destitution. At best the factory acts repressed the natural tendencies of a vicious system which they made no attempt to remodel. The causes which ultimately improved the condition of the labourer lay outside the sphere of legislative activity. New inventions increased the need for operatives of a high degree of skill and activity. The formation of trades unions enabled workmen, by collective bargaining, to make sure of obtaining from the employer the full market value of their services. But both the unions and the new machines were prejudicial to the welfare of the weakly or inefficient operatives it was no longer worth the while of the employer to engage them, and they sank into the class of unskilled labourers, depressing still further by their competition the wages of these unfortunates. This elimination of the unfit was inevitable, but it was attended with untold misery and bitterness. The Chartists interpreted the misery of their day as a consequence of aristocratic tyranny, and all the materials for a social revolution existed in the England of 1848.

(*c*) *Trades Unions and Corporation Societies.* — Fortunately time has removed the greater part of the evils which formed the justification of the Chartist movement, and trades unions have since then contented themselves with programmes of a comparatively modest scope. Their demands have sometimes been unreasonable; in the fifties and sixties their trade wars with capital were the cause of serious losses to the community. But although unions have sometimes committed the mistake of ignoring foreign competition, and have sometimes proceeded on the assumption that they could maintain a monopoly rate in the wages of certain employments, yet on the whole the leaders have proved themselves prudent and reasonable men. The union system sacrifices the better workmen for the sake of the weaklings; and the unions have been more active in claiming rights than in acknowledging responsibilities. But on the other hand the morale of labour has been improved by the pressure of union discipline and the enforced subordination of individual to class interests; the unions have also rendered important services to the community by acting as mutual assurance societies and assisting the labourer to find his most profitable market. The hope that unionism might prove a half-way house to co-operative enterprise has been disappointed. The success of the Pioneer Society, founded at Rochdale in 1844, was temporary; similar experiments, made under less favorable circumstances, have proved the difficulty of dispensing with the expert *entrepreneur* in the majority of industries. Co-operative societies have succeeded best when they have undertaken a retail trade of distribution; although in Ireland, thanks to the disinterested efforts of administrators and philanthropists, the co-operative principle has been used on a great scale for the improvement of the industries connected with agriculture and for the foundation of land banks. But on the whole the employer is still a necessity; and those who desire to improve the efficiency of the national industries rely upon such expedients as arbitration and profit-sharing, which aim at diminishing the friction between employer and

VIEW OF LONDONDERRY

THE FOUR COURTS, DUBLIN

EXPLANATION OF THE PICTURES OVERLEAF

LONDONDERRY, in the province of Ulster, a seaport standing on the River Foyle, was founded by London adventurers in the seventeenth century on land which had been granted to them by James I. As one of the chief citadels of English and Protestant influence it was besieged by the Irish supporters of James II. from April to August 1689. After the siege had been raised, William III. wrote a letter of thanks to the citizens, and Parliament voted £10,000 to the widows and orphans of the defenders. The heroes of the siege were the Rev. George Walker and two officers, Major Baker and Captain Murray. The Walker monument on the walls is still a prominent feature of the city.

THE FOUR COURTS, DUBLIN, in which the chief Irish law courts sit, were built at the end of the eighteenth century, during the brief period of Irish independence under Grattan's Parliament.

employed. Legislation has contributed to this end in many different ways. The Trades Union Act of 1871 recognised the legality of these associations, gave them protection against the frauds of their officials, and defined the limits within which pressure might be brought to bear upon non-unionists. Another Act of 1875, framed in the interests of the community at large, made sudden strikes a criminal offence in cases where they would entail a public injury. The Workman's Compensation Act (1897) removed a fruitful source of disputes and heartburning by making the employer liable for all injuries incurred in his employment; and a considerable extension has been given to the principle, admitted even in the first factory bills, that the state is bound to regulate the conditions of labour in the interests of women and children and of the public health.

(*d*) *The Economic Outlook.* — England has on the whole maintained her industrial supremacy with marvellous success, although her employers and workmen are now rivalled or surpassed in technical skill by those of the United States and Germany. The development of the staple industries, which provide the greater part of English exports, has become less rapid than it used to be; but there is still expansion. The population of the industrial centres still increases, a phenomenon which is the more gratifying because it goes hand in hand with a rise both in the nominal rate of wages and in their purchasing power. There is a high standard of comfort among the industrial population; and the bad effect of town life upon physique has been mitigated by sanitary improvements, by stricter state supervision of workmen's dwellings, by a wise policy of securing open spaces for public recreation, and by improved means of locomotion. The population of Great Britain becomes more urban in each succeeding decade; but urban life has been revolutionised; and if the operative is less favourably situated than the country labourer of a mythical golden age, he is far better fed and clothed and lodged than the English agriculturalist is now or has been in the past.

N. The Development of English Thought and Literature (1750–1900)

(*a*) *The Romantic Movement.* — In the literature of the nineteenth century the dominant note is romanticism. This was in part a mere revolt against the conventional diction and the artificial rules of form which trammelled the artistic impulses of the preceding age. But romanticism was also inspired by a new conception of nature as something sentient and sympathetic, something organically related to the human spirit; this feeling for nature has survived the mere revolt against convention and the passion for mediævalism, which were the superficial characteristics of the revolt. The romantic view of nature is in fact intimately connected with the idealist philosophy of Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel; and romanticism in its highest form is nothing but the artistic expression of idealism.

Naturally, however, the first rebels against classicism were concerned with the more superficial aspects of art. Some of them were wedded to the philosophy, or rather the theology, of the school against which they rebelled; the most audacious pioneers of romanticism were but dimly conscious of the ideas which underlay their practice. James Macpherson, whose Ossianic poems (1760–1763) may be

regarded as the first romantic manifesto, was a half-educated schoolmaster of the Highlands. His fancy was caught by the genuine fragments of old Gaelic literature. He imitated them awkwardly enough; and the marvellous success of his imposture, not in England only, but also in France and Germany, merely proves that he had seized the happy moment. The public had grown weary of classicism and desired novelty; Macpherson's poetry suggested the direction in which the emancipated literature of the future might advance. Robert Burns (1759–1796) was a rebel of a different kind, a man of genius, a skilled craftsman in metres, and a born realist. His subjects are as far removed as possible from those of Macpherson, although they were fellow-countrymen and both alike drew their inspiration from national traditions. But the cloudy epics of the one writer, the passionate lyrics and humorous studies of low life upon which the other's fame depends, pointed the same lesson to critics, the lesson of the return to nature. The two great poets of the Lake school, William Wordsworth (1770–1850) and Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834), completed the development of the romantic formula. Their Lyrical Ballads (1798) were a conscious challenge to the classicists. In the poetic compositions and in the critical writings of their later years the two friends vindicated new laws of diction, form, and treatment. Coleridge, who showed in his prose a philosophic genius of remarkable power, and first interpreted to England the master-minds of modern Germany, is remembered as a poet by a few ballads and lyrics of exquisite grace. In metres and in style he is the greatest teacher of the romantic school. Wordsworth, hampered by defective theories and a fatal want of humour, lives by the matter rather than by the form of his work; his profound faith, his quiet and intense sympathy with inanimate nature, have given him a unique position as a spiritual teacher. But English romanticism became a European influence chiefly through the work of Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832) and Lord Byron (1788–1824). It was the inexhaustible fertility of Scott's invention, his command of picturesque incident, his power of bringing back to the imagination the Middle Ages and the society of old Scotland, which made him at first the most popular poet and afterwards the most popular novelist of his generation. The series of over thirty novels which he published between 1814 and 1832 is one of the most marvellous achievements in the history of literature; and although his portraits of individuals are lacking in subtlety of analysis and delicacy of touch, no writer since Shakespeare has created so many characters which are household words. Byron is the opposite of his rival, essentially narrow in range, and great through the intensity of his passion. Byron is the one hero of his own poems; and this hero, whether he appears as Cain or Lara or Don Juan, typifies the spirit of revolt against the laws of society and nature. Byron in fact expressed, with unequalled force of rhetoric, the negative and critical spirit of the Revolution. As a poet he falls below Coleridge and Wordsworth; his influence was greater on thought than on literature, and has endured longer in France than in England. To the same school as Byron was attached his friend and contemporary Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792–1822). A Platonist and also a disciple of Godwin, Shelley united in himself those ideas of classical Greece and of modern thought which are most hostile to the actual order of society; like Byron, he is a poet of revolt. But Shelley is essentially impersonal and lyrical, while Byron is self-conscious and rhetorical. The greatest triumphs of Shelley's art were achieved when he forgot his mission as the member of a school and devoted

himself to the ethereal treatment of sentiment or to the pantheistic interpretation of nature. On his Greek side he is akin to Keats (1795–1821). But Keats borrowed from the Greeks only the sensuous love of beauty; his imagination was nourished upon the plastic art of Athens, whereas it is in ideas and in the graceful simplicity of his diction that Shelley shows his Greek affinities.

(*b*) *The Utilitarians.* — The time of ferment which produced this outburst of literary activity was also responsible for two new movements of English thought, the utilitarian and the idealist. Utilitarianism is the sceptical and inductive spirit of such eighteenth-century thinkers as David Hume applied to the study of morals and social institutions. The movement began with the French Encyclopædists; it came to England through Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832), than whom no man has exercised a more far-reaching influence on the thought or government of modern England. Most of the social and political reforms which characterise the early Victorian era were suggested by Bentham. His two great works, the "Fragment on Government" (1776) and the "Principles of Morals and Legislation" (1789), belong chronologically to the age before the Revolution; but it was only in later life that Bentham became a prophet among his own people. His greatest disciple was John Stuart Mill (1806–1873), whose versatile genius never showed to more advantage than when he was handling social questions in Bentham's spirit. Mill was not so rigorous a thinker as Bentham; but the moral enthusiasm of the younger man, his power of exposition, and his susceptibility to the best ideas of his time, gave him the respectful attention of all thoughtful minds. What Bentham did for the theory of legislation, Mill did for the theory of wealth. Mills' "Political Economy" (1848), although largely based upon the investigations of Adam Smith, Ricardo, and Malthus, marks an era in the history of that science. Mill was the first to define with accuracy the proper limits of economic study. He originated a number of new theories. He diagnosed the economic evils of his time and suggested practical remedies. Above all, however, he was the first to see the parts of economic science in their true proportions and to connect them as an ordered whole. The tendency of modern thought is to belittle the deductive school of economists which Mill represents; but his claim to be regarded as the classic of that school has never been disputed. Similarly by his writings on "Liberty" (1859) and "Representative Government" (1860) he became the accredited exponent of English liberalism; while his essay on "Utilitarianism" (1861), by giving a larger and less material interpretation to Bentham's formula, "the greatest happiness of the greatest number," did much to bring out the common basis of belief on which liberals and idealists have conducted their long controversy.

(*c*) *The Idealists.* — The idealist movement begins with Coleridge, whose philosophic writings (notably the "Aids to Reflection," published in 1825), although fragmentary and unsystematic, are the first sign of a reaction among English metaphysicians against Hume's disintegrating criticism. In a diluted and theological form the new tenets formed the intellectual stock in trade of the Tractarians, whose attempt to imbue Anglican dogmas with a new significance and to destroy the insularity of the Established Church is the most remarkable phenomenon in the religious history of modern England. The idealists found a powerful though erratic ally in Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881). In literature a romantic of the most

lawless sort, unequalled in power of phrase, in pictorial imagination, and in dramatic humour, but totally deficient in architectonic skill, Carlyle wrote one history ("The French Revolution," 1837) and two biographies ("Cromwell," 1845, "Frederick the Great," 1858–1865) of surpassing interest. But his most characteristic utterances are to be found in "Sartor Resartus" (1833) and "Heroes and Hero Worship" (1841), the first a biting attack upon formalism and dogma, the second a vindication of the importance of individual genius in maintaining and in reforming the social fabric. Carlyle's gospel of labour and silence, and his preference for the guidance of instinct as opposed to that of conscious reflection, have exercised a great, though indeterminate, influence upon many thinkers who are unconscious of their debt to him.

(*d*) *Natural Science. Darwinism.* — Carlyle, however, was at heart a poet and a dramatist rather than a speculative thinker. Indifferent to the sciences, he stands outside the main line of development which is represented by Charles Darwin, his younger contemporary. Born in 1809, Darwin commenced his scientific investigations at the age of twenty-two, and pursued them without intermission for over fifty years. His great work on "The Origin of Species" (1859) can only be compared in its effects to the discoveries of Galileo and Copernicus. It destroyed the idea of an animal world divided into innumerable species, each formed by an act of special creation; it introduced the ideas of natural selection and biological evolution; it at once became the foundation stone of a new materialism. The "Descent of Man" (1871) was only the logical completion of the Darwinian theory; but this second book first brought home to the popular mind the far-reaching implications of the new scientific formulæ. The history of English and European thought since 1871 is largely that of the attempts made by idealists and their opponents to apply the doctrine of evolution in the region of philosophy. Since Darwin's death, however, new problems have been raised by the great discoveries of the English physicists (Kelvin, Ramsay, etc.); ontology is now face to face with the new theories of matter which these discoveries have suggested. English science, in fact, has been much more potent than English philosophy as a factor in European thought. The national genius is scientific rather than speculative, and modern English philosophy is at the best a pale and modified reflection of Kantian and Hegelian doctrines.

(*e*) *The Novel.* — In fiction the Victorian era has been more fruitful than in philosophy. The novel in all its forms has been the favourite and characteristic form of the great imaginative writers who fall within this age. Few modern novelists have drawn their inspiration from Scott. Their strength has usually lain in character rather than in plot or incident; they have been most successful in handling the present or the immediate past, and they have commonly laid stress upon the sentimental interest which in Scott is conventional, a mere thread on which to string otherwise disconnected episodes. Scott's contemporary, Miss Austen (1775–1817), is the first of modern English realists; her example was a powerful appeal from the principles of Scott to those of Fielding. Dickens (1812–1870), though nothing of a realist, also went back for his model to the eighteenth century. In his lighter moments he is the heir of Smollett; his more serious work embodies in an extreme form the sentimentalism of Sterne and Richardson. The true contin-

uator of Miss Austen's work was Thackeray (1811–1863), who, although he made in "Esmond" a brilliant excursion into the historical field, was most at his ease when handling in a vein of satire the life of the upper middle class. The possibilities, however, of striking a deeper note and of using the novel as a vehicle of tragic emotion were first realised by the Brontë sisters. Since the publication of "Wuthering Heights" (1846) and "Jane Eyre" (1847) the conception of the novel as a prose poem has obtained the allegiance of the greatest English novelists. The best work of George Eliot has that character, although her reasoned convictions led her towards science rather than poetry. Since her death (1880) the *rapprochement* of the novel to poetry has grown closer and closer.

(*f*) *Poetry.* — This transformation has been the more easily effected since the characteristic themes of the great modern poets have been drawn from domestic life, the special province of the modern novel. The mediævalism of Tennyson (1809–1892), the transcendentalism of Browning (1812–1889), are intellectual fashions borrowed from the outside world; and although both grappled with philosophical questions in a spirit of profound sincerity, the best of their work is profoundly personal and emotional. If read with understanding the work of each poet is a commentary on the history of his own affections. Apart from their common predilection for philosophy and their subjective treatment of philosophic ideas, the two have little in common. Browning despised form and Tennyson worshipped it. Browning's strength lay in lyric outbursts, Tennyson's in sustained melody. Browning is an impressionist; while in Tennyson's mature work all detail is scrupulously subordinated to the general effect. Browning was the poet of idealism, Tennyson of science. Browning took men for his chief topic, Tennyson preferred inanimate nature. The two men are complementary to one another; taken together, they reflect the highest inspirations and æsthetic feelings of a many-sided, humane, and cultured generation, full of intellectual doubts, but at the same time holding fast to an optimistic faith.

THE INTERCONNECTION OF THE ITALIAN KINGS FROM 844-1024, THE ORIGINS OF

Conrad, * 1071, † 1101 — Henry V., * 1081, † 1125 — Agnes, † after 1142, married 1089: 1. Fredrich I. of Swabia, † 1105; 2. 1106 Leopold III. of Austria († 1136) — (1) Conrad III., † 1152 (cp. Vol. V., p, 238)

Roger I. of Sicily, † 1101 — Adelasia, † 16 April 1118 (August 1113— 25 April 1117 : 2. married King Baldwin I. of Jerusalem. (‡ 1089) — Simon, * 1093, † 1105; Roger II., 1095, † 1154

Henry, lived 1097 — Margrave of Basto (Lines of Incisa, Saluzzo, Busca, Ceva and Clavesana, of Carretto)

N.B.—The brackets ( ) before Boso of Arles and Tuscany denote origin from an earlier marriage of Theobald. The twenty kings of Italy are numbered successively with Roman figures. Nos. VI. and VII. are wanting here as Wido (February 889-894), and Lambert (February 891 to October 15, 898), were not related to the Carolingians; No. XIX. is Otto's great nephew, the Emperor Henry II.—From Frèd. de Gingins-La-Sarraz, Herm. Pabst, Harry Breslau and Fedele Savio.

THE ROMAN PORNOCRACY IN THE TENTH CENTURY

Theodora the Elder married Theophylactus
Consul of Rome
Paramours: Pope John X. (914-928, † 929) and Adalbert II. of Tuscany († 917, married Bertha of Lorraine; see above, and p 175)

Marozia, † shortly after 932, married
1. Alberich I of Tusculum (Spoleto and Camerino)
2. Guido of Tuscany († 928)
3. In 932 Hugo of Italy
(previous) paramour, Pope Sergius III. (897-898, 904-911)

Theodora the Younger
Theodora III.
married Johannes Crescentius

Lambert of Tuscany (blinded by Hugo)

Guido of Tuscany, † 928, married Marozia, widow of Alberich I.

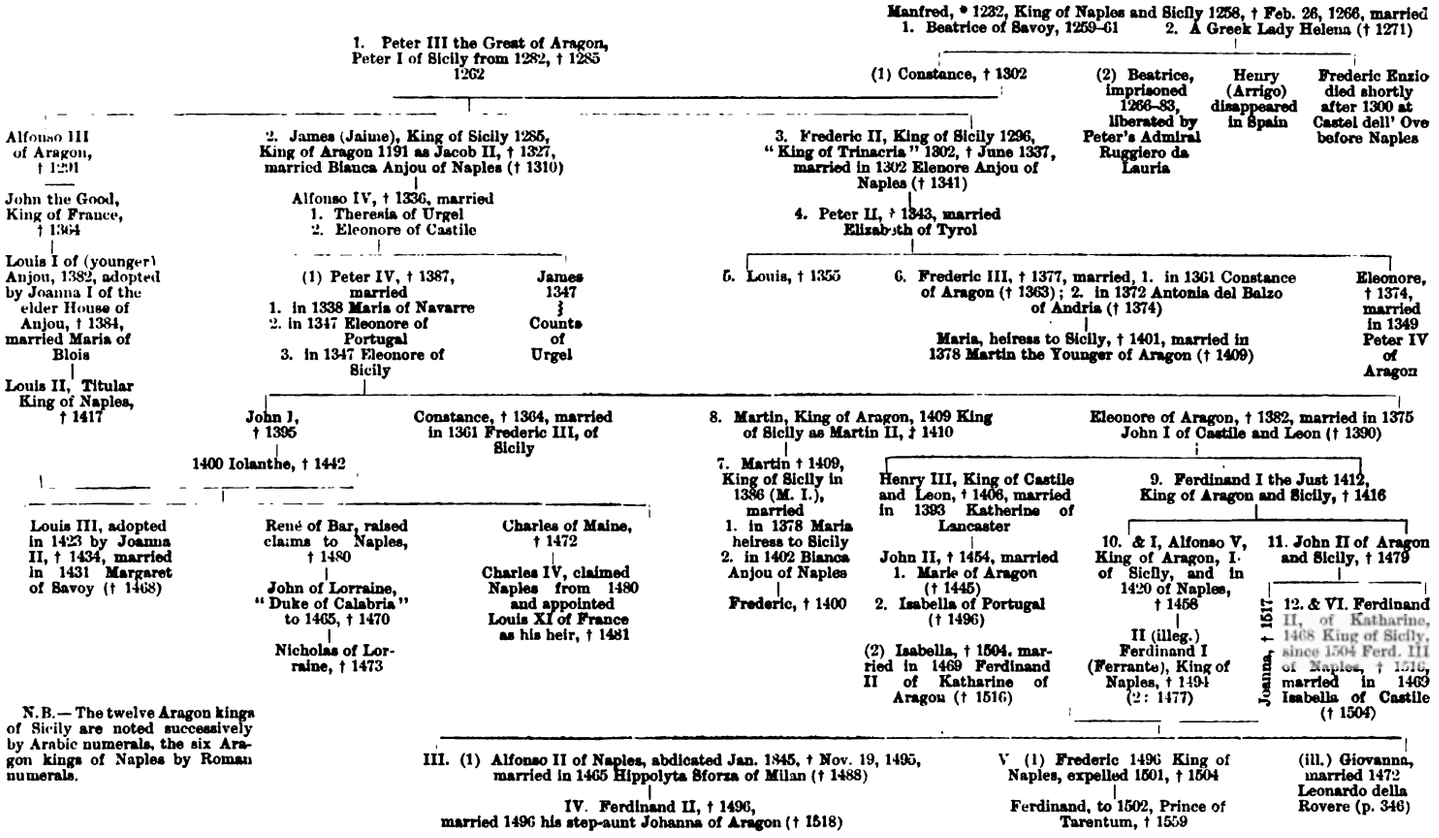
(1) Alberic II., "Prince and Senator of all the Romans," 932-954, married Alda, daughter of King Hugo by a second marriage
Octavianus * 937, was Pope John XII. 955-963, † 964 (cp. 235)

(illeg.) John XI., * 906, Pope 931-933, † 936

Landulf, † 963

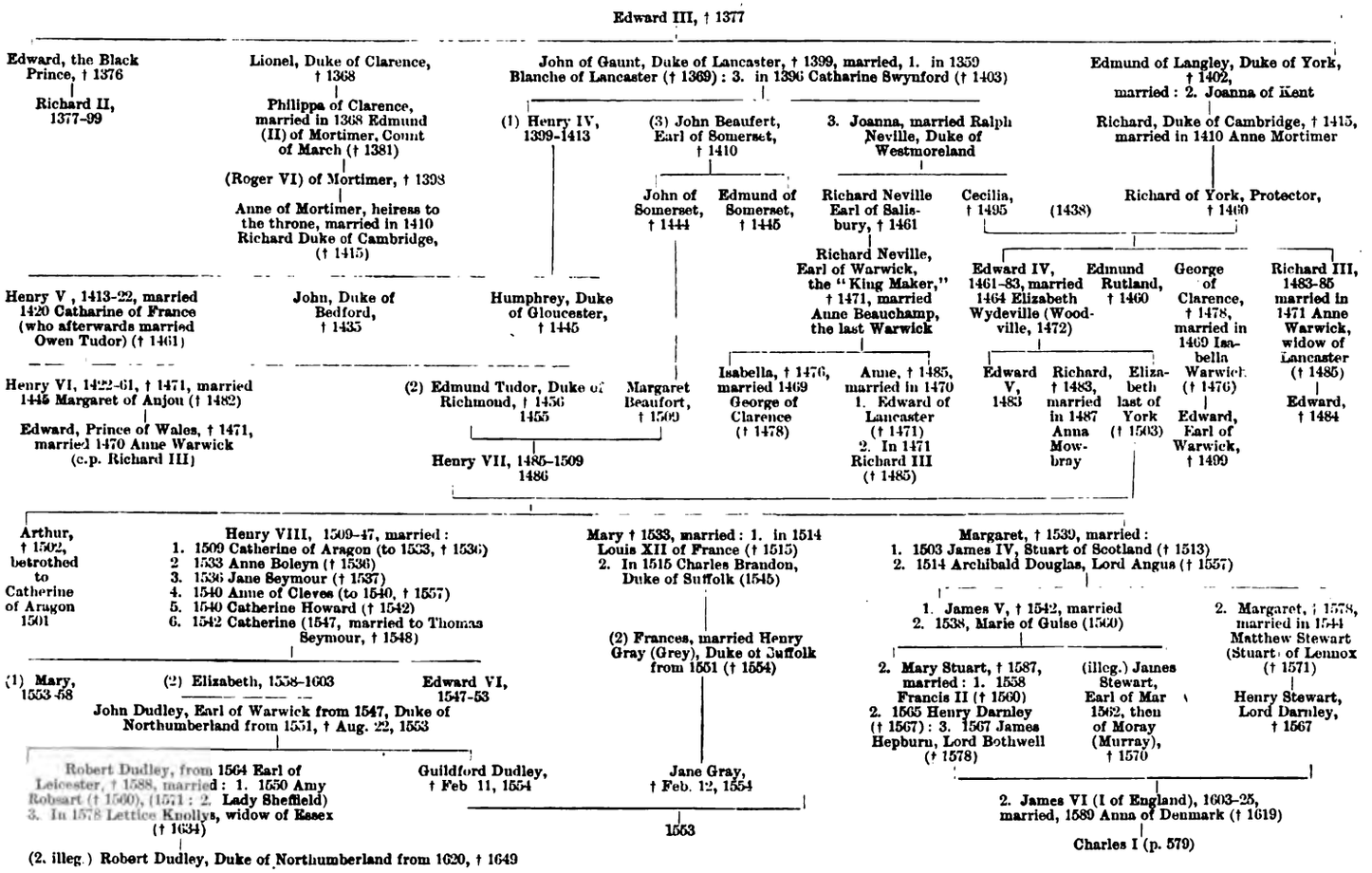
Crescentius, "dux" † 984
Johannes Crescentius, 989 "patricius," † April 28, 998
Johannes Crescentius the Younger, † 1012

THE HOUSE OF ARAGON AS CONNECTED WITH SICILY (1282–1516) AND WITH NAPLES (1420/58–1501 AND 1504–16)



N.B.— The twelve Aragon kings of Sicily are noted successively by Arabic numerals, the six Aragon kings of Naples by Roman numerals.

THE HOUSES OF LANCASTER AND YORK, TUDOR AND STUART (1399–1625)



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